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CONTENTS

THE MAIN THING IN PARTY WORK IS TO EDUCATE, REMOULD AND UNITE ALL PEOPLE

Speech Delivered at the General Membership Meeting of the Party Organization of Rihyon-ri, Sungho District, Pyongyang City

January 23, 1961

Comrades,

After talking with the activists of the Rihyon-*ri* Party organization this time and listening to the report and debate at this *ri* Party general membership meeting today, we have formed a rough idea of the situation in the *ri* and of your work.

To get more detailed information of your actual situation, before attending this general meeting, we should have had conversations with the activists of two or three primary Party organizations, attended at least one general meeting of a primary Party organization and held one or two personal discussions with *ri* Party committee members. Circumstances prevented us from doing so, however. It cannot be said, therefore, that we have fully grasped the true situation.

When the guidance group members work in other districts or *ri*, it would be advisable to take the following procedures:

First of all, *ri* Party committee members should be assigned to visit the primary Party organizations, call the Party members together and have face-to-face discussions with them on how they have put the Chongsan-*ri* spirit into practice. They

should first discuss the achievements and shortcomings of Party work and then, in this context, those in the field of production.

If you do not look for the causes of production failures in the deficient work of the Party, and merely lay the blame on fertilizers or farm machines, you will not solve the problems. Adequate discussions should be held concerning the attitude with which the Party members accepted the tasks set by the Party at Chongsan-*ri*, which tasks they accepted and which not and, of the former, which ones they failed to fulfil. This should be followed by an analysis of the merits and demerits in their productive activities.

Party members should thus be made to fully realize what it is in Party work and ideological consciousness that gave rise to the successes and deficiencies in production. Then they should raise the questions of what is to be done and which work should receive more attention in the new year, in connection with the tasks put forth by the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee. A general meeting of the primary Party organization, if held after these arrangements, could be conducted successfully in a short space of time, since each Party member attending the meeting would be fully aware of the existence and causes of the merits and demerits of his work, and the next tasks to be fulfilled.

It is always difficult to prepare for a meeting, but if preparations are properly made, it will go smoothly. If preparations are insufficient, diverse opinions will arise, inevitably resulting in a tedious and long-drawn-out meeting. However, a well-prepared meeting can proceed very quickly since everyone shares the same general viewpoint.

After guaranteeing that the primary Party organizations hold their general meetings in this way, the *ri* Party committee should put together all their suggestions and prepare its report to be given at the *ri* Party general meeting. When the *ri* Party general meeting is finally held, it will be very successful and brief.

Here at Rihyon-*ri*, it seems, the preparations for the *ri*

Party general meeting were relatively well made. I am very much gratified to notice today, at the general meeting of the Rihyon-*ri* Party organization, that in less than a year after the guidance given at Chongsan-*ri*, a great deal of progress has been made in the work of our rural *ri* Party organizations

What are the changes that have taken place in the work of *ri* Party organizations in the rural areas?

In the first place, the leading functionaries have come to have a clear understanding of their own tasks. When I went to Chongsan-*ri* last year, I found that many functionaries there knew little about how to carry out Party work or how to organize farm work. But now the chairmen of Party committees, chairmen of co-operative management boards, workteam leaders, chairmen of the Democratic Youth League organizations, and agitators have all become cognizant of what they should do and how.

The functionaries now rely on the Party organization and core elements in carrying out their work, instead of bustling about all alone. When a workteam ran up against difficulties, it held a Party meeting and made an appeal to the Party members, rousing their enthusiasm and pooling the wisdom of many to untie the knotty problem. That is a really excellent method of work.

That is precisely the method the anti-Japanese guerrillas applied in the past, and precisely the way our men of the People's Army called a Party meeting on the firing line on the eve of a death-defying battle with the enemy.

Believing in the inexhaustible strength of the masses, relying on them, consulting with them and bringing their wisdom and creative activity into play—this has been the invariable work method of our Party in revolution and construction.

The December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party set a pattern for this method of work. In those days our country was in a very difficult situation. Through a hard-fought struggle, we had barely managed to recover from the war damage and were not yet in a position to undertake the work of laying the foundations for industrialization; the anti-

Party elements reared up to attack the Party and, along with them, Syngman Rhee threatened us with "march north."

At this crucial juncture our Party carried through its line without the slightest vacillation and tided over the hardships by rousing the patriotic zeal of all its members and the masses, and for four years up to the present, has continued the great Chollima advance.

The Party organizations of Rihyon-*ri* have correctly adopted and put into practice that work method of our Party.

In the past year, there has also been a lot of progress in regard to inner-Party work. Formerly, Party committees did not know how to give assignments to the Party members properly, but now they give them to everyone and have thus converted our Party into a party of action, one which moves forward. This is a very important achievement.

It is necessary to maintain and constantly develop the method of work by which each Party member is given an assignment and drawn into activities. Appropriate tasks must be assigned to everybody in accordance with his character and ability. Chu-ko Liang, who appears in the ancient tale *A History of Three Kingdoms*, won victory in every battle he fought because he knew how to make good use of people according to their character and ability.

In the army, whenever there is a change in the situation, an able platoon leader gives his men new tasks that correspond to their personal qualities and capabilities and even teaches them specific ways of carrying them out. When a reconnoitring mission has to be carried out, for example, he will choose the most suitable man to assure the best success of the mission under the given situation and explain his task to him in great detail: how to act when rounding a mountain, what to guard against when coming across a narrow path and what to watch for on reaching the approach to a bridge and so on. There will be no slip only if the platoon leader organizes the work in that fashion. If, instead, he bluntly assigns the task, simply ordering the men to go out and catch an enemy, then that mission is doomed to failure.

The case is exactly the same with a workteam. In the workteam, some people are quick-witted and others slow, some good at carrying loads on their backs and others skilled in riceplanting. The workteam leader, therefore, should give his team members assignments suited to their personal qualities and abilities, and then explain to them in detail the way of tending cold-frame rice seedlings, carrying manure out to the fields and planting rice seedlings.

All functionaries, without exception, should work in this way. If anyone thinks that a man of importance like himself should not rack his brains over such trifles, he is wrong The greater the man, the more he should be familiarized with trifles and concerned with minor affairs at all times.

Now to another subject. In the course of the struggle for carrying out our directions given at Chongsan-*ri*, a great many Party members have become activists, and the activity and enthusiasm of all Party members have been enhanced greatly.

When I was in Chongsan-*ri* last year, I saw many a Party member try to shift his own responsibility for shortcomings onto others and dig up the faults of others instead of admitting his own. But today, everyone endeavours to take the lead in hard work, pull the laggards along and raise the living standard of people who are not so well-off. Moreover, efforts are even being made to transform those who were once detested and regarded with hostility and to bring them closer to our Party.

Before, some of the dependants of People's Army personnel and the families of those killed by the enemy had the old idea of just receiving food rations and living at the expense of others, but today they have a very strong determination to become a model for others and do more work in the interest of the Party and the state. As a result, the *ri* Party committee and the co-operative, which before regarded them as a nuisance and a heavy burden, have now come to hold them in high esteem and sincerely try to help those of them who are in need.

Now the co-operative has become a harmonious family and the *ri* Party committee a strong militant organization, firmly united and full of life.

ing people. Our Party members not only infinitely trust and love their Party but have confidently thrown themselves into the struggle to rally the broader masses around it.

Since our Party organizations have become invincible militant ranks of devoted communist fighters who are capable of tackling this job, we have nothing to fear, and no difficulty whatever can block our path ahead.

I am very much satisfied that such great changes have taken place in the past year in the work of our rural *ri* Party organizations.

These gains we have made are more precious than gold or millions of tons of rice, and cannot be bartered for anything.

The *ri* Party organizations have not only made radical progress in regard to inner-Party work and work with the masses but have also brought about a great change in their work in the sphere of the economy.

Last year Rihyon-*ri* scored such splendid results that the per-household share amounted to 2,072 kilogrammes in grain and 764 *won* in cash. This means that the per-household share increased 2.4 times in grain and 3.7 times in cash, respectively, as compared with 1959. This is the case with Rihyon-*ri* which does not have very favourable conditions in the city of Pyongyang.

Has such a result been attained because we did more special favours for you than in 1959? We did not do any more for you. You have had the same land, the same houses and the same people. Everything has remained unchanged. You say you owe it to the Premier or to the Party Central Committee. True, the line of the Party Central Committee has been correct, and so has been its leadership. They were also correct in the past. Despite that, things did not go well in 1959 whereas there were good results in 1960. What is the reason? It lies in the fact that our Party organizations, especially those at the *ri* level, and *ri* Party committee chairmen, management board chairmen, primary Party organization chairmen, workteam leaders, all the Party members, members of the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union, have united as one and

carried the Party decisions and directives through to the end.

If the decisions and directives of the Party, however correct they may be, are not implemented by the Party members and the masses, they will be no more than scraps of paper. Everything turned out successfully because you made every sincere effort to carry out our Party's policies.

Therefore, in my opinion, you should not thank the Party Central Committee but rather I should thank you on behalf of the Party Central Committee.

The facts all clearly show that the work went well where the Party's policies were thoroughly implemented but that this was not the case where they were not.

Why is it that the people of Changsong County who lived a very hard life in the past are now well-off? Because the county Party committee chairman has been faithful in implementing the Party's policy on making use of the mountains in mountainous areas.

Why did Ryanggang Province fail in farming last year, while all the other provinces came out well? Ryanggang Province had poor crop yields last year because some of the counties sowed too much barley, instead of planting high-yielding potatoes as was instructed by the Party. The yield in Ryanggang Province was eight tons of potato per *chongbo* as against only 300 kilogrammes of barley Now the exchange rate for potatoes and rice is four to one, so that means that Ryanggang Province forfeited the equivalent of two tons of rice for every 300 kilogrammes of barley they produced per *chongbo*. This was precisely due to their failure to implement the Party's policies

Why, then, did our country suffer a crop failure in 1959? There were various reasons For one thing, it was not long after the merging of agricultural co-operatives, and the management board chairmen, who had run only small co-operatives comprising 30 to 40 households, were not capable of properly managing the suddenly expanded co-operative economy.

The co-operatives formed many workteams, believing it would be to their advantage.

Besides, there was a great wastage of labour in May and June, the busiest months, during which young people were taken out of farm work and were shuttled here and there for the so-called bumper crop football match arranged by that reprobate Ko Chang Un who was then holding a post in the Ministry of Agriculture.

Meanwhile, quite a few co-operatives did not fix proper work norms, made no accurate assessment of work-days and divided up their harvest in a random way, thus violating the socialist principle of distribution.

Moreover, we more or less fell into dogmatism. The maize sown as an aftercrop was all made into silage, so that we could neither feed it to the cattle immediately nor use it for human consumption.

Furthermore, the irrigation projects carried out on a large scale—which were definitely necessary—prevented us from directing adequate efforts to that year's farming.

In the final analysis, who is at fault? Those who direct agriculture are largely to blame for it. The *ri* Party organizations and the Party members had no choice but to follow the directives from above. That is why things went badly with farming in 1959.

The great significance of the guidance of Chongsan-*ri* lies in the fact that it enabled us to discover the defects of rural work in time and propose the correct remedies for them.

Due to the fact that our Party had close ties with the masses, and all the Party organizations and the Party members were rallied firmly around the Party Central Committee, we could spot the shortcomings in rural work in good time and take proper steps to rectify them.

At Chongsan-*ri* we stressed that inasmuch as the co-operatives grew larger after the mergers, their planning had to be improved and efforts concentrated on farm work. We emphasized that work norms had to be set properly and work-days assessed correctly, that the voluntary enthusiasm of the co-operative members had to be drawn on and, at the same time, the socialist principle of distribution had to be strictly ob-

served so as to stimulate their zeal for production. We stressed that the work of the county Party committees and county people's committees should be radically reorganized so that their functionaries personally go to the *ri* to organize and direct production.

Defects were corrected and the above-mentioned policy set by the Party was carried into effect, with the result that we scored a great victory in agricultural production last year.

As you see, in the past year, a great change was brought about both in the ideological and political work of the Party and economic work.

We have made very big gains, but there are no grounds for self-complacency. Our Party has always been opposed to becoming drunk or self-complacent with victory.

For us there still remains the difficult revolutionary task of scaling the high peak of socialism in the northern half and bringing about the reunification of the country. To attain the high peak of socialism in the northern half, we have to make a giant stride forward in agriculture. Instead of 3,800,000 tons we must raise the grain output to at least 5,000,000 tons, and even up to the 6,000,000 or 7,000,000-ton mark. Only this will enable everyone in the northern half to live on rice, as we say. If we reach a point in which we can eat rice and meat soup, wear fine clothes and live in tile-roofed houses, that is paradise.

By producing still more in the future we should let everyone enjoy this life of abundance and happiness and, furthermore, work in an easy and agreeable way. Although we have completely abolished all the exploiting institutions in the northern half, we have yet to free our working people from heavy and arduous toil.

Therefore, we are now confronted with the lofty revolutionary task of increasing production to allow all people to live an affluent life and, at the same time, of mechanizing production to rid people of arduous and toilsome labour. The Seven-Year Plan is designed to solve this very task. The respon-

sibility for the fulfilment of this honourable revolutionary task rests upon the shoulders of our Workers' Party members, the Communists.

Here the Party members in the rural areas are charged with a very weighty and important task. They have the obligation of mechanizing all work in the countryside and increasing agricultural production rapidly, thereby to raise the living standard of the peasants to that of the well-to-do middle peasantry.

We should actively push ahead with the mechanization in the countryside in order to increase production and facilitate work. Mechanization should be introduced in all work including ploughing, weeding, harvesting and thrashing.

Besides mechanization, chemicalization should also be effected in agriculture. What is chemicalization? It is the widespread application of chemical methods to agricultural production. The manufacture and use of varied chemical fertilizers to make the land fertile, weed killers and many other kinds of agricultural chemicals—all this can be said to be chemicalization. We need compost, but cannot rely on it alone. Therefore, we have to supply the countryside with diverse chemical fertilizers in large quantities. Weed killers should also be applied so that we may eliminate weeding completely or at least make it easier.

We must see to it that the rice-transplanting method be done away with in the future and that it be substituted by directly sowing the seed in rice paddies with machines. At present we employ the seedling-transplant method because of the limited area of rice paddies in our country; we can dispense with it if we have sufficient paddies. If the area of the rice paddies amounts to 700,000-800,000 *chongbo* in the northern half, we can sow rice seeds directly, instead of planting the seedlings.

If there were 700,000 *chongbo* of rice paddies and each *chongbo* yields at least five tons, the rice output would come to 3,500,000 tons. Then the people in the northern half would all be able to live on rice. At that stage, we will no longer have

to transplant rice seedlings. Instead we will sow the seeds directly in dry paddies before irrigating them, apply herbicides to prevent weeds from growing and use machines to harvest rice. The peasants will then be able to work with as much facility as the workers.

In order to make all this possible we will have to study many things and work more.

The most important agricultural task this year is that of turning out one million more tons of grain.

If we harvest an additional million tons, the annual grain output in our country will hit the 5 million-ton mark. This means that we will not need to buy food grain from other countries and will be able to build more factories by importing machines instead of rice. This will enable us to further develop our industry and also bring about the mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture much faster.

We can see from this that increasing grain output by one million tons means more than simply securing abundance of food grain; it represents a highly important revolutionary task for giving a great impulse to our country's economic development.

We should not only exert our efforts to increase grain production but also develop stockbreeding. Only by promoting the latter will it be possible to solve the meat problem and the problem of raw materials for light industry.

If each family breeds two pigs, we will have 2 million pigskins, enough to manufacture 4 million pairs of shoes. Since we can also make artificial leather shoes, we shall then all be able to wear leather shoes instead of rubber shoes.

If each household raises ten rabbits, we shall be able to get 10 million rabbit skins which are enough to turn out 500,000 coats for children. When this is achieved all our children will have rabbit fur coats. How happy the parents will be when they are able to put leather shoes and rabbit fur coats on their children and send them to school!

If traffic between the north and south commences and peasant representatives of south Korea come and see the mod-

ern and affluent life we lead here, they will certainly resolve to drive out the Yankees and eliminate the landlords.

Our light industry still fails to fully meet the demands of the people. The Party has now given light industry the task of achieving a radical improvement in two or three years. To fulfil this task it will be necessary to achieve good results both in farming and animal husbandry, thereby producing large quantities of oxhide and pigskin as well as rabbit fur. Only then will it be possible to manufacture sufficient quantities of leather shoes, overcoats, men's fur caps, women's fur jackets and other necessary articles made from leather and fur.

We should bear in mind that by farming well and manufacturing good-quality products in quantity, we will not only be making our life more modern and affluent but also carrying out the revolutionary task of hastening the reunification of the country.

So, if a Workers' Party member works harder only in order to get a bigger share of rice, we must consider that he is excessively short-sighted and narrow-minded. Our Party members should make the primary aim of their work the achievement of a happy and plentiful life for the people and the fulfilment of the great task of national reunification.

If our Party members work, motivated by such lofty aims, how can they feel complacent with the results already attained and indolently mark time? Those who are making revolution must not stagnate and mark time. For revolutionaries there is only uninterrupted renovation and advance. Only by facing difficulties fearlessly and overcoming them courageously can we win victory in the revolution.

It was not because the anti-Japanese guerrillas were unaware of the comforts of family life in a warm home that they would endure hardships. They defied all hardships and tribulations and fought to the last because they had the noble aim of crushing Japanese imperialism and winning back the independence of the country. And how could we fight such an arduous battle against the Yankees if we were only interested in an easy life for ourselves?

We wanted never again to become slaves of the imperialists, even if it meant death. So, we fought on heroically to victory without flinching from harsh exigencies. If we had cowardly surrendered to the Yankees in order to save our own skins, we would have found ourselves in a wretched situation, lower than their dogs or pigs. This is eloquently shown by the present situation of south Korea. Our brothers there are obliged to swallow meekly whatever insults the American scoundrels may level at them. They cannot respond even when the Yankees strip our sisters naked, paint their bodies and shave their hair.

In order to live like men, our compatriots in the southern half have to bravely rise in the liberation struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

The people in the northern half should tenaciously fight on to reach the high peak of socialism and save our south Korean compatriots from their tragic situation as soon as possible.

I have so far mentioned the general tasks you ought to perform.

As for the specific tasks you are to fulfil, I think they are all set forth explicitly in the report to the general meeting

I think you were right when you suggested that you should reclaim more land, further increase the per *chongbo* yield by cultivating more maize, a high-yielding crop, and make more compost.

Therefore, I will not touch upon your specific tasks. I should only like to emphasize a few more points regarding the questions raised in your debate.

In the report and the debate you said that there had been many cases of hostile elements carrying out subversive activities but there was no mention of how you had got rid of them. It seems as if you had a big headache in Rihyon-*ri*. If you smashed them, that is fine. You must struggle mercilessly against the hostile elements, namely, those scoundrels who regard us as their enemy, and who oppose our Party and people's power.

What kind of men are we? We are the kind who devote all

that is dear to us to the struggle for abolishing the system of exploitation of man by man so that everyone can live well, and for reunifying our country to enable the whole nation to enjoy a happy life.

We deprived the landlords of their landed estates and distributed them to the peasants who were landless or poor in land, prohibited all forms of usurious exploitation and confiscated and nationalized the railways, factories, mines, banks, etc., owned by the Japanese imperialists and traitors to the nation. We also completed the co-operativization of agriculture and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry, thereby thoroughly eradicating every form of capitalist exploitation and its source.

What sort of people are they who regard us as their enemy and oppose us? They are the former landlords who are trying to regain their expropriated land, those who want to practise usury as before, the rascals who seek to sell the country to the American scoundrels, and who, like Chang Myon in south Korea, are about to betray our country again to the Japanese rogues.

In a nutshell, those who treat us as an enemy and turn against us are the rogues who, by relying on the imperialist forces, try to restore the feudal landlord and capitalist systems in our country and drive the whole nation into imperialist slavery.

We must fight uncompromisingly against those hostile elements. We have no one but them to hate and fear.

We need not be afraid of the people once affiliated with the "peace maintenance corps" and the families of those who went down to the south. Many people were forced by the Yankees to join the "peace maintenance corps." The Yankees try to make our people commit crimes and get Koreans to fight Koreans. A considerable number of the former "peace maintenance corps" members got caught in their trap.

The same goes for those who went down to the south. There is no need to be afraid of the workers and peasants who went down to the south. Most of them ran off to south Korea

in fear, because of some crime which the Yankees had forced them to commit, or they were duped by the Yankees into going to south Korea. In south Korea they have no alternative but to beg with tin cups or to be sold and sent to South America as virtual slaves for the rest of their lives. At best, they may meet some old friends who live off the Yankees and who help them become espionage agents for the American scoundrels.

There is no one in south Korea to offer them land or a house, nor is there anyone so kindhearted as to feed them for nothing. The Koreans in the south have all been so impoverished that they do not have enough for themselves, and they are not even in a position to give a free meal to the empty-handed runaways from the northern half.

That being the case, those who went south and witnessed the miserable plight of south Korea under the domination of the Yankees and came to realize that they had been deceived by them, may possibly return to the path of the revolution to fight against the Yankees.

You should not, therefore, hate but rather pity the families of those who were affiliated with the "peace maintenance corps" before or those who went south. You should patiently educate them all to become good citizens and bring them into our fold.

Of course, you must not forget that there are also bad elements among those who once joined the "peace maintenance corps" or went off to the south. You should keep a strict watch on the families of the former landlords and capitalists who had served as running dogs for the Japanese and American gangs and then took to their heels. They should also be educated and remoulded but, at the same time, it is necessary to keep a watchful eye on them.

However, there is no need to fear the families of those who had lived a hard life in the past although they had run errands for the "peace maintenance corps" before they fled. If they turn against us, that is another question. But as long as they follow us and support us, why should we push them away?

You must not give a cold shoulder to them as if to say: "You are bad and are no longer one of us. I won't even look

at you." As for those who want to come along with us, you must constantly persuade them to become good citizens notwithstanding the fact that it was wrong for their fathers and husbands to have been deceived by the Yankees and to have run away; you should embrace them warmly.

Now let me turn to the question of studies. You must realize that production is important, but study is no less important a duty of Party members than production. It is incumbent upon Party members to study under all conditions. If they do not study, they cannot achieve good results in production or fulfil their other revolutionary tasks.

Certain comrades seem to think that study and production are opposed to each other, but they are mistaken. On the contrary, study is a necessary factor in guaranteeing success in production.

The Party member is not one who merely follows the plough to make a living as he thinks fit. The Party member assumes the mission of remoulding the whole of society—a mission which is more valuable and nobler than solving his personal problems of food, housing and clothing.

Building socialism and then communism in our country is the ultimate goal of Party members. With such a lofty goal and mission, how can they allow themselves to be interested only in their own share (though this is necessary, of course,) and worry about nothing but their own household affairs? Party members must know how to do Party work and must understand the national and international situation. For these reasons they must study assiduously.

Our Party paper provides the best materials for Party studies. Only by reading it is it possible to have an understanding of the ever-changing international and internal scene and be informed of the policies and tasks that the Party puts forth as the situation demands. Without persistent study it will be almost impossible to keep abreast of the ever-changing situation nor will it be possible to carry out the revolutionary tasks put forward by the Party.

That is why you must read the Party paper without fail,

no matter how busy you may be. There is no one who goes without a meal because of work, is there? Party members should consider that reading the Party paper is exactly the same as eating. You have an empty feeling if you don't eat, and if you miss reading the newspaper for even one day, you will become that much more empty-headed.

In the past when we were fighting against the Japanese bandits, if we happened to obtain a copy of the Party paper or the Comintern paper, we would read it by turns until it was worn out. To us a newspaper was so precious and it was usually difficult to obtain. Now many of our Party members are indifferent to the newspaper; I am afraid that they probably do not realize how precious the newspaper is since we issue it in such enormous numbers on good-quality paper every day. The erroneous attitude towards the Party paper must be completely rectified. We have to guarantee that all Party members are informed of the major items in the paper through both study circles and collective reading sessions.

It is also incorrect, of course, to think that Party studies can be pursued only by highly informed members, and not by those who are less informed. This mistaken viewpoint on the part of some Party members is also the fault of the county and *ri* Party organizations, inasmuch as they have failed to organize Party studies properly. Party members can hardly be expected to have interest in their studies, if lecturers make long speeches that are difficult to understand When training courses are given to lecturers or when the lecturers themselves address rank-and-file Party members, every effort must be made to use simple language and to make the lectures interesting.

Some people identify the level of consciousness of Party members with their cultural level. This is also a mistaken concept. There are many who are so ignorant that they do not even know their ABC's but, at the same time, have a great hatred for the landlords and capitalists and for imperialism. On the other hand, even among well-informed people like college graduates there are those who are not armed with a working-class consciousness.

Not all former guerrilla fighters had broad knowledge or were good at writing. They were of worker or peasant origin and, accordingly, the cultural level of some comrades was quite low. And yet, all of them had a sufficiently high degree of class consciousness and lofty revolutionary spirit to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the country and the people. So the Party members' level of consciousness must not be judged by their cultural level.

It is a very good thing that you are disposed to follow the good examples of other *ri*. Our Party's method of educating people is to overcome the negative by dint of the positive and to influence the masses by exemplary deeds.

You should not only emulate examples of other *ri* but give support to the best workteams and individuals in your *ri* so that others may follow their examples.

A certain comrade here was right to criticize the management board for its failure to protect the common property. In spite of the fact that timber is a very precious item in our country, you do not take care of the wooden frames for cold-frame rice seedlings and let them go to waste after using them only once. This is entirely incorrect.

All the property of the co-operative belongs to the community and to the people. Therefore, nothing, not a single tree or bundle of straw, should be neglected.

In capitalist society, to take one example, a villager has nothing to do with whether the local clinic prospers or goes bankrupt. But now, the clinics in our farm villages are no longer private property but, instead, the common property of the co-operatives. So each of the co-operative members should hold them dear. Both the medical workers of the clinic and the co-operative members who make use of it should keep its facilities neat and tidy and use them with care.

In valuing and caring for the common property of the co-operative and the state property, Party members should always be models for others.

The chairman of the Democratic Youth League organization and Comrade Li Sin Ja were quite right when they said that the

young people should be educated to love the countryside and think it an honour to work there.

The aim of communism is to overcome the contradictions and, further, to obliterate even the distinctions between town and country. The youth therefore should not try to leave farm villages for the cities but should fight with all their might to build their villages as beautifully and modernly as towns. Why should the youth with so much courage and enterprising spirit only seek places which are good to live in and easy to work in?

The future cultural life in the countryside will be as good as that of Pyongyang when rows of modern dwellings, club houses and cinemas are built and when radio sets are available in all the villages What is the real difference between seeing films and listening to the radio in Pyongyang or in the countryside? There is no difference. The distinctions between town and country will gradually disappear in the future.

In the field of commodity circulation, the disparity has already disappeared between town and country. In the past there were plenty of different products available in Pyongyang and they were cheap, whereas the countryside was lacking in goods and those available were expensive. But today, even in the remote mountainous areas, you can find exactly the same kinds of commodities as in the towns and their prices are the same everywhere. Also, there are as many goods in the countryside as in the towns

And as for school education at the present time, there is no distinction between town and country. Education is compulsory everywhere and all pupils use the same textbooks for their studies.

If there still exists any distinction between town and country, it is that agricultural labour is a little more tough and difficult than industrial labour. But in the future, when agriculture is mechanized, people will prefer the countryside, with its fresh air and beautiful landscape, to the cities.

The youth should, therefore, courageously take the lead in the honourable struggle to build a modern socialist countryside.

The report pointed out that you failed to work out a correct rural economic plan for the *ri*. This means that the management board lacks knowledge of the true situation in the co-operative and that the workteam leaders have no clear idea of the real state of their workteams.

Correct plans can be drawn up for both ploughing and sowing only when the workteam leaders are well versed in their jobs. To formulate a correct plan for sowing a certain crop, for example, it is necessary to check whether the land is sodden or dry, fertile or barren and take into account the composition of the work force and their skills. Things go wrong because work plans are made haphazardly without knowing these factors.

The same can be said of the state plan. Only by getting acquainted with technical knowledge, the working conditions, and the feelings of people is it possible to map out an accurate plan. Those who possess technical knowledge but fail to understand the people's mentality cannot draw up an accurate plan. These people may set the targets too low since they take only the technical aspects into account.

The cause of the failure to formulate a correct agricultural plan also lies in the fact that those who personally work among the masses are not well acquainted with rural conditions and do not have a clear understanding of what they are supposed to do. Since the level of planning of the rural functionaries is still low, we actually send down two kinds of plans to them at present. Strictly speaking, one is the state plan and the other is the struggle target. The task of increasing the grain yield by one million tons this year is not a state plan but is a struggle target. The state plan is set a little lower so that there may be no slip, whereas the struggle target is fixed a bit higher.

When will it be possible for us to do away with this kind of practice and send out a single state plan? We shall be able to map out a correct state plan only when you carry out your work well. When each *ri* formulates an accurate plan, it will help the district work out a correct one; when the district works

out a well-calculated plan, the city will be able to lay out an infallible plan; and only when an accurate plan is submitted by the city, will the state plan be made correctly. However, the planning level of our rural functionaries is still very low compared with the factory functionaries.

No accurate plan, apt for real conditions, can ever be mapped out as long as the officials of the management board only issue orders, sitting cross-legged in the office. The functionaries of the management board and the *ri* Party committee should, therefore, closely investigate and study the natural conditions of the *ri* and the real possibilities of all the co-operative members and know the whole situation in the *ri* like the palm of their own hand, thereby preparing themselves to work out a correct plan.

You suggested in your debate that the workteams be strengthened. I think you are right. The workteam is the lowest work unit where work is directly organized among the masses. Success or failure of the co-operative in its work depends, after all, on whether things go well with the workteams or not. The work of the workteams and the primary Party organizations which give guidance to the former should, therefore, be intensified in every way.

Now I should like to refer to the question of the management board chairman taking part in farm work. I think it is suitable for the chairman to participate in physical labour for about 30 or 40 days a year.

Why is it good for the management board chairman to participate in physical work? Only when he has experience in ploughing, furrowing and weeding, can he realize which work is more difficult and whether or not the work norm is set appropriately. Because the management board chairman does not join in farm work, he goes so far as to give the most work-points to the person who goes around repairing electric lights with a pair of pliers hanging from his belt.

What is most essential is that if the chairman goes among the masses and takes a direct part in labour with them, he will ascertain their sentiments and breathe the same air as they

do, and become their close companion. The members of the co-operative elected their chairman not because they wanted him to assume an air of superiority or brandish his authority, but because they wished him to play the part of their faithful servant in all respects. But, if the management board chairman puts his hands in his pockets in a self-assuming manner and idles his time away, only bustling about shouting at people, the co-operative members will even be reluctant to address him, thinking him a man of higher category like some former junior government official. If he behaves like that, how can he get to know the true situation in the co-operative and the feelings of the masses? Only when he goes among the masses and works with them, will people become close to him, talk to him open-heartedly and share their opinions with him.

Besides, if the management board chairman takes part in manual labour, he will realize, through his own experience, the difference between physical and mental labour, become aware of the arduousness and difficulty of physical labour and therefore come to feel more keenly the necessity of mechanizing work and emancipating people from toilsome and tough labour.

By engaging the management board chairman in manual labour in that way, by no means do we aim simply to add another work hand but to acquaint him thoroughly with farm work, make him go among the masses and gain personal experience in hard work.

Therefore, it is no use if the management board chairman takes no account of other matters on the grounds that he is engaged in manual labour, and only goes on working obediently like the ordinary co-operative members. He must try to make effective use of the period of physical labour by relating it to his job as chairman of the management board.

According to your debate, it seems to me that you still make an incorrect assessment of work-points in many spheres and do not observe the socialist principle of distribution strictly. You must always assess work-points correctly, enforce the workteam bonus system in a thoroughgoing way and abide strictly by the socialist principle of distribution.

You must, as provided for in the rules, make it a point to announce, once every 10 days, to the co-operative members how many work-points they have earned. By doing so, you will increase the material interest of the co-operative members in the fruits of their labour and, at the same time, stimulate their enthusiasm. The socialist principle of distribution is based on the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." So, you must bear in mind that strict adherence to this principle is an excellent method of communist education.

This year everyone should energetically strive to abide by the socialist principle of distribution more thoroughly. In the autumn of last year we went out to Chaegyong-*ri*, Sunan County, South Pyongan Province and to Songnam-*ri*, Pyongyang, and held meetings concerned with accounting and income distribution on an experimental basis. In accordance with the conclusion we drew there, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee sent down its directives, but quite a few chairmen of *ri* Party committees and functionaries of the county Party and people's committees still do not know how to distribute income properly.

We should raise the professional level of the co-operative management personnel so that the chairmen of the co-operative management board and *ri* Party committee as well as workteam leaders also know how to keep the accounts.

These are, in general, some of the points I wanted to emphasize regarding the questions raised in your debate.

I am firmly convinced that you will achieve a still greater victory if you do not let the success you had last year go to your head and if you further consolidate that success and continue to valiantly march ahead, upholding the Party's policies.

This time you should elect good comrades to the *ri* Party committee; the newly-elected committee should further strengthen collective leadership and give proper assignments to each Party member so as to activate him. The committee should patiently continue to educate all Party members in the spirit of fighting, through thick and thin, to defend the Party Central Committee and carry out the Party's policies. It should

firmly rely on the masses, sincerely educate them, unite with every force possible and rally the broad masses around our Party.

If you work in this way and the district Party committee comes down and renders consistent help in your work, you will be fully able to fulfil this year's task of increased grain production. There is no doubt at it.

To conclude, I hope you will initiate a movement for raising two pigs and 15 rabbits in each household and achieve good results in stockbreeding as well as in grain production.

ON PLANTING ORCHARDS THROUGH AN ALL-PEOPLE MOVEMENT

Concluding Speech at the Pukchong Enlarged Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea

April 7, 1961

Since we are now holding an enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee in Pukchong, we may call it a Pukchong meeting. The Pukchong meeting will acquire great historic significance in the development of fruit growing in our country.

Soon after liberation our Party launched the slogan: "Make [illegible] ed use of the mountains in the mountainous areas and make [illegible] l use of the sea in the coastal areas." Our forefathers also [illegible] ut much stress on turning the mountains to good account in [illegible] r country which is mountainous. So it can be said that our [illegible] ty's slogan on making good use of the mountains is one that [illegible] alive this fine tradition of our people.

Up to now we have accomplished a great deal in making [illegible] f the mountains. We have already planted some 80,000 [illegible] of orchards on hilly lands. This has been accomplished [illegible] ly a few years since 1957. Five or six years will suffice [illegible] rvest fruit from the 80,000 *chongbo* of newly-planted or[illegible] Then, we shall be able to harvest nearly one million [illegible] f fruit there, granting that we average 12 tons of fruit per [illegible] This is a huge amount equal to about 100 kilogrammes

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Soon after liberation our Party launched the slogan: "Make good use of the mountains in the mountainous areas and make good use of the sea in the coastal areas." Our forefathers also put much stress on turning the mountains to good account in our country which is mountainous. So it can be said that our Party's slogan on making good use of the mountains is one that keeps alive this fine tradition of our people.

Up to now we have accomplished a great deal in making use of the mountains. We have already planted some 80,000 *chongbo* of orchards on hilly lands. This has been accomplished in only a few years since 1957. Five or six years will suffice to harvest fruit from the 80,000 *chongbo* of newly-planted orchards. Then, we shall be able to harvest nearly one million tons of fruit there, granting that we average 12 tons of fruit per *chongbo*. This is a huge amount equal to about 100 kilogrammes

per capita. In that case, our people will have fruit enough and to spare. If we consume only 500,000 tons and sell the remaining 500,000 tons to other countries, we shall be able to earn quite a lot in foreign currency. This will be a large sum enough to pay for one million tons of wheat or 1.2 million tons of maize. If the grain thus obtained in exchange for fruit is used as livestock feed, it will likewise make possible the successful development of animal husbandry, an extremely difficult problem that has confronted our country.

But 80,000 *chongbo* of orchards is not so much when compared with other countries. Romania, for instance, not only has much more agricultural land than we do, but some 400,000 *chongbo* planted to fruit. Since our country has fewer rice paddies and dry fields than other countries, the least we should do is to have orchards in abundance, isn't that right? We must have at least 300,000 to 400,000 *chongbo* planted to fruit.

In our country with its limited flat lands and extensive mountainous regions, we have no other choice but to make use of the mountains if we are to have as many orchards as other countries do. You should not take the utilization of mountains to mean simply picking wild fruit or gathering edible mountain herbs. That is also necessary, but still more important is to reclaim hills for orchards and create forests for raw materials so as to obtain large quantities of fruits and industrial raw materials.

If we make the best use of the mountains in this way, they will become no less useful than the plains. Therefore, rather than complain about the lack of plains we should think of a way of turning the mountains to better account.

Indeed, our country has ever so many hills suitable for orchards. If we reclaim the hills all over our country and plant lots of orchards on them, we can reap great benefits from them, and this will enable our people to live a life of abundance. Some people, however, are afraid, beforehand, that there may be too many apple orchards. If many orchards are planted, they say, it will be hard to care for them and a great deal of manpower will be needed. They ask what we are going to do with them.

Right now the problem is a lack of apple orchards. We should not worry about having too many. Once we have many, ways will naturally arise to tend them. There is no need to begin getting worried and fall into a passive approach.

In order to successfully expand the area planted to fruit, we will have to correct the defects found so far in this sphere.

First of all, you should rectify the error of laying exaggerated stress on apple growing alone. Apple trees are hard to care for, and it takes them as long as seven or eight years to bear fruit. Had we planted such early fruit-bearing vines and trees as grapes, peaches and apricots along with apple trees from the beginning and cared for them properly, we would have already harvested quite a lot of fruits of different kinds. Hereafter, slow and fast maturing fruit trees should be planted in proper combination according to local climatic and soil conditions.

It will also be a good idea to plant peach trees among the already existing apple trees. Then you would be able to gather in peaches before apple harvesting season. If the apple trees grow well but the presence of the peach trees prevents them from bearing fruit, you should cut the latter down.

In cases where peaches are not adapted to the conditions, fodder crops should be cultivated.

In the highlands like Ryanggang Province it is a good idea to raise pears, blueberries, wild strawberries and so forth which grow well there.

The proper combination of species and varieties in fruit cultivation is advantageous in many respects. It will enable us to have fresh fruit in all seasons and to solve our manpower shortage as well.

Next, land which can be used for other crops should not be used for fruit cultivation. Orchards should be created by making use of hills unfit for other crops. Quite a few counties, however, planted orchards on fertile fields and, worse still, some localities on the west coast planted orchards in the flat lands suitable for rice paddies. This is quite wrong. If we are to plant orchards on the plains with ease, there would be no

need for us to have taken the trouble of coming here to Pukchong to hold this meeting.

The merit of the people in Pukchong lies precisely in the fact that they have put good orchards on the hillsides unsuited to other crops. By using such slopes, they have laid out splendid terraced orchards.

Some people seem to think that the Pukchong folks were forced to make use of the mountains in such a way because they have an exceptionally small land area. This is a great mistake. Pukchong is not the only place that lacks land. There is no region of our country that has an excess of land. We have no more than 1.8 million *chongbo* of arable land in all in the northern half of the Republic. This is quite inadequate for a population of 12 million. Therefore, it is very important to plant orchards by making the best use of the hillsides, thereby making up for the shortage of arable land. We consider that the experience of Pukchong County in planting fine orchards on hillsides is a valuable one, an experience that should be drawn on by all the other counties of our country.

It is important to expand fruit cultivation, but it is also very important to take proper care of the existing orchards.

You should note how meticulously the people of Pukchong look after their apple orchards, manuring and tending them in a proper way. At the present time, in other localities, the fruit trees, once planted, are not manured at all nor weeded properly. They are simply left alone, whether it is dry or wet, whether winter approaches or not. If that is the way things continue, fruit trees will never flourish. We planted orchards for the purpose of producing large amounts of fruit and improving the people's life with the income derived from it. But if we do not properly take care of the orchards created by such hard work, and allow the trees to become blighted and sterile, then there is no need for us to invest so much labour to plant them in the first place. We must not repeat this error.

These shortcomings must be thoroughly corrected. You must develop the area planted to fruit on a big scale through an all-people movement while, at the same time, carefully tend-

ing the existing orchards. Large-scale expansion of orchards represents a tremendous nature-remaking project and a great revolutionary undertaking for improving the people's living conditions. This is not simply work for the welfare of our present generation; it is an honourable task for the welfare of the future generations. This great undertaking cannot be carried out without mobilizing the whole Party and all the people.

The successful fulfilment of this huge project for remaking nature requires, first of all, educating the working people in communist ideology and in socialist patriotism, that is, love of their native places and their homeland. He who lacks communist ideology and patriotism can never struggle for the prosperity of the country, or sweat and shed his blood for the happy life of the coming generations.

Our forefathers did too little for their posterity. The orchards we have taken over from our ancestors amounted to only a few thousand *chongbo*. If our forefathers had bequeathed us at least 100,000 *chongbo* of orchards, we would have no worry about fruit now. In the days of the feudal reign of the Li dynasty and at the time of Japanese imperialist rule, the people were ragged and hungry under the tyranny of the bureaucratic rulers and the exploiters and were even deprived of the right to develop and make use of the mountains and rivers of their homeland for the sake of their posterity.

Only under our system where the people hold power could patriotism flower among the working people, who are now able to undertake great projects, which our ancestors could hardly have imagined, for the transformation of nature for their own good and for the good of the coming generations. In our society there are no exploiters nor exploited, and since every man works for himself and at the same time for the whole society, conditions exist that permit people to love work and display their great creative powers. Socialist patriotism and a communist attitude towards work, however, do not by any means come of themselves simply because power is in the hands of the people and the exploiting system has disappeared These lofty ideas can penetrate the broad sections of the masses and become a

constant principle in their life only through patient and strenuous education by the Party and the advanced elements of the working class. This truth has been fully borne out by our own experience.

When all the working people are educated in socialist patriotism—loving their country and their people—they will devote themselves to the struggle for the creation of collective wealth which will enable both our and future generations to live in happiness and they will endeavour to cultivate at least one more patch of land and plant one more tree.

As a result of a vigorous education in communist morality, beautiful traits like those of loving work and cherishing the country's wealth as one's own have come into being among the broad masses, and even such admirable deeds as unhesitatingly donating one's own flesh to save another's life frequently take place. It cannot be said, however, that all people without exception love the country and treasure its property. There are people who do not even tend the trees that have been planted, neglecting them completely. By just expending a little effort to build embankments they can prevent land from being hollowed out by water or rice paddies and dry fields from being washed away. But they don't do that. This is a manifestation of the backward idea of disdaining work. Even our functionaries who should be examples to the broad masses still lack socialist patriotism and the communist idea of loving work, they lack the enthusiasm to make the mountains and rivers of our homeland even more beautiful.

To undertake the great project for transforming nature, the outdated disdain of work must be eliminated. Without rooting out survivals of old ideologies we cannot arm ourselves with communist ideology and, consequently, will not be able to build socialism and communism, either.

Socialism and communism can be built only through the voluntary labour of millions of the masses who are willing to fight for the future. It is a serious mistake to think that we can build socialism and reach a communist society without selfless labour.

If we are to be successful in carrying out such great nature-remaking projects as that of expanding the area of fruit growing, it is necessary to bring home to the masses the importance of these tasks which I have just mentioned.

Now, I should like to speak about some practical questions concerning the planting of orchards.

First of all, it is important to find a proper solution to the problem of the large amount of manpower needed for planting orchards. This problem can be solved quite easily if we take advantage of the manpower potential found in all spheres of the national economy, including the non-working family members of factory and office workers.

As you have already discussed at this meeting, if we use machines for this work, 100 or perhaps only 80 man-days of work, rather than 200 man-days, will suffice to reclaim one *chongbo* of land in the east and west coast areas. Let us suppose that 100 man-days of labour are required to reclaim one *chongbo*. Then ten factory or office workers would be able to do that amount of work by devoting only ten Sundays a year to it. In short, this would mean that the factory and office workers of the whole country alone could bring nearly 150,000 *chongbo* of land under fruit cultivation Besides this, we could reclaim tens of thousands of *chongbo* with the labour of university and college students and higher and secondary technical school students. The figure will increase even further if we call on all housewives to help This all represents a great reservoir of labour we have. The question hinges on whether or not we educate people thoroughly in socialist patriotism and induce them to tackle this job with elevated patriotic enthusiasm.

Our efforts to increase grain production by one million tons could possibly be harmed by the simultaneous large-scale expansion of the fruit growing area, if we are not careful. The mobilization of farmers can be dispensed with if voluntary work is employed properly. It is desirable not to enlist farmers in the orchard planting project so that they can devote their efforts to grain production. I think that if we can just make the best use of the voluntary manpower, we will be fully able to plant

50,000 *chongbo* of orchards and 10,000 *chongbo* of mulberry trees in a year while, at the same time, helping the farmers in their labour campaign to produce one million more tons of grain.

If we continue to work hard in this way for five years or so, we will have planted 250,000 *chongbo* of new orchards and 50,000 *chongbo* of new mulberry trees. This undertaking would not require any great quantity of materials and funds. The only thing needed for it is for all the people to turn out with spades or picks on their shoulders and work in the spirit of Communists for only ten Sundays a year. Five or six years after the orchards have been planted, we will harvest their luscious fruits.

In laying out orchards, a proper selection of land for reclamation is very important. Dense forests and wooded areas with good prospects should not be chosen for reclamation. Forests are our precious wealth. When trees grow healthily, they can be used as construction materials and different raw materials for industry. There is no need to destroy such precious forests in order to plant orchards. We must select and reclaim barren hills, young-pine groves or caterpillar-ravaged areas. It would also be a good idea to make use of fallow fire-fields. If we reclaim just these lands alone, we will be able to get a large area.

You must not totally denude mountains to reclaim them as was done in Sudong County, South Hamgyong Province, and Tokchon County, South Pyongan Province. This is very dangerous because it may cause landslides. No one would ever follow this procedure if he were planting his own orchard. In this procedure one cannot detect any attitude of a master towards the domestic economy of the nation. Of course, orchards should be planted, but there must be no practices that inflict a loss on our country's wealth. When planting orchards, we should not fail to terrace the land to prevent landslides. It would be advisable to inspect the already existing orchards again and take thoroughgoing measures to prevent soil from being washed away by water.

Next, we should not forget to give priority to the production of saplings required for planting orchards. Of course, it would be good to raise saplings on the fertile land but we should

avoid utilizing our basic arable land for this purpose as much as possible. We have to take good care of our farm land and further expand its area for grain production. Therefore, we should not utilize it for tree nurseries in an indiscriminate way. Needless to say, grain is more important to us. It is preferable to plant the saplings closer together in the existing nurseries or on relatively fertile plots already under fruit cultivation. Liberal manuring will make saplings grow quite well. The problem of saplings should be solved in this way.

In planting orchards we should not neglect the need to build roads. To care for vast areas of orchards, we must cart up a lot of manure and carry down a lot of fruit. Therefore, roads must be built for small tractor or oxcart traffic. If manure and fruit are carried on an individual's back, things will not progress. And we builders of socialism cannot continue working in such a backward manner.

If success is to be guaranteed in planting orchards it would be a good idea for you to arrange demonstration classes before setting out on the work.

The method of demonstration classes is a method of work that was employed originally by the anti-Japanese guerrillas Now it is widely followed in the People's Army. We have applied it to the Party, administrative and economic work and all other spheres, and it has proved to be very effective.

Organization of demonstration classes does not require any specialized expert. You only need to use experienced fruit-growers of Pukchong County and some 100 to 200 government employees.

To conduct demonstration classes you should first make model plots Prepare three to four model plots in each province under the guidance of experienced fruit-growers from Pukchong County and government employees. That would do. If we prepare about four model plots in all for South Pyongan Province, say, one in Nampo or Ryonggang district and others in Songchon, Anju and Kangdong districts, we can conduct demonstration classes adequately. It would be a good idea to set up model plots next to the existing ones as far as possible so

that the former can be compared with the latter. The preparation of the saplings needed for model plots should begin right away.

The practical demonstrations on these model plots will impart to all the participants the valuable experience of the people of Pukchong in fruit growing. If classes are given by textbook method alone, it will be difficult for the instructors to teach and for the learners to understand. By hearing the explanations while seeing the actual objects with their own eyes, many people will be able to understand the lessons with ease and, moreover, can quickly discover and correct the defects in their own work. For instance, if the west coast people who are accustomed to planting orchards on plains or on flat fields observe the practical examples, it will be easier for them to realize the need to change their way of doing things.

It is advisable to have all personnel above the workteam leader's level of the agricultural co-operatives attend the demonstration classes. We should see to it that besides agricultural co-operatives, every institution also selects several persons and lets them take the short training courses.

It seems to me that the demonstration classes can be conducted in one month and a half. It does not even matter if it takes two to three months if that period proves to be too short.

A schedule for the demonstration classes should be sent to every county so that all those who are supposed to receive the lessons may attend them and study adequately.

The training courses should be held after the model plots are set up and all preparations for the demonstration classes are thoroughly made. The training courses should give practical examples of where and how to plant orchards, how to prevent soil erosion from water.

If, instead of doing this, you summon the functionaries of lower units, distribute assignment schedules to them and order them fulfilled, you cannot expect the great nature-remaking project to be carried out satisfactorily. You must follow the example set this time by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee in popularizing the experience of Pukchong County.

To publicize the experience of Pukchong County in fruit-growing, we should not only organize the demonstration classes but also prepare posters, wall pictures, pamphlets and so on and send them to agricultural co-operatives, institutions and enterprises. Furthermore, we should give extensive coverage to the Pukchong County experience in fruit growing on the radio and publicize its traditional method of fruit growing through scientific and documentary films, too.

After fully assimilating the experience of Pukchong County in fruit growing, you may get down to the work of planting orchards. However, a definite procedure must be observed. First of all, each county Party committee chairman should make an estimate of the available manpower in his county, investigate and register the places suitable for orchards and report them to the provincial Party committee. Upon receiving the county report, the provincial Party committee should send out technicians to survey the places and draw up plans. On the basis of the specifications thus worked out, the provincial Party committee should approve each county's plan for orchard planting. If we do not follow such a procedure, orchards might possibly be planted in a haphazard way in many local areas, thereby causing great harm to the country.

We should set about planting orchards after performing adequate organizational and political work in this way.

During the Seven-Year Plan period we must plant some 200,000 *chongbo* of new orchards, thus bringing the total fruit area to 300,000 *chongbo*. Of course, we can increase the figure later on according to the actual conditions of the work. It wou[illegible] be better to fix the figure at 200,000 *chongbo* for the pres[illegible] We should undertake the project of planting vast stretch[illegible] orchards through an all-people movement.

Above all, students, office employees, workers and [illegible] should be enlisted in planting orchards for neighb[illegible] ricultural co-operatives Now our country has over 4[illegible] cultural co-operatives. So you only need to plant 5[illegible] for every agricultural co-operative in order to pl[illegible] *chongbo* of new orchards

Besides this, institutions and enterprises may plant their own orchards.

We now have a considerable number of local industry factories. If each of them plants 10 *chongbo* of orchards, tens of thousands of *chongbo* will be cultivated.

Our country also has hundreds of state-run factories. As these factories have a large number of workers, it would not be difficult for each of them to plant scores of *chongbo* of orchards. This will also represent a significant addition if the state-run factories are taken together.

In our country there are many state- and provincially-run farms. Now these farms waste a lot of manpower. At this juncture, it would be reasonable to give them more work, instead of reducing their excess manpower.

Yesterday I went to the Pukchong Fruit Farm and found that a labour force of over 100 men was also being wasted there. I think this farm can be given an additional task of planting 30-40 *chongbo* of orchards.

Schools had also better have their orchards. While pupils and students are enlisted in planting orchards for agricultural co-operatives in the neighbourhood, they should also be mobilized to plant their own school orchards. Then, they will have a greater interest in it. The county Party and people's committees, too, should all have some orchards of their own.

In this way, the great nature-remaking project of planting 200,000 *chongbo* of orchards should be undertaken literally by an all-people movement enlisting the workers, office employees, students and soldiers from all spheres including co-operative farms, institutions, enterprises, schools and state-run farms across the country. If we pool our strength and work hard for a few years, we will come to see that our efforts have not been in vain. Everyone must turn out courageously for this worthwhile, honourable work.

I am firmly convinced that you will launch a courageous and active struggle and fulfil this sacred revolutionary task with credit.

ON THE DUTY OF EDUCATIONAL WORKERS IN THE RAISING OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Speech Delivered at a National Conference of Active Educational Workers

April 25, 1961

You are successfully carrying out the honourable work of educating and training 2,500,000 children and young people, our country's future masters, to be Communists worthy of complete trust.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I would like to begin by expressing my gratitude to you teachers who are devoting yourselves to the education and training of our country's children and youth and by wishing this conference great success.

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to speak briefly about a few questions related to the education and raising of children and young people.

As many comrades stressed in their speeches, the Party has given the educational workers the important job of educating and training our younger generation to be reliable builders of socialism and communism, to be fully developed, excellent Communists. This is a very difficult and weighty task.

Upholding the Party's policy, you have fought devotedly and are attaining significant results now in the carrying out of this difficult task.

I am pleased with the fact that the education of the chil-

dren and young people is going well in our country, and highly appreciate what you have accomplished. Of course, our work has many shortcomings. To carry out this difficult job successfully, we should display more energy and enthusiasm and use all our intelligence to a greater extent.

We are now living in a new society. You yourselves are all new men who have grown up, educated in the era of the Workers' Party. You are Red educators engaged in the education and training of a new type of man in a new society. We must bring up men and women of the new society by applying new educational policy and methods totally different from those used in the old society. Our Party's policy on communist education is a correct one, that we must follow today in creating the new man.

The work of remoulding people along communist lines is of great importance in the building of a communist society where everyone can live well.

Socialist society is the first phase of communist society. To build this socialist society, the creation of material and technical foundations must go hand in hand with the transformation of man's consciousness. Even though the socialist transformation of the relations of production is completed and new technology introduced, we cannot claim that the building of socialism has been completed as long as the people, the masters who control society and technology, are not remoulded.

By the way, remoulding people is much more complicated and difficult than transforming the social system or developing technology.

The material conditions of society determine man's consciousness, and the latter changes more slowly than the former. Old ideas and habits are very persistent. Even after the material conditions of social life are changed, old ideas and habits hang on for a long time, are passed on from one person to another and taken over.

Characteristic of the change in ideological consciousness is that, unlike the change in the material conditions of social life, it is less tangible. In building a factory, you clearly see the foundation being laid one day, the first storey going up the

next, then the second storey the day after. In the case of building a machine, there is also a clear distinction between what has been done and what has not—today a certain part is made, another tomorrow, and then finally all parts are assembled. But man's consciousness is not visible, nor can we measure the degree of its transformation. After all, the kind of ideas a man has can only be judged by his behaviour. And the degree of development of consciousness varies with individuals, and the content of each man's thoughts is extremely complex.

Therefore, the work of transforming man's consciousness requires long and patient effort, and it must be carried out scientifically on the basis of careful study. Educational work is a very important and, at the same time, a very difficult job

In any society schooling holds a vital place in educating people. Particularly, the farther socialist construction advances and the nearer we draw to a communist society, the greater becomes the schools' duty to fulfil the cultural-educational function of the state.

Home education, social education and school education cannot be separated from each other; they must always go hand in hand and must be properly integrated. The education of people starts at home, its foundation is laid at school, and then it is perfected in the course of social education.

Schools undertake the education of man in his childhood and youth, the most impressionable period of life, when mental and physical growth is rapid. Children and young people are most eager to discover things that are new; they are filled with strong aspirations to do the important, the excellent, the extraordinary. They are ready to follow examples which deeply impress them.

Needless to say, in this period home and social education are also necessary, but teachers have the greater responsibility. It is no exaggeration to say that our children and young people's growth as valuable people depends on how the teachers educate them. Teachers have the heavy responsibility of replacing the parents in bringing up their children and young people into the competent men and women required by the Party and

the state. From time immemorial, therefore, people have regarded teaching as a sacred job and have had great respect for the educators of the new generation.

In our society teachers are also respected, and the Party, the state and all people expect a great deal from them. You yourselves ought to have a greater sense of honour and responsibility in the light of the high expectations that the Party and the state have for you. As the principal of the Yaksu Middle School said in his speech just now, the job of teaching these days is an honourable revolutionary task.

To educate and train their pupils and students to be Communists, the educators themselves, first of all, should become fine Communists and revolutionaries.

There is an old saying: Example is better than precept. This means that your deeds should be a model for others. To educate children and young people, teachers must set examples by their own actions. The teachers themselves, therefore, must become excellent Communists equipped with communist ideology and the lofty moral traits of a revolutionary. If a teacher has ideological or moral defects, no one will respect him or believe his words, however fine they may be.

Our educators of the coming generation must completely throw off the many pernicious ideas left over from the old society. They must stand on the educational front as Red revolutionary fighters armed with communist ideology.

Communists are not extraordinary people. Anyone who fights selflessly to emancipate people from all sorts of exploitation and oppression and to provide them with a rich life can become a Communist. Moreover, in our society where the people are masters of the country and society, it is not so difficult for a man to become a Communist. Anyone who resolutely combats the old ideology and makes sincere efforts to arm himself with our Party's ideology can become a Communist. There is not the slightest doubt that especially you, our educators, who have been constantly trained by our Party and have continuously worked hard to carry through its lines ever since liberation, can become fine Communists. I firmly believe that all of you,

without exception, will become excellent communist educators armed with our Party's Red ideology.

Now, a few words about the communist education of the children and young people.

Many people think communist education is something mysterious. In the past they considered it an almost impossible task to accomplish. But, actually having faced the issue and carried on this work in earnest, we realized that there is nothing mysterious about it at all. We have already accomplished a great deal and accumulated rich experience in this field.

Our experience shows that the cultivation of a spirit of love for people, friends, the organization and the collective in the children and young people is of prime importance in their communist education.

In a capitalist society, individuals compete with each other and struggle to beat the other man down in order to enjoy an abundant life exclusively for themselves. In a communist society all people are equally well-off. We are not building communism so that only a few people can live in luxury; we are building it so that all the people can work and be prosperous. In a communist society, people have common interests and aims and form a close, comradely relationship of mutual assistance. In this society, all the people are one big family, harmonious and united, helping each other and sharing joys and sorrows under the slogan of "One for all and all for one."

In this society selfishness, which means seeking only personal enjoyment and glorification, cannot be tolerated. A person who has this kind of selfish mentality can neither build a communist society, nor live in it. To become a Communist, one must get rid of selfishness and learn to love other people.

Our children and young people must love their parents and brothers and sisters in the home, love their teachers and friends at school, and, after going out into society, love all the working people. We must educate our future generation to acquire this habit from childhood on. Only a person who loves others will enjoy the love of others and get along harmoniously in collective life.

Sometimes we come across people who prefer a solitary life. There are those who would like to live in isolated houses by themselves, enjoy themselves alone and avoid the company of others. This type of person is very cold and indifferent to others' happiness and misfortune. Such people cannot become revolutionaries.

To become a Communist, you must place the interests of the people and the collective above your own. You must not be concerned only about yourself but learn to care for your comrades and the people. In fact, in carrying on revolutionary work together with our comrades over a long period of time, we become more attached to them than to our families. No one is dearer to us than the revolutionary comrades whom we have rescued or who rescued us from adversities, with whom we have shared life and death, the bitter and the sweet. That is why the collective of revolutionary comrades is more united and harmonious than any family. Revolutionaries fight for their comrades and their revolutionary collective even at the risk of their lives.

Such collectivism is, in the final analysis, based on the love of man. Only those who love their comrades and the people can love their collective. It is necessary, therefore, in communist education to cultivate in our children and young people the spirit of love for their friends and the people so that they may develop the spirit of collectivism.

Individualist heroism characterized by self-importance, and arbitrariness marked by hugging only one's own opinions while belittling those of others, are both expressions of capitalist selfishness and harmful to the unity and amity of the collective. To root out these evil ideas completely, it is necessary to cultivate the habit of loving the collective from the earliest years possible.

The home and school are also collectives. At home children and young people ought to love their parents and brothers and sisters, at school their fellow students and teachers, and in the community their neighbours. Thus, they must learn to love their country and people and devote themselves completely to the

struggle for the Party, the state and the people. Only those who are educated in this spirit can overcome every difficulty with ease, contribute to the rapid development of society and live in harmony and happiness in a communist society.

What is important in education for collectivism is to convince the children of the great strength of the group. From the days of kindergarten and the Young Pioneers' life, we must clearly demonstrate to children that when the collective pools its efforts, it can fully accomplish tasks which go beyond the power of any individual. Thus, everybody must be trained to have faith in the strength of the collective, to rely on it in their everyday life and to fight for it.

Another important thing in communist education is to teach the younger generation the spirit of valuing and caring for common property.

In our society all valuable property is the people's common property. All the means of production and transport—factories, mines, forests, fields, railways and ships—belong to the people, and all the cultural and public health establishments such as schools, hospitals and theatres also belong to the people. All this property belongs not to any individual but to all the people; it serves our present generation and will also serve future generations. This common property is a priceless asset indispensable for the enjoyment of a good life by all members of the collective. It follows, then, that if you are to love the collective, you must learn to protect its common property.

We must also treat our roads, buildings and streets, and all the property of the state and society with great care. The houses we live in today may be occupied by others tomorrow. The chairs we use today may be turned over to others tomorrow. We are obliged to take good care of our houses, our chairs and our desks; we must love all of our schools and factories.

In the final analysis, patriotism is an expression of collectivism. The patriotic spirit is manifested, above all, in love of the people and careful attention to the people's property. To become a patriot you must love your family and friends, love your neighbours and the inhabitants of your native village and love

your people; you must love your school, factory and village and take good care of all the property of the state.

To neglect common property while only looking after your own possessions is an expression of bourgeois ideology.

We have built many houses, schools and theatres. But there are examples of buildings becoming unserviceable within a short space of time because people do not value them and take good care of them. This is highly regrettable.

Even when we plant a tree, we must be well aware that it is for our own well-being and that of our descendants, and therefore, we have the obligation to care for it well. They say that at the Yaksu Middle School the pupils have been taught not to make even one mark with their knives on the chairs from the first day at school until graduation. This is a very good thing. I was told that once when a visitor to the Yaksu Middle School began sharpening a pencil to write something, a pupil watching him immediately extended his open palms to catch the shavings. The pupils are so anxious to keep their school, which they clean with the utmost care, neat and spotless. They told me that the man who was sharpening his pencil was deeply moved. All of our youngsters should become like that pupil.

Patriotism is not an empty concept. Education in patriotism cannot be conducted simply by erecting the slogan, "Let us arm ourselves with the spirit of socialist patriotism!" Educating people in the spirit of patriotism must begin with fostering the idea of caring for every tree planted on the roadside, for the chairs and the desks in the school. You have to begin with what is within the grasp of the younger generation, things that relate to their lives, and then gradually move on to educating them to defend consciously the interests of the country and the people. There is no doubt that a person who has formed the habit of cherishing common property from childhood on will grow up to be a valuable patriot.

Another important thing in communist education is to educate the children and young people to love work.

In a capitalist society, working people are mistreated and work is regarded as humiliating. Accordingly, they unconscious-

ly think that an idle life is a good thing. In our country, too, many people used to think that the luckiest man was he who did not work. When admiring a handsome baby boy, people would remark that he was destined for an easy life without work. And when it was a pretty girl, they would say she was good enough to be the first daughter-in-law of a rich family. Our forefathers, who suffered from backbreaking toil, envied those who ate bread without working and wished that good luck would come their way so that they, too, might live this way.

Even now, some think that in a communist society all people can live by just loafing. This is an erroneous view. A communist society is not one in which people eat the bread of idleness.

A communist society is one where everyone works and lives happily. As a matter of course, work in such a society will become much easier as technology develops. Then, all arduous and difficult labour will be mechanized and automated; distinctions between heavy and light work and between mental and physical labour will disappear. Work will become joyful and pleasant, not painful; it will be a necessity of life. Even then, however, work will still be required. All wealth is the product of labour. Without work society cannot be maintained or advanced

The point is, who is the work done for? In capitalist society the working people work for the capitalists, not for themselves. The fruits of labour do not become the possession of the people but are appropriated by the exploiters. In such a society the workers have no reason to be zealous and work is only a painful thing. In socialist society, however, the fruits of labour are at the disposal of the workers and the popular masses. Therefore, in our society work is a sacred, creative thing; it is an honourable task serving the prosperity of the entire people and of the country. Under our system those who are exemplary workers command the people's respect and love because they are doing so much more than others for the good of the country and the people. We can say that our country's Heroes of Labour are fine patriots who faithfully serve the country and its people.

There are many loafers in capitalist society. But in our

country all exploitation of man has been eliminated and no loafing is allowed. Idlers, in a word, are parasites of society who live off others. As there are many such parasites in capitalist countries, the working people cannot be well-off. But in our society everyone works. Therefore, we can produce more wealth than in capitalist society and everyone can live prosperously.

Those who used to be wealthy in the past complain that their life is worse today than it was under capitalism. Of course, at that time, the landlords and capitalists were better off than now because they appropriated for themselves the fruits of many people's labour. The exploited masses, however, lived miserably. The only ones who complain that they are worse off now than before are the former landlords and capitalists who have not yet been reformed.

Some people think study has nothing to do with work. But this is wrong. In the final analysis, we study to acquire the knowledge and techniques essential for work. We have no use for impractical knowledge.

Formerly, some people could not even write a letter properly, although in old-fashioned private schools they read through the *Analects* of Confucius and *Discourses* of Mencius like priests chanting sutras. There were educated persons among the anti-Japanese guerrillas before, but some of them did not know how to apply their knowledge. So we called them "locked chests of knowledge."

Mental labour is as useful to people as physical labour. Those doing mental labour can invent good machines. But if it is to be fruitful, mental labour must necessarily be combined with physical labour. To invent a machine a person has to become acquainted with machines by actually handling them and he must listen to the views of the workers. Mere fancy at a desk will get you nowhere.

We learn in order to work, and we can improve our learning through work. Therefore, our studies should necessarily be combined with work.

We must get the pupils and students to realize that work

is sacred and very precious. We must educate them to hate the landlords and capitalists who do not work and live in luxury by exploiting others. In addition, we must cultivate in our students the habit of industriousness from the earliest years, impart knowledge in correlation with work and help them to consolidate their acquired knowledge in the course of work.

Another important matter in communist education is to bring pupils and students to understand the superiority of the socialist system.

The socialist system which has been established in our country is the greatest revolutionary gain won by our people. They can be happy and our country can prosper and develop rapidly because we have set up a socialist system which is free from exploitation and oppression and under which the people are the masters of power. We must tell the pupils and students how many of our patriots and revolutionaries underwent harsh struggle to establish this social system, and we must bring them to understand clearly how far superior our social system is to the old one.

It is important to tell the younger generation about life under the old system and contrast it with our people's happy life today. Let us take education, for example. The difference between pre-liberation days and the present is very great. Before liberation the sons and daughters of workers and peasants could not go to school or even imagine receiving a college education. But now everyone in our country goes to school without paying and anyone who wants to can go to college. We must give many such examples to our children and young people so as to explain the superiority of the socialist system and teach them that they must love this system and struggle to defend it.

Today the younger generation has a vague notion of landlords and capitalists and does not clearly understand what our people's life was like before liberation.

The revolution is not over yet in our country, and the exploiting system of landlords and capitalists still remains in the southern half of our fatherland. We must fight them there and also build socialism in south Korea in the future.

Consequently, by comparing our country's past and present, by differentiating the contemporary northern half of the Republic from south Korea, we must bring the pupils and students to a clear understanding of distinctions between the landlord and capitalist system and the socialist system, and we must educate them to fight to defend our socialist system and carry the Korean revolution through to its conclusion.

Furthermore, it is important to imbue the younger generation with the spirit of cherishing the future.

To love the future is an important feature of a revolutionary. Revolutionaries fight, not for the sake of an easy life for themselves, but for the sake of a brilliant future, a new happy life for the generations to come, surmounting all hardships and trials and devoting all that is precious to them.

But the philistines are only interested in themselves and shun the struggle in an effort to preserve their own safety and pleasure, playing up to and yielding to the old forces.

In south Korea the U.S. imperialists are now preaching to the people that the way to guarantee the securest and happiest life is to throw away their ideals, adapt themselves to conditions as they are, and seek momentary pleasure. In this way they try to paralyse the revolutionary consciousness of the working people and corrupt the youth. Men without ideals, men who do not love the future, cannot become revolutionaries.

Revolutionaries always struggle energetically against what is old for the victory of the new because they love the future and the new. Men and women who love the new, that is, the future, cannot be conservative and passive. They cannot be content with only the present; they want to go ahead continually to a still better future.

Many Communists died without seeing the world as it is today. However, they fought stubbornly, firmly confident in the victory of communism. Though they did not survive to see our joyful existence today, they lived a lofty and worthwhile life, and their heroic exploits in the struggle have been immortalized.

Capitalism has outlived its day and is now falling to ruin. The future belongs to communism.

To struggle for the future today means to fight for the victory of communism. The people who love the new, who love what lies ahead, are sure to become Communists. A Communist is the kind of person who cherishes the ideal of building a communist society and resolutely fights to translate this ideal into reality.

In regard to the question of educating our children and young people to love the future, I would particularly like to stress the cultivation of revolutionary optimism.

The revolution is a hard and complex task. To carry out a revolution, that is, to eliminate the old and create the new, you have to overcome many difficulties and pass through many ordeals. If you lose courage, become pessimistic and despondent whenever faced with difficulties, you cannot become revolutionaries. The anti-Japanese guerrillas fought through immeasurable trials and hardships, but their lives were always cheerful and full of revolutionary optimism. The revolutionaries were not in the least disappointed, nor did they lose courage even when the enemy encircled them ring upon ring, or when they were thrown behind bars or mounted the scaffold. It was because they were firmly convinced of the justice of their cause, of the victory of the cause of communism and of the bright future. This is the attitude of a revolutionary who loves the future.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle we met with many difficulties, but we never wasted tears in the face of these difficulties. We cried only when we were deeply moved. There may be times when the revolutionary struggle suffers a setback, but that is only temporary. Communism will certainly triumph in the end. Therefore, you should not be daunted by momentary failure. You must recover from it and win victory anew by displaying even greater revolutionary optimism.

Neither did we lose confidence in victory for a moment during our temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation

War. Many foreign comrades who visited our country admired the Korean people for not showing the slightest signs of discouragement, and for being very cheerful and vigorous in spite of their country's crisis. We retreated temporarily at that time, but we knew very well why we were doing it—not because we lacked strength or fighting spirit, but because we were short of guns. We were firmly convinced that if we had more weapons, we could crush the enemy again because our people's fighting spirit was great and our People's Army courageous. We can get weapons anywhere. But such a fighting spirit, such confidence in victory, cannot be obtained any place else. Without such faith, difficulties cannot be overcome and victory is impossible.

After the armistice we also had many bottlenecks. The Yankees thought that it would take us about a hundred years to get on our feet again. Had we been defeatists, we probably would have thrown ourselves on the heaps of ashes and wailed. But our Party and our people, full of revolutionary optimism, struggled heroically, completed the job of rehabilitation in a matter of two to three years and then the immense tasks of the Five-Year Plan in two and a half years, thus radically changing the face of our country. Together with you, we all witnessed and directly participated in our people's great forward movement, and experienced their victory.

We must resolutely combat defeatism and pessimism, depression and stagnation. We must make sure that everyone works gaily and joyfully with redoubled courage at all times.

In educating our pupils and students, I think it is essential to pay profound attention to the matters I have just mentioned.

The object of our school education is to train builders of communism, armed with communist ideology and with the knowledge and technical skill necessary for building a new society. Knowledge detached from communist ideology is useless to us, because we are marching forward towards communism. We must further strengthen the communist education of all our students and guide them to live and study always in a communist way.

In educating children and young people it is important to overcome the negative by the force of the positive. Our long experience has firmly convinced us that this is a very effective method of educating people. Overcoming the negative by the force of positive example is the embodiment of our Party's mass line in educating the masses.

The masses aspire to the positive, and they are capable of overcoming the negative and creating the positive. Therefore, important in the education of the masses is to discover their strong points, widely popularize them and encourage them in every way to help the masses willingly rectify their deficiencies.

At school it is advisable to make exemplary facts widely known to the pupils and students and educate all of them through these examples. Criticizing the negative and punishing those who have committed errors is also a method of education. Nevertheless, it is more effective to use the method of positive influence in educating the broad masses. It is in the nature of things that good deeds are done voluntarily. Even when a person has done something laudable, he does not necessarily become a good person if he did it under compulsion or pressure.

Imitating others, we once wrote satirical comments in our country to expose the negative phenomena. But this did not suit our real conditions. Our people, who have led a highly developed cultural life from ancient times, have a great spirit of inquiry into the truth and a very strong love of justice. We can say that to give value to truth and morality over wealth and power is a beautiful traditional trait of our people which has been handed down through the ages. For a nation with such a strong moral sense, influence through positive examples is much more effective

The guardhouse system has been abolished in the army, and the policy of influencing by warm comradely affection and example has been adopted in its place. The result is that discipline has been strengthened and the unity between soldiers and commanders has been consolidated still further.

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The guardhouse system has been abolished in the army, and the policy of influencing by warm comradely affection and example has been adopted in its place. The result is that discipline has been strengthened and the unity between soldiers and commanders has been consolidated still further.

Transforming people in the Chollima workteams is also based on the method of influencing by positive example. By using the method of positive influence, the Chollima riders are now successfully transforming into good men, into trailblazers, those people who had been considered totally unmanageable. We can say that the method of influencing the negative by the force of the positive has already proved itself in practice as a very effective method of education.

Pupils and students especially like to follow teachers' examples. They are innocent and very sensitive. All of them want to take the right path and avoid the wrong one. Good examples make a very deep impression on them. The instructive tales teachers told us in our childhood still remain vivid in our minds. It is no exaggeration to say that whether or not the pupils and students quickly become Communists depends upon whether their teachers set them good, positive examples. We must actively promote the positive characteristics that are developing among the children and young people and set as many positive examples for them as we can.

I would also like to stress another method of educating the children and youth: we must not neglect minor things but start with them and proceed to major ones.

Educating people in a communist way is a difficult and important question. In educating people, however, you must start from the little things. We cannot develop them into Communists by only stressing abstract principles, neglecting the concrete realities of practical life. Education of the children and young people especially must start with details related to their daily life. They may seem small, but they will gather and grow.

Therefore, teachers must delve into all details of the students' lives, correct and never overlook even minor shortcomings, and promote and never neglect even the minor positive examples.

In educating people as Communists, it is necessary to nurture the core and rely on it. This core must be encouraged among both teachers and students. When the ranks of the core

are steadily expanded and strengthened, everyone can be educated in a communist way.

We have now laid down the new task of educating and transforming all the popular masses into Communists through the nuclear role of our Party members. We are striving to accomplish this.

In the education of the children and young people, the teachers, before anyone else, must play the nuclear role. If collectives of Red teachers are formed and go among the pupils and students and make strenuous efforts to build up the ranks of the core, great successes will be achieved in the communist education of the children and young people.

Finally, I would like to emphasize the need to strengthen physical education at school.

Physically weak people cannot fully participate in the revolution. That is why I have continued to emphasize the question of physical culture since the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

In the army examinations are given in three subjects: tactics, shooting, and physical training. Tactics are wisdom in fighting the enemy; shooting is skill in destroying the enemy. In other words, they are concerned with the knowledge and techniques indispensable for fighting. But a person who is physically weak cannot fight the enemy and win, no matter how clever or how highly skilled he may be. However well a cripple has mastered the art of shooting, he cannot approach and fight the enemy.

The same is true of the building of socialism. Knowledge, skill, and a sound body must always go hand in hand. In order to put the science and technology taught at school to practical use, we must have a strong body. It is obvious that a weak and sickly person cannot do anything for the good of the country, no matter how excellent he may be at his studies. But there are some teachers who, ignoring this simple truth, make light of physical education in their work. We must correct this tendency.

There is a good reason why from ancient times on the

have said that knowledge, morality, and a strong physique should go together. While educating the pupils and students in communist ideology and imparting to them the necessary knowledge and techniques, we must be deeply concerned about building their bodies. We must always guide them to keep themselves neat and clean and be active in training their bodies. Thus, we must educate all the pupils and students to be a new type of man, developed in an all-round way—good at studies, work and sports.

Our Party pays great attention to the education and training of the children and young people, and has established a correct policy to deal with it. Firmly united around the Party Central Committee, you must strive with greater enthusiasm to carry out the Party's educational policy.

I hope that with this conference as a turning point, you will exchange and generalize the rich, useful experiences you have accumulated in the battle to implement the Party's educational policy thoroughly, thus bring your work onto a higher stage of development. I wish you new, splendid successes in educating and training our coming generation to be builders of socialism and communism.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY OF KOREA

September 11, 1961

Comrades,

More than five years have elapsed since the Third Congress of our Party. In this period great changes of historic importance have taken place in the national and international life of our people.

During the period under review our Party, leading the Korean people, achieved major victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic and made great progress in the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country. The historic revolutionary tasks of completing socialist transformation in town and countryside and building the foundations of socialism have been triumphantly carried out. Under the leadership of the Party our people, overcoming all difficulties and making the grand Chollima march, have scaled the first height of socialist construction and have made the revolutionary democratic base in the northern half of the Republic an impregnable fortress.

Inspired by the immense successes in socialist construction in north Korea and by our Party's correct policy for the peaceful reunification of the country, the broad masses of the people in south Korea have risen in a heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges; they have dealt a telling blow to the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism in south Korea.

During the period under review the Party consolidated our friendship and solidarity with the fraternal peoples of the socialist camp and peace-loving peoples throughout the world. It took an active part in the struggle for peace in Asia and the Far East and greatly raised our country's international prestige.

Our Party has been strengthened and has grown into an invincible militant detachment bound by one and the same purpose around its Central Committee. The unity of the Party and the people has become unshakable.

Now we come to this Fourth Congress of the Party at a time when the whole country stands at a momentous turning point in the development of our revolution, thrilling with labour upsurge and creative enthusiasm, when all the working masses place absolute trust and hope in our Party, and when our friends unanimously support and encourage us.

This Congress will open up bright new prospects in the struggle of our Party and people to conquer the high peak of socialism and hasten the peaceful reunification of the country. It will inspire all the working people of our country on to great victories.

I. EXCELLENT RESULTS

Comrades,

The Third Congress of our Party was convened at a time when the postwar rehabilitation of the national economy was, on the whole, nearly complete. At that time our country's economy and culture were still backward and the socialist reorganization of the relations of production was in full progress.

The prewar level of industrial and agricultural production was restored thanks to the heroic efforts of our working people in the postwar years. But our country still remained an agrarian country, and our people's life was very hard. Private farming still held an important place in the countryside, and

the transformation of private trade and industry in the towns had just begun.

In this situation we had to muster all our strength to promote in every possible way the socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

Based on the requirements of the laws of socio-economic development in the northern half and the fundamental tasks of the Korean revolution, our Party had advanced the general tasks of laying the foundations of socialism in the northern half of the Republic as early as the postwar period of rehabilitation. This meant expanding and reinforcing the socialist economic sector by reorganizing small commodity and capitalist sectors on socialist lines in all branches of the national economy as well as restoring and further developing the productive forces, thereby building the solid foundations for an independent national economy and rapidly improving the people's living conditions.

The Third Party Congress approved the policy of the Party Central Committee for laying the foundations of socialism and, on this basis, defined the fundamental tasks and orientation of the Five-Year Plan.

The Congress put forward the job of completing the cooperativization of agriculture and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry by vigorously carrying on the socialist revolution in urban and rural areas for the period of the Five-Year Plan.

The main task of socialist construction during the Five-Year Plan was to lay the foundations for socialist industrialization and to solve, by and large, the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people To fulfil this task successfully, the Party consistently stuck to the basic line of economic construction, the line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture. This line had already been adopted immediately after the armistice, and its correctness and vitality had been fully demonstrated in practice during the postwar rehabilitation.

Without priority for the growth of heavy industry, light industry and agriculture cannot be developed nor can expanded reproduction ever be guaranteed. Heavy industry was the greatest asset of our national economy; it was the key to successfully solving all of our problems. Our Party felt that only the concentrated development of heavy industry, and the consequent speedy development of light industry and agriculture, would allow us to build the foundations for socialist industrialization and, at the same time, basically solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people during the period of the Five-Year Plan.

The realities of life clearly show that our Party's lines and policies laid down at the Third Party Congress were perfectly correct. The tasks we had set forth for socialist transformation and the building of socialism were all carried out far ahead of schedule. Under the tested leadership of our Party, the working people of our country, displaying a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm, indomitable fighting spirit and inexhaustible creative ability, surmounted all difficulties and obstacles, guaranteed a sweeping victory of the socialist revolution in towns and the countryside and brought about radical changes in the development of our economy and culture.

At this Congress today we take immense pride in summing up the great victories and successes which the Party and the people, united firmly as one, have achieved through hard-fought battles.

1. COMPLETION OF SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION

Comrades,

The socialist transformation of the old economy is a process governed by the laws of development of the socialist revolution; it is a principal task that has to be tackled in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

With the successful completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution after liberation, the northern half

of our country gradually set out on its transition to socialism, and our socialist transformation also began already at that time.

Before the war, however, the necessary social, economic and material conditions were not yet fully ready, and socialist transformation was only partially carried out. Therefore, the main task was to prepare for it. In our country the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist trade and industry was all undertaken on a full scale in the postwar years, and in 1958, was completed almost simultaneously.

Fundamental to socialist transformation is the co-operativization of agriculture, and all the more so in the particular case of our country where the peasantry made up more than half the population.

In the immediate post-armistice days private farming predominated in our countryside and the socialist sector was a small part of the whole. As you all know, as long as small commodity production dominates in rural areas, the source of exploitation and poverty cannot be removed, nor can the living standard of the peasantry be radically improved. Small and scattered private farming can neither develop in a planned way nor introduce advanced techniques on a wide scale. Moreover, in most cases this type of farming cannot lead to expanded reproduction.

All the limitations of private farming in our country manifested themselves most strikingly in the postwar years, and we could not allow them to exist any longer. Owing to the war, the material foundations of agriculture were seriously damaged, the peasant economy was even more fragmented than before and a shortage of labour and draught animals was keenly felt in the countryside. Under these circumstances, further maintenance of private farming would have made it impossible to restore the ruined productive forces of agriculture rapidly and, above all, to solve the food problem for the population. There was the danger that the contradictions between socialist state industry and private farming would give rise to a disparity between industry, which was being rapidly rebuilt and developed in the postwar period, and agriculture,

which was being rehabilitated very slowly. In addition, with small farming we would not have been able to rapidly improve the living conditions of our impoverished peasantry and, particularly, to solve the problem of an increased number of poor peasants produced by the war.

The only way to release the agricultural productive forces completely from the shackles of the old relations of production and to free the peasants once and for all from exploitation and poverty is the socialist co-operativization of agriculture. The postwar situation in our country was ripe for agricultural co-operativization and permitted no further delay. The peasants themselves came to realize, through their own hardships, that they could not tolerate the old way of life any longer. That is why our Party proposed the task of agricultural co-operativization immediately after the armistice and energetically pushed it forward on the strength of the increasing enthusiasm of the peasantry.

Most important in leading the agricultural co-operative movement is strict adherence to the Leninist principle of voluntariness and promotion of the movement by giving the peasants practical examples of the advantages of a co-operative economy.

In the days right after the armistice, the poor peasants were the most active supporters of agricultural co-operativization in our countryside. Our Party started by experimentally organizing and consolidating a few agricultural co-operatives in each county, beginning with the poor peasants and Party nuclei in the countryside. In the course of this work we were able to correctly determine the specific methods and pace of co-operativization that suited the actual conditions of our country, and encouraged our cadres to accumulate experience and gain confidence in leading the co-operative movement. Besides, by demonstrating the practical advantages of a co-operative economy on the basis of our own experience, we were able to persuade and lead the broad masses of peasants, particularly the middle peasants, to join the co-operatives of their own free will.

In agricultural co-operativization the voluntary principle was applied not only to the middle peasants but to all sectors of the rural population, including the rich peasants. Taking into consideration the specific conditions of our villages where the rich peasant economy was very weak, our Party adopted the policy of gradually remoulding rich peasants as the co-operative movement developed, while strictly restricting their exploitative practices. We admitted all rich peasants who accepted socialist transformation and were willing to work honestly into the co-operative economy; we applied appropriate sanctions against the tiny handful who sought to hinder the co-operative movement. During the movement's last stage, when the co-operative economy had become widespread and strong and the objects of exploitation had disappeared in the villages, the majority of rich peasants joined the co-operatives voluntarily.

Thus, in drawing various categories of the peasantry into the co-operative economy on the basis of object lessons and the voluntary principle, our Party consistently adhered to the correct class policy of relying firmly on the poor peasants, strengthening the alliance with the middle peasants and restricting and gradually remoulding the rich peasants. We saw to it that the poor peasants played the nuclear role in all agricultural co-operatives. We also made sure that co-operatives were not organized exclusively with relatively well-to-do peasants and that the rich peasants were not allowed to influence the co-operative work. At the same time, we took strict precautions against the tendency to weaken the alliance with the middle peasants by forcing them into the co-operative economy or encroaching upon their interests.

All these policies prevented any possible losses that might have occurred in connection with the radical changes in the countryside, developed the co-operative movement on a sound basis and ensured a steady growth in agricultural production.

Adherence to the voluntary principle in the agricultural co-operative movement in no way means that such a movement is left to the mercy of spontaneity. As is the case with the so-

cialist system in general, a co-operative economic system in the countryside will not arise by itself or develop and become strong automatically. It will require powerful leadership and assistance on the part of the Party and the state.

In order to promote the agricultural co-operative movement our Party persistently carried out organizational and political work among the peasants and made tremendous efforts to reinforce the newly established co-operatives politically and economically.

We strengthened the Party organizations in the villages, trained and assigned a large number of management personnel to the co-operatives and gave powerful leadership with the view toward firmly establishing a socialist system and order in the co-operatives and enhancing the socialist consciousness of their members.

Lenin said that every social system arises only with the financial assistance of a definite class, and the system which the socialist state must especially aid is the co-operative one. In keeping with Lenin's teaching, we gave all-out state assistance to the co-operatives. The powerful material assistance given by the state to the peasantry, based on rapidly developing socialist industry, strengthened the young agricultural co-operatives which had been organized starting only with poor peasants; it played a decisive role both in proving their superiority over private farming and economically reinforcing the co-operatives which realized a rapid quantitative growth in a short period of time.

Only by relying on the strong leadership of the Party and the working class and on the powerful support from socialist state-run industry were we able to overcome the innumerable difficulties of the postwar years, lead millions of peasants on to the path of socialist collectivization, and guarantee a solid victory for the socialist system of co-operative economy in our countryside.

Even after the completion of agricultural co-operativization, such an economic system should not remain static. It should continually progress and strive for perfection.

Agricultural co-operatives in our country were organized on a relatively small scale. When the co-operative movement was going on, our Party saw to it that each co-operative comprised from 40 to 100 peasant households. The Party did not allow organization or amalgamation of co-operatives on too large a scale. This was in full agreement with the conditions at a time when our farming techniques were still backward and, when the qualifications and experience of management personnel were still inadequate.

But, gradually the comparatively small size of co-operatives became incompatible with the further growth of the productive forces of agriculture, particularly with the requirements of technical transformation in the countryside. Hence, the need to enlarge the size of agricultural co-operatives by an appropriate amalgamation. As the co-operatives were politically and economically strengthened and the level of their management personnel raised, amalgamation became a mature requirement, and the peasants themselves realized the need for it.

Therefore, towards the end of 1958 the merger of co-operatives was carried out on the principle of one for each *ri*, with the chairman of the *ri* people's committee concurrently holding the chairmanship of the co-operative management board.

The enlargement of the agricultural co-operatives made it possible to use land and other means of production more rationally and to introduce modern farm machines and advanced farming techniques extensively. It allowed us to push ahead vigorously with projects for transforming nature—irrigation, afforestation and water conservation—and improve organization of labour and develop a more diversified co-operative economy.

When the agricultural production unit and the administrative unit of the *ri* became one and when the chairman of the *ri* people's committee also assumed the chairmanship of the management board, the *ri* people's committee began to concentrate its efforts on the consolidation of the agricultural co-operatives and the development of agricultural production.

Consequently, the role and functions of the local people's committee in building up the economy and culture as a whole were further enhanced.

With the merger of the agricultural co-operatives, the consumers' co-operatives and credit co-operatives were placed under their management. This enabled the agricultural co-operatives to plan and manage production, commodity circulation and credit in an integrated way, and, consequently, to show greater independence and initiative in developing the co-operative economy and promoting the well-being of their members. In particular, the agricultural co-operatives' direct handling of rural commerce permitted a more smooth exchange of commodities between town and country and a consolidation of economic ties between industry and agriculture.

Our agricultural co-operatives thus became a more advanced, solid socialist sector of the economy. From all the facts and experience, we can now say that with regard to its organizational form and size, our rural co-operative economy is the most rational and advantageous socialist economic form suitable to the specific conditions of our country during the present period.

In order to effect the complete rule of socialist production relations throughout the society, we had to co-operativize private farming in the countryside as well as carry out the socialist transformation of handicrafts, capitalist trade and industry in urban areas.

The socialist transformation of handicrafts in our country was already undertaken on an experimental basis before the war.

Thanks to the assistance of the people's power after liberation, our country's handicraftsmen, who had been ruined and impoverished during the years of Japanese imperialist rule, restored and further developed their sector of the economy and markedly improved their living conditions. Nevertheless, the handicraft economy, fragmented and technically backward, was unstable and had no prospects for development. The co-operativization of a dispersed handicraft economy was

the only means of further developing its production and techniques and raising the handicraftsmen's standard of living.

In 1947, at the beginning of the transitional period, our Party laid down the policy of forming producers' co-operatives of handicraftsmen to reorganize their private economy into a socialist, co-operative one. Thus, even before the war, initial successes had been registered and some experience had been accumulated in the transformation of the handicrafts along socialist lines.

As large, state-run factories were mostly destroyed during the war, our Party devoted great attention to the expansion and development of co-operative industry alongside state-owned local industry in order to ensure a stable life for the people. After the war the Party more vigorously pushed forward the movement for co-operativizing handicrafts. The war had played havoc with the handicraft economy, further fragmentizing it. The handicraftsmen could only improve their living conditions if they united their economy and relied on the active assistance of the state. Under these circumstances they actively supported our Party's policy of co-operativization. Therefore, the handicraft co-operative movement progressed rapidly and was completed successfully within a few years after the war.

The socialist reorganization of capitalist trade and industry also proceeded with comparative ease in our country.

In the past, the prolonged colonial rule of Japanese imperialism had seriously hampered the growth of national capital in our country. Japanese imperialist capital monopolized the major branches of our national economy, and the economy of national capitalists, except for a handful of comprador capitalists, was negligible.

After liberation, nationalization of industries, transport, communications, banks, etc., formerly in the hands of Japanese imperialists and comprador capitalists brought the socialist state sector into dominance in our national economy. Capitalist trade and industry were very weak from the beginning of the transitional period. This situation in our country provided us

with favourable conditions for enlisting capitalist traders and industrialists in socialist construction and reorganizing their economy by peaceful means.

During the period of transition, our Party's policy in relation to capitalist trade and industry was to transform them gradually into the socialist economy, utilizing their positive features and controlling their negative ones.

During the postwar period, socialist transformation of capitalist trade and industry matured. The war had inflicted serious damage on capitalist trade and industry. A considerable number of entrepreneurs and traders were ruined and became factory or office workers in state-owned enterprises; most of the remaining capitalist traders and manufacturers were reduced to a status much the same as that of handicraftsmen or small merchants. Consequently, the capitalist traders and manufacturers found it impossible to restore their devastated economy without relying on the assistance of the state and the socialist economy and without pooling their means of production, funds and efforts. Moreover, as agriculture and handicrafts were being transformed on co-operative lines, they could no longer obtain raw and other materials on the private market. When the socialist economic sector overwhelmingly dominated all spheres of the national economy, a small number of entrepreneurs and merchants could not possibly maintain their private sector.

Only when they joined the socialist sector of the economy could the entrepreneurs and traders improve their condition, find a road to the future and serve the country and society better.

Taking into account our country's specific conditions, our Party advanced the policy of transforming capitalist trade and industry through various forms of co-operative economy. The entrepreneurs and merchants supported the Party's policy of co-operativization, realizing that it conformed with their interests and represented the right direction for them to take. Thus the socialist reorganization of capitalist trade and industry was completed in a short period of time.

Thanks to the correct leadership of our Party and the active assistance of the state, the socialist reorganization of handicrafts and capitalist trade and industry was successfully carried out. Adhering strictly to the voluntary principle, the Party admitted handicraftsmen and middle and small manufacturers into various producers' co-operatives according to their respective trades. Giving priority to the consolidation of the handicraftsmen's production co-operatives, entrepreneurs were gradually incorporated into the co-operative economy; here, in particular, the semi-socialist form of the co-operative economy was broadly applied. In order to transform traders along socialist lines, marketing co-operatives or production-and-marketing co-operatives were formed, and they were later reorganized into producers' co-operatives by gradually increasing the proportion of productive activities they undertook.

In transforming private trade and industry along socialist lines, the Party closely combined the change of economic forms with the remoulding of people. Joining the producers' co-operatives, the entrepreneurs and merchants completely broke with their former life based on the exploitation of others, they have been changed into socialist working people who produce material wealth by their own labour. This has also speeded up their ideological transformation.

While vigorously carrying out the socialist transformation of handicrafts and capitalist trade and industry, we gave tremendous state assistance to the consolidation of the newly-organized producers' co-operatives. Thanks to the advantages of the socialist co-operative economy, active state help and their members' eager participation in work, the economic foundations of the producers' co-operatives have been speedily reinforced, and their standard of living further improved. Today, the co-operative industry plays an important role in the development of the national economy. With the great pride and enthusiasm of an honourable socialist working people, members of our producers' co-operatives are taking part in the construction of socialism.

Comrades, with the completion of the socialist rgan-

ization of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist trade and industry, socialist relations of production are completely dominant in towns and the countryside. The productive forces have been freed from the chains of the old relations of production, and exploitation of man by man has been eliminated.

In the northern half of our country we have established a social system free from exploitation and oppression—the very system our working people had aspired to for so long, the system for which many Korean Communists fought and shed their blood. This is the greatest victory our people has achieved under our Party's leadership.

An important feature of our country's socialist transformation lies in the fact that it was completed in such a short time, only four or five years after the war, despite technical backwardness and the relatively low level of development of our productive forces.

Some dogmatists at one time doubted our Party's policy of socialist transformation and faltered, saying things like: "Transformation of the relations of production is impossible without socialist industrialization;" "There can be no agricultural co-operativization without up-to-date farm machinery;" or "The tempo of socialist transformation is too fast." They did not understand that the rapid progress of socialist transformation was a phenomenon governed by law that reflected specific conditions in our country during the postwar period.

Agrarian reform, nationalization of industries and other democratic reforms were carried out after liberation. Based on these changes the socialist state economy developed rapidly and overwhelmingly dominated industry and trade. Railways, communications, banking and foreign trade establishments were placed under state control from the first days of the transitional period. The socialist economic sector, thus dominant in the national economy, exercised a decisive influence on the small commodity and capitalist sectors of the economy and led them inevitably toward socialism. In particular, the rapid development of state-run industry provided a material base which

could give powerful support to the socialist reorganization of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist trade and industry.

The relationship of forces between the classes in our country also provided definitely favourable conditions for socialist transformation. In the postwar years the forces opposing this transformation in our urban and rural areas were negligible. Our peasant masses were politically awakened and firmly united around the Party through the prolonged revolutionary struggle against the Japanese imperialists and the landlords, through their struggle to create a new life after liberation and, especially, through the severe trials of the Fatherland Liberation War. The majority of entrepreneurs and merchants, together with all of the people, not only took part in the democratic revolution after liberation but also supported the policies in socialist construction established by our Party and people's power. The Party's great prestige among the popular masses, the unity of people of all walks of life around it and the masses' high political consciousness proved to be the most important guarantee for the successful implementation of socialist transformation.

With respect to socialist industrialization and modern farm machinery, it goes without saying that we cannot ensure the complete victory of socialism without further developing industry and equipping all branches of the national economy, including agriculture, with new technology. However, socialist transformation could not be held back when life itself demanded an immediate reorganization of the outdated relations of production and there were revolutionary forces prepared to carry it out. This was true even though the level of the development of the productive forces and of technology was relatively low.

Our Party's policy intended to assure the rapid advance of the productive forces and, in particular, to open up a broad avenue for the technical revolution by transforming, first of all, the relations of production along socialist lines according to the urgent needs of social development, instead of waiting for the day when industry could develop to such an extent as

to carry out the technical reconstruction of the national economy. Only by transforming the relations of production could we rapidly restore and further develop the productive forces that had suffered severe damage from the war and vigorously advance the technical revolution without delay in keeping with the development of industry.

When our Party advanced the task of overall socialist transformation after the armistice, some people argued that it was "still premature," insisting that the revolution should not be given a further impulse in the northern half until north and south were reunified and the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution triumphant in the whole country. They thought that the socialist revolution in the northern half would conflict with the cause of reunifying the country and would be especially detrimental to mobilizing all the patriotic, democratic forces in south Korea for the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. They, of course, were wrong.

There is no reason whatsoever for north Korea to wait about because south Korea has not been liberated yet and the democratic revolution has not yet triumphed there. The socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the northern half of the Republic were raised not only as an irresistible demand of social development in the northern half, but also as a vital demand of the Korean revolution to politically and economically consolidate the democratic base in the northern half. The most important guarantee for the victory of the Korean revolution is to eliminate capitalist elements, totally eradicate the foothold of counterrevolution and build firm bastions of socialism in urban and rural areas in the northern half.

By mobilizing the masses of the people our Party established and fully consolidated a socialist system in the northern half, thereby converting it into the solid base of the Korean revolution and the decisive force for accelerating the peaceful reunification of the country. Today, the growth of the socialist forces in the northern half of the Republic and the free, happy life of the people under the socialist system there exert a tremendous revolutionary influence on all patriotic forces in

south Korea including even the national bourgeoisie, not to speak of the workers and peasants; these factors give unlimited inspiration to the struggle of the south Korean people against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

Creatively applying the universal truth of Marxist-Leninist theory to our country's specific conditions, our Party, as mentioned above, initiated the task of socialist transformation at the opportune moment, based on the matured requirements of our social development. It worked out correct policies for implementing the task and carried them out firmly and consistently by mobilizing the popular masses while overcoming Right and "Left" deviations of all kinds. Since the Party's policy of socialist transformation was correct, since the masses warmly accepted and took part in its implementation with great revolutionary enthusiasm, we were able to accomplish very smoothly, in a short period of time, the most complicated and difficult revolutionary task of transforming agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist trade and industry along socialist lines, and to establish the advanced, socialist system in the northern half of our country.

2. THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

Comrades,

With the successful fulfilment of the postwar Three-Year Plan, our country moved from the period of rehabilitating the national economy to that of technological reconstruction. As the socialist transformation of the relations of production neared completion, socialist industrialization became a more urgent necessity in order to achieve the technological reconstruction of the national economy.

Our Party defined the period of the Five-Year Plan as the first stage of technological reconstruction And the Party set forth the central task for industry, that of laying the base for socialist industrialization during this period, thereby to further consolidate the foundation of an independent national economy

and, at the same time, prepare the material and technical conditions for equipping all branches of the national economy with modern technology. This not only called for a rapid overall development of industrial production on the basis of the priority growth of heavy industry, but also for complete elimination of the colonial one-sidedness of our industry and the decisive reconstruction of its outmoded technical equipment.

Although the assignments which the Five-Year Plan gave to industry were enormous and difficult, they were successfully carried out ahead of time. The goals under the Five-Year Plan which required a 2.6-fold increase in gross industrial output value were fulfilled in two and a half years; all projected indices for the output of major industrial products were also fulfilled or overfulfilled in a period of four years. In the four years from 1957 to 1960, the total value of industrial output increased 3.5 times—3.6 times in the production of the means of production and 3.3 times in consumer goods. During this period the rate of average annual increase in industrial production was 36.6 per cent. Thus, in spite of the fact that more than 10 out of the 15 years since liberation were dominated by war and then rehabilitation of a destroyed economy, in 1960 industrial output was 7.6 times greater than in the pre-liberation year of 1944. All this speaks for the exceptionally high rate of growth of our industry.

Heavy industry is the basis for the development of the whole national economy. Without building up a powerful heavy industry, technological reconstruction of the national economy or consolidation of the foundation of an independent national economy is impossible.

Our Party, drawing on our rich natural resources, went as far as it could to build our heavy industry centres capable of manufacturing and supplying, chiefly on our own, the raw and other materials, fuel, power, machinery and equipment necessary for the development of our national economy. It was important in this connection, while making the most of the existing foundation of heavy industry, to technologically reconstruct and continue to expand it and, at the same time, set

up several new branches of industry. Proceeding from this consideration, our Party followed the policy, in building up heavy industry, of laying emphasis on the complete rehabilitation of those enterprises which had not yet been rehabilitated and on the perfection, reconstruction and extension of existing enterprises, in combination with the building of those branches of industry and enterprises our country did not have before. This policy enabled us, firstly, to build up a powerful heavy industry with relatively limited funds, thus creating favourable conditions for simultaneously and rapidly developing light industry and agriculture; and secondly, to dynamically push ahead the technological reconstruction of industry while ensuring a high rate of growth in production.

In the four years from 1957 to 1960 production increased 1.8 times in the electric power industry, 2.8 times in the fuel industry, 2.6 times in the ore mining industry, 3 times in the metallurgical industry, 4.5 times in the chemical industry, and 4.7 times in the machine-building industry This year, in heavy industry we will turn out 9,700 million kwh of electricity, about 12 million tons of coal, 960,000 tons of pig iron and granulated iron, 790,000 tons of steel, more than 700,000 tons of chemical fertilizer and about 2 4 million tons of cement.

In all heavy industrial enterprises the technical equipment has been radically improved, advanced methods of production and advanced technological processes have been widely introduced and more workshops have been set up to manufacture new products. Along with this, a considerable number of new factories equipped with up-to-date technology have been built.

In the ferrous metal industry, we have overcome the limitation of producing only pig iron. This industry now turns out large quantities of different kinds of standard-sized shape steel, round steel, sheet steel, and special steel, largely satisfying the growing demand for steel materials of capital construction and the machine-building industry. We have further developed the ore mining industry and at the same time have built new smelting and processing facilities, so as to mine and process different nonferrous and rare metals which are abundant in our

country and make more effective use of them for the development of the national economy.

We have also achieved tremendous successes in developing the chemical industry. Our country's chemical industry in the past produced only inorganic chemicals, chiefly nitrogenous fertilizer. Today, however, we have an organic synthetic chemical industry with a number of newly-built chemical factories, including the vinalon and vinyl chloride factories. We have thus laid a solid foundation for the extensive development of all branches of the chemical industry—plastics, synthetic fibre, synthetic rubber, to say nothing of various chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals, and medicines—by relying entirely on our own raw materials.

We have rehabilitated the Supung and Changjingang power stations and others that already existed on the basis of new technology and have built large new power stations, including the one on the Tokno-gang River; we have expanded coal mines and improved their technical equipment. As a result, we have further consolidated our country's fuel-power bases.

One of the greatest successes in industry during the period under review was the establishment of the machine-building industry. Even during the war and ever since it ended, our Party has tried to develop this industry; many new machine-building factories were set up in the postwar period of rehabilitation. During the Five-Year Plan, with a view to satisfying the country's needs for machinery and equipment mainly with domestic products, we improved the equipment of the existing machine-building factories and raised their production capacity; at the same time we built new factories, thus widely expanding this industry. In 1960 the machine-building industry's share in the total value of industrial output was 21.3 per cent as against 17.3 in 1956, and our country was 90.6 per cent self-sufficient in machinery and equipment as against 46.5 per cent. In the past our country had no machine-building industry. But today it is fully capable of producing by itself not only medium- and small-sized machines and equipment but also metallurgical and power-generating equipment, motor vehicles,

tractors, excavators and other types of large machinery and equipment. We now have our own machine-building industry capable of promoting an overall technical revolution in our country.

Light industry was one of the most backward branches in our country. We have established strong centres of light industry by further expanding the textile industry and rapidly developing the food-processing industry and the production of daily necessities during the Five-Year Plan.

Between 1957 and 1960 the output of the textile industry went up 3.5 times, that of the food, beverages and tobacco industry 4.2 times, and goods for cultural and household use 6.8 times. In 1960 nearly 190 million metres of different kinds of fabrics were produced. This is an increase of 15 times over the 1949 level and 138 times over the 1944 level. The output of many manufactured goods and foodstuffs rose sharply, their variety increased, and their quality improved markedly.

We have constantly directed serious efforts to the development of large-scale, modern light industry factories, the backbone of the production of consumer goods for the people. During the period under review most of the existing factories were rebuilt and expanded and many new light industry factories, equipped with modern technology, were built.

Our experience shows that in the production of consumer goods it is rational to develop medium- and small-sized local factories together with large ones. Light industry should in general process various kinds of raw materials available all over the country and satisfy the diversified demands of the working people in all local districts. This kind of production cannot be organized rationally only on the basis of large factories. Moreover, in our country, if we relied solely on large-scale, centrally-controlled industry, we could not rapidly increase the lagging production of consumer goods for the people or meet their growing demands at all. In addition to large-scale, centrally-controlled industry, it was necessary to develop medium- and small-sized local industry extensively and utilize handicraft methods along with modern technology.

Proceeding from this consideration, the Central Committee of our Party advanced, at its June 1958 Plenary Meeting, the task of developing consumer goods production by exploiting all available resources through a movement of all the people. As an important means to this end, more than one local industry factory in each city or county would be established. The decision of the plenary meeting opened up the possibility to exploit the enormous reserves latent in local areas and effect great innovations in increasing production of consumer goods for the people. In only a few months after the June Plenary Meeting more than 1,000 local industry factories were built throughout the country by using idle local materials and manpower, with little expenditure of state funds. As a result, various consumer goods were produced in large quantities. At present our state-owned and co-operative-owned local industries account for half of the total output of consumer goods. They are playing an important role in satisfying the needs of the people.

As a result of the establishment of local industry, the initiative and activity of the provinces in economic construction have grown, and locally available raw materials are tapped and used on a wider scale. In addition, many housewives have taken jobs in local industries. Thus, per-household income of the working people has gone up and women's political and cultural level has increased rapidly.

We have also scored big successes in the development of the fishing industry, which is essential to improving the living standard of our working people. The material and technical basis of the fishing industry has been reinforced, and further progress has been made in fishing, sea plant and fish culture and sea food processing. We now catch 500,000 to 600,000 tons of fish annually, and higher-quality processed fish can be supplied to our working people.

As is evident from the above, our industry has not only grown at a very high rate but it has also undergone a radical change in the composition of its branches and its technological equipment.

We have built and developed industry not for foreign, but primarily for home markets, that is, for meeting domestic requirements for manufactured goods and consolidating the economic foundations of our country. We have put an end to the lopsidedness in our industry which formerly produced mainly raw materials and semi-finished goods and was almost entirely dependent on foreign countries for machinery, equipment and consumer goods. Our industry is not dependent today on raw materials from abroad; it relies basically on domestic natural wealth and raw materials. This proves that we have put our industry on a solid independent footing.

Of course, our country's industrial production still falls short of demand and the quality of some of our industrial products is not high. Nevertheless, electric power stations, metallurgical works, chemical factories and other large modern industrial enterprises are now being built with materials, machinery and equipment which we produce. Technological reconstruction of the national economy is moving ahead quickly by relying mainly on our own heavy industry. And the daily needs of the people are being met with domestic consumer goods.

We have turned a backward colonial industry which, to make matters worse, was severely damaged in the war, into an independent, modern industry in a short period of time, thereby laying the material and technological foundation for equipping all branches of our national economy with the latest technology and for improving the life of our people in the years to come.

During the period under review the basic task confronting agriculture was to strengthen its material and technological foundation and increase agricultural production quickly.

Although organized on the basis of an outmoded technology, the agricultural co-operatives in our country have demonstrated the immense advantages they have over private farming. But without renovating our backward agro-techniques, we can neither fully display the superiority of a co-operative economy nor further develop the productive forces of agriculture.

With co-operativization of agriculture nearly complete, our

Party promptly embarked on its technological transformation. The Party defined irrigation, electrification and mechanization as the main content of the technical revolution in the countryside, and concentrated all its efforts on irrigation as its first target.

Irrigation was the first important task in the technological renovation of our agriculture. Immediately after the armistice, we built irrigation works on an extensive scale together with agricultural co-operativization. During the Five-Year Plan, with co-operativization completed, we specifically carried on a vigorous, all-people movement to promote a nature-transforming project for irrigation. From 1957 to 1960 the state invested a total of 97,500,000 *won* in irrigation and supplied the countryside with large quantities of machinery and equipment, including pumps and motors, and building materials. Large-scale irrigation and river-dyke projects were carried out with state funds, while agricultural co-operatives were widely encouraged to undertake small and medium projects at their own expense, receiving technical assistance from the state. As a result, 800,000 *chongbo* of land, or seven times the area of pre-liberation days, is now under irrigation; all the rice paddies are irrigated, and a system of irrigating dry fields has recently been introduced. This means that we have basically solved the task of irrigation in our country. It means that the centuries-old dream of our peasantry, plagued by drought and floods for thousands of years, has come true.

As in irrigation, there has also been great progress in rural electrification. Together with large power plants, we have built small and medium power stations extensively in the countryside to further accelerate rural electrification. Electricity is presently supplied to 92.1 per cent of all rural *ri* and 62 per cent of all peasant households in our country. Electricity is being used more and more in rural areas not only in lighting but as power for mechanizing various operations such as water lifting, thrashing and fodder processing.

Mechanization is the most difficult task in the technological reconstruction of our agriculture. Having a backward ma-

chine-building industry, we were at first unable to supply large quantities of modern farm machinery to the countryside. Consequently, we began by trying to improve conventional farm implements and to use animal-drawn farm machines extensively. This action played an important role in increasing labour productivity and in stepping up agricultural production.

At the same time, the amount of modern farm machinery has been gradually increased; particularly since 1960, when our machine-building industry began mass production of tractors, agricultural mechanization picked up momentum and we have already had considerable success. By 1960 the number of farm-machine stations had nearly doubled compared with 1956, the total number of tractors (in terms of 15 h.p units) in use in the countryside had increased 4.2 times and tractor-worked area 10 times in the same period. Rural areas now have more than 13,000 tractors and a large number of farm machines of different types. The level of mechanization of farm work has risen markedly.

As a result of the co-operativization of agriculture and consolidation of its material and technical foundation, agricultural production has grown rapidly.

Formerly our agriculture was too strongly biased in the direction of grain production. Yet it was so backward that it could not even satisfy the population's needs for staple foods. Our task was to convert our countryside not only into a reliable food-supply base but also into a source of raw material for light industry by solving the grain problem and developing many branches of agriculture. Thus, our Party pursued the policy of giving priority to grain production and simultaneously developing the production of industrial crops, animal husbandry, sericulture and fruit growing.

The basic agricultural problem is grain, especially for our country which suffered a serious food shortage. With a view to increasing grain output, we have strengthened the material and technical basis of agriculture while taking various technical and economic measures such as making more efficient use of land, improving distribution of crop areas, applying more chem-

ical fertilizers and manure and widely introducing advanced methods of farming. The utilization of land rose from 138 per cent in 1956 to 174 per cent in 1960, and the area under high-yielding crops, rice and maize, rose from 1,101,000 *chongbo* to 1,284,000 *chongbo*. During the same period the amount of chemical fertilizer used increased by 42 per cent and that of manure, much more. Besides, various advanced agro-techniques have been extensively introduced, and farming methods on the whole have further improved. As a result, grain production has significantly increased in the last few years, reaching as much as 3,803,000 tons in 1960. This was a gain of 32 per cent over 1956.

This year, on the basis of results already achieved, our Party has set the huge target of a million-ton increase in grain output over last year; it has done everything it can to fulfil this goal. Now on the eve of the autumn harvest, fields all over the countryside are yielding unprecedented bumper crops. This shows that we will undoubtedly reach our target of the million-ton increase.

We can say that we have already basically solved the food problem, one of the most difficult in the economic construction of our country.

Besides grain, the output of industrial crops such as cotton and tobacco has considerably increased and the production of vegetables has gone up sharply.

Animal husbandry used to be the most backward branch of our agriculture. Our Party has created the foundation for further developing animal husbandry based primarily on livestock breeding by the co-operatives along with that by their individual members. Compared to 1956, in 1960 the number of cattle increased by 39 per cent, sheep and goats more than 100 per cent, pigs 58 per cent, and rabbits about 1,700 per cent.

In fruit growing, 100,000 *chongbo* of land has been brought under cultivation. The result is that the area under fruit trees has increased 6 times and total fruit output 3.6 times.

Further progress has been made in sericulture, bee raising and various other sidelines in agriculture. In particular agricul-

tural co-operatives in the mountainous areas are making effective use of the hills, thereby increasing their income.

The socialist agriculture of our country is now protected from the damage of flood and drought. It is rapidly doing away with outmoded technology, replacing it with the latest one, and it is becoming an advanced diversified sector of the economy.

With the rapid development of the national economy, it has become a very urgent task to meet our transport needs

To meet these fast growing needs, we had to strengthen railway transport definitely before anything else. During the years under review, we either newly laid or double-tracked the lines linking Haeju and Hasong, Pyongsan and Chihari, and Susong and Komusan, and we electrified more than 100 kilometres of railway lines We considerably improved the technical equipment of the railway and made more efficient use of the rolling stock. At the same time discipline and order in railway transport have been strengthened and its organization has been improved.

In 1960 the total turnover of rail freight more than doubled the 1956 figure; the cultural level and the quality of service on the railways were generally higher, both in freight and passenger traffic.

Road, sea and river transports, too, have developed rapidly. In 1957-60 the number of motor vehicles was nearly doubled; freight turnover by motor vehicles increased 4.3 times; and cargo shipping increased 4 4 times.

In the field of communications the telegraph and telephone network spread, wire broadcasting service was made available for 88 per cent of all rural *ri*, and radio broadcasting facilities were further strengthened.

Capital construction is of tremendous importance for the expansion of production and the improvement of the people's living standards. Especially in our country, which had formerly been backward and had suffered severe destruction in the war, we had to carry out a huge amount of construction during the Five-Year Plan.

Between 1957 and 1960, the state invested more than 2,000

million *won* in capital construction for the national economy and cultural construction. Compared with the period of the Three-Year Plan, this accounts for an average yearly increase of 40 per cent.

In order to successfully carry out the huge construction work it was important to build more quickly, efficiently and cheaply. This could only be done by discarding once and for all the outdated primitive methods and basing construction work on industrial, assembly-line methods. Industrialization of capital construction—this has been the basic construction policy that our Party unswervingly followed.

Overcoming all difficulties and obstacles we have thoroughly implemented the Party's policy and brought about a great change in capital construction. In 1960 we used assembly-line methods in over 20 per cent of industrial construction and about 60 per cent of housing construction. The rate of mechanization in construction went up to 53 per cent in excavation work, 50 per cent in loading and unloading, about 90 per cent in hoisting and 70 per cent in the mixing of concrete. We have expanded the production of building materials greatly and have raised their quality. We have also made marked improvements in our design work.

Along with this, we have carried out urban and rural construction through an all-people movement. Particularly in outlying areas locally-available building materials were extensively used to build many dwellings and cultural and welfare facilities.

As a result of the successes in capital construction, numerous factories, enterprises and productive establishments have been restored, expanded or newly built, and our towns and countryside have changed beyond recognition. Pyongyang, the democratic capital, has become a modern city, beautiful and magnificent. All the towns in our country have been built up from ashes, taking on a new, beautiful look. Now that the old mud huts have been torn down, our farm villages are also becoming attractive, modern and pleasant places to live in.

One of the major successes in construction work is that the

material and technical foundations have been strengthened, cadres for the building industry have been trained and rich experiences have been accumulated. In major towns and industrial centres we have set up construction enterprises equipped with new techniques and have established solid bases for the building-materials industry. Our designers, construction technicians and workers have learned to design and build excellent modern factories, enterprises and cultural establishments by themselves. These achievements will serve as assets to undertake larger-scale construction in the future.

Comrades, the cultural revolution is an important component of socialist construction. In the years under review we have seen tremendous achievements in improving and strengthening public education, in raising the cultural and technical level of the working people and in developing national culture and art.

In the field of education a compulsory primary school system was introduced in 1956 and a compulsory secondary school system in 1958. At present preparations are going along well for the enforcement of a compulsory nine-year technical education. Our network of different levels of schools has been enlarged extensively and enrollment has increased. In our country today 2,530,000 students, or about one-fourth of the population, are studying in more than 8,000 schools at different levels.

In order to build socialism and communism, the new generation should be brought up as cultured and harmoniously developed workers possessing general elementary knowledge and modern technology. Taking into consideration these practical needs of socialist construction, our Party reorganized the public school system in 1959 and took important measures to radically improve the work of all schools. Abolishing the previous system of senior middle schools which were divorced from real life and neglected technical training for students, we established the system of secondary and higher technical schools in its place, enabling all of our young people to acquire not only general knowledge of the fundamentals of science but also technical knowledge in a specific field. Along with this, we

have improved both content and methods of education in all of our schools on the principle of combining education with production and theory with practice. This reorganization of the public education system has completely eliminated the hangovers from the old society in the field of education. It fully embodies the Marxist-Leninist theory of education, and is in complete accord with the requirements of socialist construction in our country.

The training of our nation's technical cadres was a very important problem in our country, once an underdeveloped colony. Our Party has paid a great deal of attention to the training of national cadres ever since liberation and has achieved impressive results in this area. As a result of the continuing progress made in secondary and higher technical education during the period under review, the ranks of technical cadres have grown rapidly. There are now 133,000 engineers, assistant engineers and specialists, or twice as many as in 1956, working in all spheres of the national economy. Today, all modern factories and enterprises in our country are managed and operated by our own technicians and specialists. This is one of the greatest successes achieved by our Party and people in the building of a new society.

Further acceleration of socialist construction, however, requires more technical cadres. In order to satisfy the growing need for technical personnel our Party exerted great efforts both to increase the number of institutes of higher learning and to improve the quality of cadre training. During the Five-Year Plan the number of universities and colleges grew from 19 to 78, with an enrollment of 97,000 students, a fivefold increase. Particularly, with the aim of giving the working people the opportunity to receive higher education without interrupting their work in production, we have effected a large-scale expansion of the network of night schools and correspondence courses, and at the same time, have opened new kinds of colleges such as factory and communist colleges. Factory colleges have now been set up in over 20 major factories and enterprises and a communist college has been established in every provincial cen-

tre. These colleges have enrolled a large number of workers, functionaries of local government institutions and personnel in economic organs, who both work and study. Thus, we can now train cadres not only in ordinary colleges but at production sites as well. Factories and other enterprises in our country are serving a dual function: production centres and cadre-training centres.

In the one year since the factory and the communist colleges were established, our experience has proved to us that a factory is capable of managing a college; also, such colleges have many advantages. These colleges make possible the mass training of a new type of intellectual who comes from the working class and provide the possibility of most closely combining education with production and theory with practice. In addition, a large number of core workers have acquired a higher education without being separated from production, and the development of production and technology has been accelerated.

The general rise in the cultural and technical levels of our working people represents a major success in the cultural revolution. In order to improve the cultural and technical levels of the working people, the Party advanced the following principal slogan: All workers and peasants should acquire at least a general education at the junior middle-school level and master more than one technical skill To attain this goal we have vigorously carried on general and technical education among the workers and peasants with the production units as the base. There are now many adult primary and secondary schools in town and countryside with an enrollment of nearly one million workers and peasants. At the same time, the strengthening of technical studies and on-the-job technical training in factories and other enterprises has rapidly improved the working people's technical and skill levels

In the period we are reviewing there were also considerable achievements in the development of science. Compared with 1956, in 1960 the number of scientific research institutes has increased 2.6 times and the number of scientific workers 2.8 times. Our Party ... that we directed our main efforts in

science to solving the practical problems arising in socialist economic construction, particularly the pressing problems of technology for further industrial development using domestic raw materials. Following the Party's policy, our scientists and technicians have conducted their scientific research in close co-ordination with production and have achieved great successes—the completion of vinalon research, the solution of the problem of gasifying anthracite, semi-conductor research, and so forth. In this way they have greatly contributed to the development of our national economy.

Our literature and art have entered a period of full bloom. Our Party's consistent policy on literature and art is to develop a new national culture reflecting the life and sentiments of our people under the socialist system while, at the same time, critically carrying forward our time-honoured cultural heritage and assimilating, also in a critical way, the achievements of advanced culture of foreign countries. We have resolutely fought against all manifestations of reactionary bourgeois ideology in literature and art as well as against their penetration from the outside. We have endeavoured to develop revolutionary literature and art that truly serve the working people.

Acting consistently on the Party's policy on literature and art, our writers and artists have created many excellent literary and artistic works depicting the history of our people's glorious struggle and our working people's gigantic struggle in the present. Our literature and art have become the possessions of the workers and peasants, and are flourishing with added vigour among the broad masses.

Thus, literature and art have become powerful media in our country for the communist education of the working people, inspiring their struggle to build a new society.

The rapid development of industry, agriculture and all other branches of the national economy and the elimination of all types of exploitation have resulted in further improvement of the material and cultural life of the people.

In 1960 the national income was 2.1 times greater than in 1956. In our country this income belongs to all the people; it is

ised to expand socialist production and to enhance the working people's well-being. Important here is to properly combine accumulation and consumption and to correctly adjust these two factors in order to eliminate considerable differences in the living standards of workers and peasants.

In our country one-fourth of the national income is now earmarked for accumulation and about three-quarters goes to the working people for personal consumption.

The real wages of factory and office workers in 1960 were 2.1 times higher than in 1956. Their real wages have now reached the level necessary to provide stable living conditions.

During the same period the real earnings of the peasantry, too, showed a marked increase. The peasants' living conditions in mountainous areas have also improved, attaining a level as high as that of the peasants on the plains. The problem of poor peasants, unsolved in our country for a long time, has been completely settled. Thus, the living standards of our peasants as a whole have come up to the level of the former middle peasants or well-to-do middle peasants.

The large-scale construction of housing in rural and urban areas has also improved housing conditions for the working people. From 1957 to 1960 alone, we provided 6,220,000 square metres of new houses in towns and 5,060,000 square metres in the countryside.

Today, our working people are free from worries about food, clothing and housing, although they still do not live in abundance.

Not only has the problem of food, clothing and housing essentially been solved, but also the supply of commodities to the working people has in general improved. Compared with 1956, the turnover in retail trade in 1960 increased 3.1 times—2.5 times for foodstuffs and 3.7 times for other goods. During this period the trade network grew 1.9 times. As a result, our working people can buy the articles they need at the same prices anywhere—whether in town, village, or remote mountain regions.

The working people in our country enjoy enormous state and social benefits in addition to the income from their labour. In 1960 the state budgetary expenditures for social and cultural services were about four times as great as in 1956.

Tuition fees have been abolished in all schools. Thus, the younger generation receives free education. In addition the overwhelming majority of university, college and specialized school students even receive state stipends.

Free medical care in our country has already been made universal. Compared with 1956, the number of doctors in public health in 1960 increased two times and that of hospitals and clinics 2.9 times. Medical service for the working people has continued to improve. By 1960 the death rate of the population had dropped by half compared with the years of Japanese imperialist rule, whereas the growth rate had increased 2.7 times.

Workers and office employees have the benefits of paid holidays; hundreds of thousands of working people enjoy a good rest every year at vacation homes and sanatoria at the expense of the state. A large number of nurseries and kindergartens, where children are excellently brought up, have been set up and maintained at state and public expense. Women are thus provided with the conditions for participating in social labour. In 1960 there were 31 times as many nurseries and kindergartens as in 1956, accommodating about 700,000 children.

All this is strong witness to our Party's and the state's tremendous concern for the welfare of the working people, a veritable burgeoning of communism in our country.

Comrades, we have scored great achievements in the construction of socialism. Our economy and culture have developed at an unprecedentedly rapid rate and all aspects of our society have radically changed.

Our country, once a backward, colonial, agrarian state, and reduced to ashes by the war, has now been transformed into a socialist industrial-agricultural state with independent economic foundations. Our working people in the past were ill-clothed, hungry, and lived in ignorance and darkness, far removed from

the civilized world. Today, however, they are leading a happy life full of hopes, free from any worries and anxieties, they are mastering science and technology, and they are becoming well-educated and enlightened builders of society.

Today we can say with confidence that our country and our people have completely rid themselves of the age-old backwardness and poverty.

3. CHOLLIMA MOVEMENT

Comrades,

Our country has made tremendous achievements in socialist construction amidst its great upsurge and in the course of the advancement of the Chollima Movement.

The Chollima Movement manifests the great creative force of our people firmly united around our Party. It is an all-people movement to push the construction of socialism to the utmost.

Our country inherited a backward economy and culture from the old society; moreover it went through a fierce three-year war. With our country divided into north and south, we are building socialism in direct confrontation with the U.S. imperialists, while at the same time struggling for the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. This situation demanded of us a hard unyielding struggle. In order to eliminate our historical backwardness rapidly, in order to accelerate the reunification of the country, which is our supreme national goal, we had to move ahead much faster than other peoples

In view of this particular necessity for the revolution's development, our Party mapped out a policy for definitely speeding up the construction of socialism in the northern half of the Republic, and, on this basis, it organized and mobilized all the working people for this heroic struggle.

The working people of our country, educated and trained by our Party, had a profound awareness of the urgent requirements of our revolution's development and of their historic

mission. And they unanimously supported the Party's policy of accelerating socialist construction.

Responding eagerly to the appeal of the Party, "Rush at the speed of Chollima!", our working people fought through thick and thin to carry out the tasks proposed by the Party; they pushed themselves to the limit, vying with each other to be the foremost and bravely overcoming all obstacles and difficulties.

Thus, we made innovations and wrought amazing miracles almost every day on all fronts of socialist construction.

Our heroic working class built 300,000 to 400,000 ton-capacity blast furnaces in less than a year, laid a standard-gauge railway more than 80 kilometres long in 75 days, and erected a huge, up-to-date vinalon factory in a little over one year on a spot which had been mere waste land. Our working people produced more than 13,000 extra machine tools over and above the state plan within a year by the let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement. Within a period of three to four months they built over 1,000 factories for local industry by utilizing idle materials and manpower in localities. And in six months they carried out tremendous projects for transforming nature aimed at irrigating 370,000 *chongbo* of rice paddies and dry fields. There are innumerable cases like these.

All these symbolize the heroic spirit and creative talent of our people who are rushing ahead at the speed of Chollima under the leadership of the Party.

Steadily advancing the Chollima Movement, we have ensured an annual industrial growth rate of at least 30 to 40 per cent, boosted our backward rural economy in a short time and rebuilt from ruins cities and villages which now have a completely new appearance.

The great upsurge of socialist construction and the Chollima Movement in our country are lawful phenomena that took place on the basis of the great social and economic changes made in the postwar period and of all the material and moral forces our Party and people built up in the course of their protracted, difficult struggle.

The decisive victory of the socialist revolution and the laying of the country's independent economic foundation provided the social, economic and material conditions for a great upsurge in economic and cultural construction and were objective causes of the Chollima Movement.

Objective conditions and possibilities alone, however, are not always enough to stimulate a great upsurge in socialist construction. We also need our own inner forces, that is, the Party's ability to lead the masses to a revolutionary upsurge and the firm determination of the masses to carry through the will of the Party.

Through its arduous struggles the Party has earned unquestioned prestige and trust among the masses and has rallied them firmly around itself. The steel-like unity of the Party ranks and the comprehensive establishment of the Marxist-Leninist leadership system in the Party increased its fighting capacity and decisively enhanced its prestige and influence among the masses. Thus, the will and ideas of the Party have always penetrated deeply into the masses and have become their own will and ideas.

Our people have accepted the Party's lines and policies as a matter of vital personal interest and have devoted all they have to the struggle for the revolutionary cause and for the prosperity and progress of their country. It is only natural that our people should display exceptional revolutionary zeal to bring their backward country into the ranks of the advanced ones and to improve their difficult living conditions as soon as possible. It is only natural because, deprived of power in the past, our people have seized power in their hands and defended it with their blood and because, oppressed and humiliated before, they have freed themselves from all exploitation and oppression

Relying firmly on the high political enthusiasm and inexhaustible creative power of the working people, our Party has launched bold projects on all fronts of socialist construction and has vigorously carried them out.

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Through its arduous struggles the Party has earned unquestioned prestige and trust among the masses and has rallied them firmly around itself The steel-like unity of the Party ranks and the comprehensive establishment of the Marxist-Leninist leadership system in the Party increased its fighting capacity and decisively enhanced its prestige and influence among the masses. Thus, the will and ideas of the Party have always penetrated deeply into the masses and have become their own will and ideas

Our people have accepted the Party's lines and policies as a matter of vital personal interest and have devoted all they have to the struggle for the revolutionary cause and for the prosperity and progress of their country. It is only natural that our people should display exceptional revolutionary zeal to bring their backward country into the ranks of the advanced ones and to improve their difficult living conditions as soon as possible. It is only natural because, deprived of power in the past, our people have seized power in their hands and defended it with their blood and because, oppressed and humiliated before, they have freed themselves from all exploitation and oppression.

Relying firmly on the high political enthusiasm and inexhaustible creative power of the working people, our Party has launched bold projects on all fronts of socialist construction and has vigorously carried them out.

In formulating its policy for each period of our revolution's development, our Party not only analysed the present and im-

mission. And they unanimously supported the Party's policy of accelerating socialist construction.

Responding eagerly to the appeal of the Party, "Rush at the speed of Chollima!", our working people fought through thick and thin to carry out the tasks proposed by the Party; they pushed themselves to the limit, vying with each other to be the foremost and bravely overcoming all obstacles and difficulties.

Thus, we made innovations and wrought amazing miracles almost every day on all fronts of socialist construction.

Our heroic working class built 300,000 to 400,000 ton-capacity blast furnaces in less than a year, laid a standard-gauge railway more than 80 kilometres long in 75 days, and erected a huge, up-to-date vinalon factory in a little over one year on a spot which had been mere waste land. Our working people produced more than 13,000 extra machine tools over and above the state plan within a year by the let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement. Within a period of three to four months they built over 1,000 factories for local industry by utilizing idle materials and manpower in localities. And in six months they carried out tremendous projects for transforming nature aimed at irrigating 370,000 *chongbo* of rice paddies and dry fields. There are innumerable cases like these.

All these symbolize the heroic spirit and creative talent of our people who are rushing ahead at the speed of Chollima under the leadership of the Party.

Steadily advancing the Chollima Movement, we have ensured an annual industrial growth rate of at least 30 to 40 per cent, boosted our backward rural economy in a short time and rebuilt from ruins cities and villages which now have a completely new appearance.

The great upsurge of socialist construction and the Chollima Movement in our country are lawful phenomena that took place on the basis of the great social and economic changes made in the postwar period and of all the material and moral forces our Party and people built up in the course of their protracted, difficult struggle.

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mediate future but always scientifically foresaw the long-range prospects of the country's development; it showed the masses the right way to go and a clear goal in their struggle. Once a policy had been formulated, our Party never flinched for a moment in front of any complex and difficult circumstances, and with untiring tenacity it carried its lines and policies to their ultimate conclusions.

Dynamically prompting the masses to ever higher revolutionary zeal, our Party would settle one problem and immediately go on to another, and feed the flames of continual advance and uninterrupted innovation in all areas of socialist construction. At the same time, the Party correctly grasped the central link in every stage of socialist construction and concentrated on it, thereby completely solving one problem after another and gaining full control of the whole chain of socialist construction.

The scientific foresight that went into each of our Party's policy decisions, its fidelity to Marxist-Leninist principles and the unexcelled revolutionary sweep in implementing a policy always gave the working people complete confidence in their work and helped them advance without the slightest vacillation along the road indicated by the Party towards the triumph of the great cause of socialism.

The wise leadership of the Party, its strong unity with the people, their singular resolve to advance rapidly and their revolutionary enthusiasm—these underlie the great upsurge in socialist construction and the Chollima Movement and constitute the decisive guarantee for all our victories.

Comrades, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, the masses of the people create history. Socialism and communism can be built only by the conscious, creative labour of millions of working people. Therefore, in the construction of socialism it is crucial to stimulate the creative power of the masses to the utmost and bring their enthusiasm, initiative and abilities into full play. The might of the Chollima Movement in our country lies in the very fact that it is a mass movement that gives full scope to the revolutionary zeal and creative talent of our people.

As is true of all mass movements for change, the Chollima Movement has started and developed in the course of struggle against the old, in the course of breaking through difficulties and obstacles. When socialist construction entered the period of upsurge in our country, the main obstacles to rousing the revolutionary zeal and creative activity of the working people were passivism, conservatism and the mystification of technology. Passivism and conservatism in socialist construction expressed themselves in distrust of the strength of our heroic working class and the inexhaustible creative power and talent of our people. The passivists and conservatives tried to suppress the masses' creativity by clinging to old rated capacities and standards and by presenting science and technology as mysteries. Intimidated by difficulties and fearful of innovation, they attempted to inhibit the great onward movement of the masses Without shattering passivism, conservatism and the mystification of technology, we could not have brought about the great upsurge in socialist construction nor could we have developed the Chollima Movement.

Our Party has waged a powerful ideological struggle among the cadres and working people against passivism and conservatism. Tirelessly it has worked to arm them with the revolutionary spirit of thinking boldly, acting boldly and making continual advance and uninterrupted innovation. The Party has always believed in the masses' great creative power and has actively supported their daring suggestions and initiatives, giving them as much help as possible to put them into practice. Boundlessly inspired by the correct leadership of the Party, our working people have smashed passivism and conservatism, courageously surmounted all kinds of difficulties and realized many achievements in work totally inconceivable in the past.

In promoting a high degree of labour enthusiasm and creative activity for socialist construction among the masses of the people, it is vital to continuously raise their political and ideological consciousness, properly combining this with the principle of material incentive.

A real upswing in the labour of the masses and real mass heroism in socialist construction will be possible only when the broad sections of the working people are armed firmly with the spirit of faithful service to the Party and the revolution and with the spirit of devotion to the struggle for the country and the people. Unless we consistently raise the political awareness and the level of consciousness of the masses, real communist attitudes towards work cannot be cultivated among them.

Under socialism, the political and moral stimulus to labour should always be backed by material incentive. Distribution according to the quality and quantity of work performed is an objective law in socialist society. It is a powerful way of opposing those who do not work and try to live on the work of others and of giving a material impulse to the working people's enthusiasm for production.

Our Party has consistently followed the policy of giving priority to political work in all activities and strengthening communist education among the working people so that they may display voluntary enthusiasm and devotion in work, and of properly pursuing the socialist principle of distribution to stimulate material interest.

The correctness of this Party policy has been clearly manifested in the unprecedented labour upsurge of our working people. Today they are working with all their energy and talent for the benefit of the state and society, for their own happiness. The excellent communist traits of loving work and regarding it as the highest honour, helping each other, working collectively and enjoying a happy life together are rapidly being fostered among our working people.

The enthusiasm for work and creative initiative of the masses can only be really effective when combined with science and technology. Mass enthusiasm alone, without scientific development and technological progress, neither takes us very far nor encourages continued innovation.

For the rapid development of science and technology, the active participation of the broad masses of working people is necessary, and creative co-operation between the workers and

peasants and the scientists and technicians should be strengthened. We have thoroughly discredited the incorrect view that only specially qualified people can develop science and technology. We have evolved a mass movement among the working people to acquire new technical know-how and have inspired them to make constant technical renovations. In our development of technology we have strongly opposed the tendency to underestimate the creative proposals and initiatives of the workers and peasants while, at the same time, strictly guarding against the tendency to ignore the significance of science and the role of scientists. We have always tried to combine labour and science and to promote close co-operation between the workers and peasants and the scientists and technicians. As the working masses are becoming familiar with science and technology and as co-operation between the workers and peasants and the scientists and technicians has been strengthened, science and technology have developed even faster in our country, and a collective movement for technological renovation has been launched widely in all spheres of the national economy.

As a result, all the wisdom, talent, enthusiasm and creative power of our people, which had been suppressed, denigrated and buried before, have blossomed in the Chollima Movement and have accomplished uninterrupted innovations in the construction of our economy and culture.

The major political and economic importance of the Chollima Movement lies first of all in the fact that it has assured a high rate of socialist construction.

A high rate of economic growth is a law of socialist society and presupposes the planned and proportionate development of the national economy. If we violate the principles of planning and balancing in economic development, a tremendous amount of materials, funds and labour will be wasted and general economic development will eventually slow down, although certain branches may temporarily attain a high rate of development.

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ment of the national economy. That is why we could steadily maintain the continuous high rate of growth and accelerate socialist construction in all areas even more throughout the Five-Year Plan period, to say nothing of the postwar rehabilitation period.

However high the rate of economic development may be, there will never be unevenness as long as it is strictly based on realistic possibilities. Of course, it is extremely difficult to keep things balanced while moving ahead very quickly. But the rate of development should not be reduced in order to maintain an equilibrium. Planning and balancing are not ends in themselves; they are a means to achieve a high rate of development. Thus, it is essential that we develop all branches simultaneously at a rapid rate by relying on the advantages of the socialist system, the creative power of the masses, and making the maximum use of the latent reserves and potentialities of our national economy. In our work of socialist construction we have always calculated material conditions and possibilities accurately and trusted in the revolutionary zeal and creative power of our people who have been tempered in hard struggle. On this basis we have consistently drawn up ambitious and dynamic plans and mobilized the masses to fulfil them.

At the same time, our Party properly connected and adequately co-ordinated the development of all branches of the national economy, thereby boosting those falling behind before it was too late and preventing possible imbalances. Our Party made the year 1960 a period of adjustment. This was the most reasonable and judicious way to secure the right balancing in the national economy and maintain a high rate of development. In 1960 we eased the strain some branches had begun to feel in the course of the rapid development of the national economy, bolstered certain lagging branches, and further raised our people's material and cultural standards. Thus in all branches we fulfilled or overfulfilled the assignments of the Five-Year Plan, consolidated our successes, and made full preparations for the successful completion of a new perspective plan. This has enabled us to maintain and stimulate the upsurge in socialist con-

struction. It has allowed us to continue with the Chollima advance on a higher level.

Comrades,

In the Chollima Movement our Party found a definite guarantee for the successful building of socialism in our country. It has firmly taken the reins of this movement in hand and continuously developed it in scope and depth.

The Chollima Movement gained momentum after the socialist transformation of productive relations was completed and during the all-Party struggle against the survivals of all outdated ideas such as passivism, conservatism and mysticism. It was given special impetus during the intensification of communist education among the masses and the radical transformation of Party work into active, creative work with people.

Regarding as the primary task in Party work the education and remoulding of all the people and their firm unity around itself, our Party strengthened its work with people in every way. Above all, it carried out intensive communist education among the masses, which was combined with the education in the revolutionary traditions. Since the masses accepted the Party policy of education and remoulding of all people, the transformation of men has been taken over by the masses themselves, and has been linked more closely with their productive activities.

The main feature of the Chollima Workteam Movement, which is now widespread among our working people, lies in integrating the drive for collective innovation in production with the education and remoulding of the working people.

The Chollima Workteam Movement, as an intensified and developed form of the Chollima Movement, has become a powerful impetus to the development of the national economy and an ideal method of mass economic management by the working people, as well as an excellent means of mass education for remoulding everyone into the new type of communist man Our Chollima riders are not only innovators in production; they are also capable management personnel, expert organizers and real communist educators.

In our country the Chollima Workteam Movement is presently going on in all fields of industry, agriculture, transport, construction, science, education, culture, public health, and so on, and the ranks of the Chollima riders, the heroes of our age, are growing from day to day. As of the end of August this year, over 2 million working people had joined the movement; 4,958 workteams and workshops, comprising 125,028 people, had received the title of Chollima; and 55 workteams with 1,459 people had been honoured with the title of Double Chollima.

Thus, the Chollima Movement has become a great revolutionary movement of the working millions of our country, sweeping away everything antiquated from all spheres of the economy, culture, ideology and morality, and constantly making innovations and accelerating socialist construction at an unprecedented rate. The movement has become our Party's general line in the construction of socialism.

The essence of this line is to unite all the working people more firmly around the Party by educating and remoulding them in communist ideology, and to build socialism more solidly and quickly by allowing their revolutionary enthusiasm and creative talent full expression. The indestructible vitality of this line lies in the fact that the masses of people initiated it, that the Party advanced this line by reflecting the will of the masses and generalizing their practical experience in struggle, and that the masses therefore accepted it wholeheartedly.

On the strength of this line our Party has won great victories in socialist construction. By continuing to follow it, the Party will achieve even greater victories in the future.

4. CONSOLIDATION OF THE STATE AND SOCIAL SYSTEM

Comrades,

As a result of the great socio-economic changes which have taken place in our country, the people's power has been further

strengthened and our state and social system has been consolidated as never before.

Our people's power, a mighty weapon of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism, has fulfilled its functions well and demonstrated its indestructible vitality. Today, the basis of our state is the socialist economic system which is completely dominant in town and countryside. Our state relies on the foundation of an independent national economy. The people's power has its own firm economic basis and can make more efficient use of all the country's resources for the welfare of the people and the national prosperity.

The class structure of our society has also undergone a fundamental change.

The working class has strongly maintained its position as the leading force in our society. During the period under review, working-class ranks have grown rapidly, their organization and political consciousness have been strengthened and their technical and cultural levels have been raised even more.

In our country today factory and office workers make up 52 per cent of the total population. Our working class, having taken power into its hands, has displayed an untiring fighting spirit and revolutionary stamina in leading all the working people and even non-working people along the road to socialism. It has thus honourably carried out its historical mission to abolish for ever all systems of exploitation. Showing inexhaustible creative power and talent, our working class has made miraculous achievements in socialist construction, and it is now advancing at the head of the Chollima Movement of the entire people.

The peasants now participate in the collective socialist economy and have freed themselves once and for all from centuries of exploitation and poverty. Not only has the peasants' position in the society and in the economy changed, but their ideological consciousness has altered considerably and their cultural level is rising rapidly. Today our peasantry, a reliable ally of the working class, has become a powerful force in socialist construction and has displayed a high degree of patriotic

enthusiasm in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life.

Our intellectuals have also changed radically. Thanks to the patient education by our Party and through struggles of revolution and construction intellectuals from the old society have turned into socialist intellectuals. At the same time, a large army of new intellectuals from the working people has been trained. Today our intellectuals serve the Party and the cause of the working class faithfully and play a major role in socialist construction.

In our country now there are neither exploiting nor exploited classes. Participating in the socialist economic system, all our people have established comradely relationships with each other; they work together in close co-operation for their common interests and prosperity. The worker-peasant alliance has been further solidified on the basis of socialism, the political and moral unity of the entire people has become as strong as steel on the basis of that alliance.

Thus, our people's power has established a firmer political foundation than ever before.

So that the people's power can function successfully, we must steadily strengthen the state organs at various levels and constantly improve the work of the state. During the period under review we took a series of important measures designed to reorganize the work of these organs in accordance with the new changing reality and to enhance their role and functions in socialist construction.

With the complete triumph of socialist relations of production and after all branches of the national economy had been brought under the state planning system, the most important tasks were to increase the functions of the state organs, in particular the local people's committees with regard to the management of the economy, and to raise their level of planning. In the past, the people's committees dealt mainly with the private economy, and at most their role was to control and adjust its development. The socialist economy, however, cannot be guided in this way. The new situation required that the people's

committees guide local industry and the rural economy in a planned manner, and that they directly organize and administer the supply services to the working people, educational and cultural work and city administration. With a view to the people's committees successfully performing these economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions, we reorganized the work of the people's committees, changing the former system of guiding the private economy into one of guiding the socialist economy. Moreover, we further reinforced the planning commissions of the local people's committees.

In addition, because industry was expanded on a gigantic scale and local industry, in particular, had made great progress, the old system of industrial management became incompatible with reality. In order to bring the state organs' guidance of industry closer to the local level and to guarantee concrete and flexible guidance, it was necessary to relieve the central ministries and bureaus of a large part of their responsibilities and definitely strengthen the local organs of industrial management. Hence, our Party saw to it that quite a few industrial enterprises, formerly controlled directly by the central ministries and bureaus, were transferred to the provinces and that provincial economic commissions were set up to administer local industry and construction. Along with this, we merged some central ministries and bureaus, greatly simplifying their apparatus, and sent a large number of management and technical personnel to work in the local areas The reorganization of the industrial management system has led to the strengthening of centralized, unified guidance in industrial management and, at the same time, to the enhancement of the role of the provinces and the further promotion of democracy. This reorganization enabled ministries and bureaus to concentrate their efforts on the control over industrial enterprises of national importance by freeing those central organs from cumbersome paper work on the one hand, and on the other, it enabled them to contribute to a more rapid development of local industry by reinforcing the local bodies of industrial management. The establishment of provincial economic commissions has widened the independence

enthusiasm in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life.

Our intellectuals have also changed radically. Thanks to the patient education by our Party and through struggles of revolution and construction intellectuals from the old society have turned into socialist intellectuals. At the same time, a large army of new intellectuals from the working people has been trained. Today our intellectuals serve the Party and the cause of the working class faithfully and play a major role in socialist construction.

In our country now there are neither exploiting nor exploited classes. Participating in the socialist economic system, all our people have established comradely relationships with each other; they work together in close co-operation for their common interests and prosperity. The worker-peasant alliance has been further solidified on the basis of socialism, the political and moral unity of the entire people has become as strong as steel on the basis of that alliance.

Thus, our people's power has established a firmer political foundation than ever before.

So that the people's power can function successfully, we must steadily strengthen the state organs at various levels and constantly improve the work of the state. During the period under review we took a series of important measures designed to reorganize the work of these organs in accordance with the new changing reality and to enhance their role and functions in socialist construction.

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and initiative of the provinces and made possible the more effective exploitation of local sources of raw materials and all the reserves latent in the outlying areas.

It is important in consolidating state organs to raise the guidance level of the functionaries and improve their style of work.

In order to put an end to a situation in which the level of guidance of our functionaries lagged behind economic development, we have both intensified cadre formation and education and strengthened guidance and assistance to lower organs by higher ones. At the same time we have constantly waged a vigorous struggle to eliminate bureaucracy and establish the popular method of work in state institutions at all levels. Today, in all state organs, we have essentially corrected bureaucratic and armchair work methods where functionaries simply sit at their desks, collect complicated statistics and issue various orders. In its place we are instituting the work method of going down to lower level organizations, factories and enterprises to see how things are on the spot and to give real assistance to the lower organ functionaries. In addition, our functionaries in state and economic organs are acquiring a genuinely popular work style: they go among the masses and work with them, at which time they bring them the Party lines and policies and solve all problems by discussing them directly with the masses and stimulating their enthusiasm and initiative.

As a result, the role and functions of the state organs at all levels in building socialism have been further raised, the government organs have begun to influence the people deeply, and broad sections of working people are taking an active part in state affairs.

Comrades, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the genuine homeland of all the Korean people and enjoys their unreserved support and love. Ours is an authentic people's state, which guarantees not only political freedom and rights for the people, but also a happy material and cultural life. Our state is most democratic and stable; it was founded by the people; it is led by the working class; it relies on the

united, combined strength of all the people based on the worker-peasant alliance; and it enlists the vast majority of our popular masses in the affairs of the state.

Our people see their future freedom and happiness in the prosperity and development of the Republic and they have an unshakable faith in its invincibility. Our working people have complete confidence that they can build a paradise of socialism and communism on the soil of their homeland, and they devote all their energy and talent to the struggle for their country's eternal prosperity. Our people are staunchly determined to crush any imperialist invasion decisively, to safeguard the independence and honour of their country and to reunify their divided land, by further strengthening the political, economic and military power of the Republic.

The prosperity and development of our Republic exert a powerful revolutionary influence on the south Korean people who suffer under the cruel oppression and exploitation of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. The striking contrast between the situation in north and south Korea has led the south Korean people to realize even more clearly that they can only enjoy real freedom and happiness when they are completely freed from the yoke of foreign imperialism and when the people take power into their own hands. The people in south Korea see their bright future reflected in the prosperity and development of our Republic; and they are gaining infinite energy and courage from its growing might. Regarding our Republic as the mighty stronghold for the country's reunification, they fight ever more stubbornly against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is exercising a tremendous influence upon all Korean citizens abroad. Since they were people without a country of their own, a great number of Koreans in the past were subjected to national discrimination and all sorts of humiliation in foreign countries and they suffered from a complete lack of rights and abject poverty. Today, however, as citizens of a proud independent state, they can claim their rights as well as return to the bosom

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of the homeland to live happily. Already tens of thousands of our countrymen in Japan have returned to the Republic and settled down, free from any inconvenience or worry, and still more of them are coming home.

All these facts demonstrate that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the glorious home of all the Korean people, has become the banner of their freedom and happiness and that its influence continues to grow.

For nearly half a century the Korean people were dispossessed of their country. Today our people have a mighty country of their own—a country in a period of unprecedented prosperity. Our people are immensely proud of their fatherland, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and consider it a high honour to be its citizens.

No force can break the strength of the Korean people or block their march forward now that they have rallied under the banner of the Republic.

II. FAR-REACHING PROSPECTS

1. BASIC TASKS OF THE SEVEN-YEAR PLAN

Comrades,

Broad new horizons are opening up for our people who have already achieved outstanding successes in building a new society. With a victorious feeling of immense pride, with greater hope for the future, all of our working people have set out to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy. These seven years will mark a decisive period in the socialist construction of our country.

The fundamental tasks of the Seven-Year Plan are to carry out a comprehensive technological reconstruction and the cultural revolution, and to make radical improvements in the people's living conditions by relying on the triumphant social-

people. The technical and cultural revolutions are closely related, and without the latter we can scarcely expect to implement the former successfully. Although significant results have been achieved in eliminating the country's cultural backwardness, in this field as well, revolution must be continually pushed ahead. We must greatly expand the ranks of scientific and technical cadres; we must see to it that all the working people gain knowledge and skill in operating modern machinery efficiently; and we must educate the coming generation so that they will be well-rounded, capable builders of communism.

The object of socialist construction is, after all, to ensure a plentiful and cultured life for all the people. Our Party removed the social source of exploitation and poverty and developed the productive forces, thereby solving the most basic problem in our people's material life. Now, our task is to raise their general standard of living to a level high enough for a socialist society. During the first half of the Seven-Year Plan we should direct our efforts to improving the working people's welfare. During the second half we should continue to pay serious attention to this so that in six or seven years all the people can be well-off in all respects.

Socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic is the determining factor for the nation-wide victory of the Korean revolution. The fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy will further develop the revolutionary base set up in the northern half into an invincible force and be decisive in promoting the peaceful reunification of the country. Completion of this plan will not only lay an adequate foundation for the prosperous material and cultural life of our people in the northern half. It will also further consolidate the base of the independent national economy enough to rehabilitate the devastated economy of south Korea and to relieve its people from famine and poverty in the future.

In order to accomplish the historic tasks of the Seven-Year Plan successfully we must continue to follow the Party's line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry, while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, and fully

developing science and culture. In the postwar period, even on the debris, we overcame all difficulties to carry this line through, laid the foundation of the national economy, further consolidated it, and markedly improved the material and cultural life of the people. In the future as well, we must continue to abide firmly by this line. Thus, we must effect an overall technological renovation, bring about a flowering of national culture and quickly raise the people's standard of living.

For another great leap forward in socialist construction, we must maintain the high speed of our advance and move ahead even more rapidly. Our realities demand this, for the country still lags behind economically and technologically; and the situation in our country demands this, for its southern half continues to be occupied by the U.S. imperialists. Our people are now trying to speed up socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic with renewed effort They are filled with revolutionary will to rescue their brothers in south Korea, a living hell, as rapidly as possible.

We must consolidate the socialist system we have already won and raise the communist consciousness of the working people even higher so that all the people participate in the construction of socialism with exalted spirits and continue the grand Chollima advance. All Party members and working people must devote their full energy to master new technology, arm themselves with advanced scientific knowledge, sweep away everything obsolete and stagnant, create new norms and records everywhere, and make uninterrupted innovation and continual advance.

Therefore, it is incumbent on us to strengthen the power of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in every possible way and forge an even stronger unity of all the people of north and south Korea around the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic. In this way we will prepare powerful political and economic forces for building a unified, independent, wealthy and strong Korea.

2. INDUSTRY

The Seven-Year Plan envisages rapid quantitative and qualitative progress in industry.

Total value of industrial output will increase annually by an average of 18 per cent. By 1967 it will be about 3.2 times as great as in 1960, representing 3.2-fold increase in the output of the means of production and 3.1-fold in the output of consumer goods. Industrial production will then surpass the prewar level more than 20 times, and far more manufactured goods will be produced in one year than were produced in the entire period of the last Five-Year Plan. This means that our industry will continue to advance at Chollima speed and our country will be industrialized in a short period of time.

The central task confronting industry in the Seven-Year Plan period is to establish in our country an independent industrial system which is developed in a many-sided way, has its own stable base of raw materials and is fully equipped with the latest technology. This is to be done by further perfecting the structure of industrial production and reinforcing its technological foundation. Only this kind of industry will make it possible to develop and utilize the rich and varied natural resources of the country rationally, to effect the technological reconstruction of the entire national economy, and to radically improve the living conditions of our people.

Heavy industry will play the leading role in achieving industrialization and promoting the people's welfare.

The greatest efforts our Party has directed to developing heavy industry have resulted in the establishment of the machine-building industry and all the other key branches of heavy industry. But our country's heavy industry, which developed quickly in a short period of time, still lacks a number of auxiliary branches and is inadequate in many respects. We have built the skeleton of heavy industry, so to speak, but have not yet put enough flesh on it.

Hence, the first important task before us is to fill the gaps in heavy industry, put flesh on its skeleton, and then expand its bases. To this end, we must continue to re-equip and expand existing heavy industry factories and equip them with new technology. At the same time we must build new, large-scale enterprises to produce and supply all branches of the national economy with the machinery, equipment, raw and other materials they need. During the Seven-Year Plan we must rapidly develop the machine-building, chemical, fuel and power and iron and steel industries; we must rebuild and better equip heavy industry as a whole. Thus we should markedly increase the country's economic strength and enable our heavy industry to serve the development of light industry and agriculture more effectively.

In order to ensure the rapid development of the national economy, the first necessity is to expand and consolidate our fuel and power bases. In particular, the electric power industry should be developed ahead of other branches in order to accelerate the electrification of the country, which is of great significance in technological progress.

Our Party's policy for developing the power industry is to continue to build large hydroelectric power stations by extensively tapping our country's rich waterpower resources and, simultaneously, to promote the construction of thermoelectric power stations Not only can we build a thermoelectric power station in less time and at lower costs than a hydroelectric power station; it will also allow us to guarantee a regular supply of electricity during the dry season and to use power for many purposes. Only by combining the construction of water and thermal power stations in a rational way can we considerably increase our generating capacity in a short period of time, eliminate the bias of our power industry to hydraulic power, and thus qualitatively consolidate the electric power bases.

During the period of the Seven-Year Plan, we should build many new thermoelectric power stations as well as large hydroelectric ones to increase power generating capacity by over

2,000,000 kw and bring the total generating capacity to 3,300,000 to 3,500,000 kw.

An urgent problem in expanding our power bases is to produce our own generating equipment. This is, of course, a difficult job; but we should try to domestically manufacture and supply, little by little, complete sets of equipment for water and thermal power stations including large-sized generators.

As for the fuel industry, in order to increase coal output rapidly, we should concentrate investment on coal mines which have large deposits and favourable mining conditions and should step up capital construction so that the gangways of every coal mine are almost completely lined with concrete. All the collieries should raise the level of mechanization in every possible way and carry on a vigorous movement for technical renovation beginning with the extensive application of the hydraulic coal-cutting method. Thus, we should increase annual coal output to 23,000,000 to 25,000,000 tons by the end of the Seven-Year Plan.

The metal industry, particularly ferrous metallurgy, is of tremendous significance in speeding up the technological reconstruction of the national economy and reinforcing the foundation of the country's independent economy. Unless we produce and supply a large quantity of iron materials, it will be impossible to manufacture lots of machinery and equipment and carry out large-scale construction.

We should re-equip and expand existing iron and steel works and make better use of different metallurgical facilities. We should begin extensive construction to develop the Kim Chaek Iron Works so that within the next ten years it will be a steel producing centre with an annual capacity of 3,000,000 tons. The first stage of the project must be to create an annual output capacity of 1,800,000 tons during the Seven-Year Plan. In addition, a new steel plant should be built to process the ore dust abundant on the west coast.

Thus, towards the end of the Seven-Year Plan the annual output of pig and granulated iron should reach 2,200,000 to 2,500,000 tons, steel—2,200,000 to 2,500,000 tons, and rolled

steel—1,600,000 to 1,800,000 tons. At the same time we should direct our efforts to expanding the variety of steel materials and, in particular, to developing the production of alloy steel.

In nonferrous metallurgy we will expand the production capacity of the existing smelteries and will build rolling mills for nonferrous metals so that domestic products meet the demands for various nonferrous rolled goods

We should pay great attention to the production of light metals. First of all, we should process nephelite in a comprehensive way and thus produce our own aluminium for industrial use.

To meet the growing demands of the metal industry for various ores, we should expand existing mines, improve their technological equipment and develop more new mines during the Seven-Year Plan.

At the same time, we should step up geological prospecting in every way. We should produce and supply this field with more equipment and materials and set up enough laboratories and assaying centres, while at the same time placing more emphasis on training specialists in this field.

One of the most important tasks under the Seven-Year Plan is the large-scale development of the chemical industry.

The development of the chemical industry will not only accelerate technical progress in the national economy but also play an important role in ensuring the varied and more effective use of domestic natural resources From those resources available in our country the chemical industry obtains substitutes for those not available. It also provides us with different kinds of synthetic materials, with properties far superior to those of natural materials, for production and construction. We must meet our raw material needs by chemical synthesis, particularly because in our country whose arable land is limited agriculture cannot supply light industry with sufficient raw materials. That is why our Party attaches great importance to the development of the chemical industry—among others, the organic synthetic industry—and to chemicalization for the national economy.

To begin with, we must increase production of artificial fibre considerably and build a large vinalon factory and a vichlon factory, thus completely solving the problem of raw materials for textile fibres. We should quickly increase the production of synthetic resins, including vinyl chloride, and build a new base of the chemical industry so that it can mass-produce synthetic rubber.

In order to supply the countryside with larger quantities of various chemical fertilizers and to increase the production of agricultural chemicals such as insecticides and weed killers, and urea, we should expand and strengthen the bases of the chemical industry concerned.

Thus, towards the end of the Seven-Year Plan, the annual output of artificial and synthetic fibres should reach 80,000 to 100,000 tons, synthetic resins—60,000 to 70,000 tons, and synthetic rubber—15,000 to 20,000 tons. The output of chemical fertilizers should increase to 1,500,000 to 1,700,000 tons. Along with this we should build an oil refinery that will, in its first stage, process 1,000,000 tons of crude oil in the Aoji region. We will then meet the main domestic demands for chemicals in industry and agriculture and will make a major stride forward in chemicalization for the national economy.

The acid and alkali industries, the foundation of the chemical industry, should be developed and the pharmaceutical industry should be expanded so that we can meet our requirements for medicines and veterinary drugs with goods produced at home.

The whole Seven-Year Plan period is one of overall technical revolution in all branches of the national economy. If we fail to develop the machine-building industry quickly and thus manufacture and supply enough modern machinery and equipment, we will not be able to take even a single step ahead. The solution of all problems of technological renovation, such as mechanization and automation of production processes, electrification and chemicalization, depends, after all, on the development of the machine-building industry.

We must satisfy the demand for mining machinery, metal-

lurgical and chemical equipment, electrical machinery and other equipment for heavy industry, various types of light industry equipment, construction machinery and transport equipment. In particular we should produce large quantities of tractors and other farm machinery, ships and other kinds of fishing equipment to mechanize our backward agriculture and fisheries. This requires expanding the existing machine-building plants, reinforcing their technological equipment, and creating new bases for the machine-building industry.

Our machine-designing capability should be significantly increased so that more various new types of machinery and equipment including heavy machinery and precision machines are devised and manufactured. In particular, we should rapidly step up the production of various kinds of meters, electron tubes and weak-current apparatus for the technological progress and automation of the national economy.

Careful attention should be paid to technological renovation in the machine-building industry—active application of advanced casting methods in the production of materials, extensive introduction of stamping methods along with cutting, and the application of assembly-line or serial production methods in processing and assembling machines.

We must also introduce extensive specialization and cooperation in production by relying on the foundations of the machine-building industry we have already created. We must eliminate labour and iron wastage and raise the quality of produced machinery considerably by specializing in the production of castings, forgings and spare parts.

The building-materials industry must be developed systematically to ensure the success of the large-scale construction works envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan.

We should expand cement factories and build new ones so that cement output can reach 4,000,000 to 4,500,000 tons in 1967. We should also take measures to work stone and weathered granite, and make wide use of local materials in construction.

To achieve maximum economy in iron and timber we must

construct new building-materials factories that utilize wood-shaving and wood-fibre boards, synthetic resins and the like. We should build or expand sanitary ware factories, tarred paper mills, and plants turning out various kinds of fittings.

In order to raise the level of industrialization in construction we should continuously expand the production of structural components and start making them both large and light.

One of the important tasks before industry is to satisfy the increasing demands of the working people for consumer goods. Our country's light industry is as a whole still unsatisfactory. During the years of the Seven-Year Plan, we should bring about a radical development of light industry on the basis of the priority growth of heavy industry.

In the production of consumer goods, our Party will continue to pursue a policy of simultaneously carrying forward the centrally-controlled industry which is technologically rather complex and to be developed on a large scale and local industry to be developed on a medium or small scale with the use of locally available raw materials. Many new large light industries must be built and existing enterprises rebuilt or expanded. In particular, measures should be taken to replace gradually the handicraft techniques still used in local industry with modern technology.

The most important problem in light industry is to extend the variety of products and radically improve their quality. We should exploit all our resources and possibilities and produce a wide variety of higher-quality consumer goods necessary in the daily life of the working people. We should catch up with the advanced countries soon in the quality of light industry products.

Considering the fact that cotton cultivation is extremely limited in our country, we should concentrate efforts in the textile industry on producing fabrics from vinalon, staple fibre, artificial silk and other chemical fibres, and linen. The output of silk and woolen fabrics should also increase rapidly. Doing these things we should raise the annual capacity for textile production to 300 million metres in the first half of

the Seven-Year Plan and to 400 to 500 million metres by 1967. The entire population will then be supplied with various kinds of cloth in sufficient quantities and the clothing problem will be satisfactorily solved.

In order to produce and supply enough kraft paper and cardboard, to say nothing of the paper necessary in the people's daily life, we should extensively develop the paper industry. We should build big paper mills in areas where pulp wood is abundant, and at the same time set up and put into operation many medium and small ones which will make use of different kinds of locally available raw materials.

We must also develop the rubber industry to satisfy the demands of the national economy and the people for rubber products and rapidly expand the production of daily necessities made from synthetic resins. As regards footwear, the production of shoes from real and simulated leather should be gradually increased to replace rubber shoes. We should produce all kinds of household goods, including electrical appliances for daily use, and writing materials in large quantities and should produce and supply enough of the different kinds of furniture the working people need in their homes.

We should continue to develop the food industry rapidly in order to meet our working people's needs and to lessen the burden of women in the home. Maize processing factories should be expanded on a large scale. We should build or expand factories and processing plants, to provide soy and bean pastes, edible oils and bean curd, meat and fish. Their production capacity should be increased markedly.

Our country borders on the sea on three sides; thus, the proper exploitation of marine resources is very important in improving the people's living standards. We should continue to direct great efforts and more funds to this field to bring a marked increase in our catch. By the final year of the Seven-Year Plan, products from the sea should reach 1,000,000 to 1,200,000 tons.

It is necessary to mechanize all our existing boats and build many big fishing vessels to create conditions for deep-

sea fishing in addition to inshore fishing. Fishing boats should be fully equipped with communications gear, shoal detectors, and up-to-date fishing tackle for scientific fishing.

We should recondition our existing ports and put them in good order. New fishing ports should be built and the fishing grounds continuously expanded. We should improve facilities for processing marine products and effect technological renovation in this area.

In order to develop fresh water fish-breeding and sea plant and fish culture in shallow seas, nurseries should be set up in all areas; and we should also adequately supply them with the necessary materials.

The organization and economy of fishing co-operatives should be further strengthened. To ensure a sufficient supply of necessary materials, we should expand factories producing fishing materials and improve their supply system.

To improve the supply of seafood to the population, refrigeration plants should be established in cities, the number of refrigerator cars should be increased and refrigerators should also be installed in ocean freighters.

In this way, we will continue to develop heavy and light industry at a high rate during the period of the Seven-Year Plan. We will thus provide different kinds of materials, machinery, equipment and consumer goods necessary for the overall technological reconstruction of the national economy and for a radical improvement in the people's standard of living. Our industry will become modern, developed and diversified, and this will further reinforce the foundations of the independent economy of our country.

3. AGRICULTURE

The central task confronting agriculture in the period of the Seven-Year Plan is farm mechanization and a further increase in farm production by accelerating technological reconstruction.

At present it is of the utmost importance in the technical revolution of our country to replace outdated agro-technology with up-to-date machine technology. With the completion of socialist co-operativization, mechanization of agriculture is indispensable to further developing productive forces in agriculture and consolidating the co-operative economy. Only when agriculture is equipped with modern machinery will it keep pace steadily with rapidly developing industry and will it be possible to ease the peasants' work and make their life full.

We should throw all our efforts into speeding up the mechanization of agriculture. Farm-machine stations should be increased so that every county may have its own, and the number of tractors, lorries and different farm machines should be significantly increased. The number of tractors in terms of 15 h.p. units should be raised from the present 13,000 to more than 80,000 by 1967.

What is important in agricultural mechanization is the rational distribution of large, medium, and small tractors and lorries according to geographical conditions and their use in co-ordination with various farm machines. Only in this way can we carry out the all-round mechanization of the whole countryside—from plains to remote mountain areas—and mechanize all major farm work such as ploughing, sowing, furrowing and weeding, harvesting and thrashing as well as livestock breeding and transport.

At the same time we should make further successes in irrigation. Because of our country's climatic conditions, we get the stablest and highest yields from the cultivation of rice. The area of paddyfields should be expanded to 700,000 *chongbo*, and that of irrigated dry fields should also increase during the Seven-Year Plan. In areas along the east coast we should continue our work in afforestation and water conservation, to prevent flood damage, such as river improvement, reservoir and river-dyke projects.

Our Party will continue to follow the policy of giving preference to grain production and simultaneously developing

the cultivation of industrial crops, stockbreeding, fruit growing and sericulture.

The solution of the grain problem is one of the most fundamental tasks in socialist construction. Without a decisive increase in grain production it is impossible to supply enough food to the people and further develop other branches of agriculture. We should direct our main efforts to grain production and, on this basis, develop a diversified agriculture.

In our country with its limited amount of farm land, we must reclaim more new land by transforming nature; we must conserve existing land, and improve and utilize it more effectively. The systematic expansion of land under cultivation constitutes an important guarantee for a rapid increase in grain production and an all-round development of agriculture. Based on a far-reaching programme to obtain another million *chongbo* of land within the next ten years, we must continue to vigorously push ahead with the magnificent projects for transforming nature to reclaim tidelands along the west coast, hills all over the country, and plateaus such as Pochon and Paegam. Thus, we have to ensure that during the Seven-Year Plan period 500,000 more *chongbo* of land is brought under the plough to bring the total area of cultivated land to 2,500,000 *chongbo*.

Along with this, the total sown area should be markedly expanded by an extensive introduction of the double-cropping system and by raising the utilization of our farm lands.

In our country the key to increasing grain yields lies in raising the per-unit-area yield by developing advanced methods of intensive farming.

We should take all thoroughgoing measures to raise crop yields—active soil improvement, deep ploughing, planting of high-yielding seeds, sufficient watering and manuring, weeding, and prevention of blight and harmful insects.

In particular we should pay close attention to the chemicalization of agriculture. Improving land fertility, stimulating crop growing, weeding and killing harmful insects—all this should be done by chemical methods. Only when chemicaliza-

tion, coupled with mechanization, is effected in the countryside can we ease difficult and toilsome labour, farm intensively with less manpower, and decisively increase our yields.

We must take all these economic and technical measures in order to increase the total annual output of grain to the 6,000,000-ton mark by the end of the Seven-Year Plan. Such a rise will not only enable our country to solve the food problem definitively but also to lay a firm foundation for the speedy development of all branches of agriculture.

While increasing grain production, we must concentrate on cultivating cotton, flax and other fibre crops, various oil-bearing crops, tobacco, sugar beets, *insam* and hops, all on suitable soil and raise their yields in order to provide industry with raw materials; and we should also boost our production of vegetables to supply more of them to the urban population.

One of the major tasks of agriculture during the period of the Seven-Year Plan is to make a marked advance in stockbreeding We should continue to consolidate the foundations of stockbreeding which we have so far built up with great effort, do away with historical backwardness in stockbreeding, and further increase the output of meat and other animal products.

To increase meat and milk production rapidly during this period, we must raise the number of pigs to over 3 million and of cattle to one million. Grazing animals such as goats and rabbits must be raised in greater numbers, while strenuous efforts should be made to obtain milk cows from cows no longer needed for farm work because of the progress in the mechanization of agriculture. Sheep breeding should be widely introduced on the plains as well as in the mountainous areas so as to sharply increase the output of wool and poultry farming should also continue to develop.

Our consistent policy for raising livestock is to lay the main emphasis on stockbreeding by the state and joint stockbreeding by the agricultural co-operatives, parallel to stockbreeding development as a sideline of co-operative members. Each co-operative, while steadily developing its joint stockbreeding,

should supply young pedigree stock to its members, and all peasant households should take part in a wide-scale movement for raising pigs, rabbits, chickens and ducks.

The creation of reliable bases for fodder is of prime importance in stockbreeding. In order to solve this question, we should grow fodder extensively as a semi-annual crop on rice paddies and dry fields and actively push ahead with the creation of fodder fields and pastures wherever possible—at the foot of mountains, in valleys, on hillsides, and so on.

We should improve the breeding stock, steadily improve the raising and care of animals, take decisive steps to prevent death from disease by strengthening our work against epizootics, and raise animal productivity considerably.

It is of great significance in the development of the national economy to make comprehensive and effective use of the mountains which cover nearly 80 per cent of our country's land area. Mountains can be utilized not only to develop lumber production and livestock farming; they are also very important for advancing fruit growing, sericulture and for meeting industrial needs for various raw materials by creating economically valuable forests.

The Seven-Year Plan envisages the extensive development of fruit growing. The area for fruit trees in our country must be increased to 300,000 to 350,000 *chongbo* by creating over 200,000 *chongbo* of orchards through the reclamation of hillsides. At the same time, the fruit-bearing area must be rapidly expanded by properly nursing young trees. In this way, we should produce 500,000 tons of fruit in 1967, so that the population will be supplied with different kinds of fruit in all seasons.

Sericulture must be further developed to produce more silk fabrics of high quality. The area of mulberry fields must be increased to 100,000 *chongbo* by adding 40,000 *chongbo* of mulberry groves on hillsides, and the per-*chongbo* yields of mulberry leaves and cocoons must be raised by improving the fertilization and care of mulberry trees. The groves for breeding tussah worms and the area with castor bean must be expanded, and advanced methods of breeding widely applied.

The work of converting forests with little value into ones with economic value, such as those that provide raw materials for fibre and oil, must also be carried on in a far-sighted and planned way. We should plant trees that grow quickly, such as poplars and white ashes, everywhere, in the fields and on the hillsides, so as to ensure raw materials for pulp in a short amount of time. We should plant paulownias, walnut, black walnut, chestnut and pine-nut trees to be used in the future as raw materials for light industry. In order to provide trees that will be used to create forests with economic value, priority must be given to saplings and an all-people movement for afforestation must be enthusiastically launched.

The Seven-Year Plan envisages full-scale development of agricultural production and, at the same time, continued large-scale rural construction.

We must readjust paddy and non-paddy fields, build roads and bridges and erect a greater number of homes, schools, hospitals and other cultural and public service establishments. In order to ensure construction on such a vast scale, the state will supply the necessary machines, equipment and materials and render technical assistance. For rural construction we also need to make an active use of local materials as well as the financial resources of agricultural co-operatives.

The rapid development of agriculture and the successful fulfilment of rural construction will completely eliminate all traces of the age-old poverty and backwardness of our countryside, turn it into a modern and cultured rural society, and radically promote the well-being of the peasants

4. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The rapid growth of the national economy requires a marked increase in freight haulage during the period of the Seven-Year Plan It is impossible to satisfy our growing transport demands without speedy development of railway, water and motor transport.

It is important, first of all, to strengthen the material and technological basis of railway transport and to expand its traffic capacity in every possible way.

The Pyongsan-Pokgye and Chongjin-Rajin lines should be completed, and the narrow-gauge railway that still exists in South Hwanghae Province should be replaced by a standard-gauge line.

Electrification of railways clearly helps increase their economic efficiency and modern operation. Electrification will cut fuel consumption to one-fifth, greatly save manpower in transport, and nearly double traffic capacity. The Pyongyang-Chongjin, Pyongyang-Sinuiju, Pyongyang-Kaesong, and Huichon-Koin lines should be electrified during the Seven-Year Plan so as to complete the basic electrification of the major trunk lines.

Furthermore, the production capacity of railway factories must be improved to provide the railways with sufficient electric locomotives, freight cars, passenger coaches and all other necessary machinery and materials.

Thus, by strengthening technological equipment and at the same time improving the utilization of the rolling stock, railway freight turnover should be increased to 75 million tons by 1967.

In order to ease the strain on railway transport and to ensure smoother freight haulage for the national economy, water transport should be extensively developed. Vessels should be built for sea and river transport in order to raise water transport capacity considerably. In particular, to keep up with the expansion of foreign trade, measures should be taken for long-distance ocean shipping. In addition, major ports on the east and west coasts should be put in good condition.

To raise motor transport capacity, we should vigorously push forward the repairs and building of roads and bridges; roads should be paved on a large scale in those areas where traffic is heavy, and the utilization of motor vehicles and trailers should be greatly raised.

In the communications field, we should complete the tel-

ephone networks between county and *ri* and increase the automatic exchange capacity in all cities. The wire broadcasting network will be expanded so that broadcasting facilities can be installed in every rural *ri*. At the same time we should greatly increase the output to strengthen radio broadcasting and begin television broadcasting.

5. DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND CULTURE

All-round technological reconstruction of the national economy demands marked progress in all branches of science. Science plays an increasingly important role in the development of productive forces, and only by crossing the frontiers of science can we achieve high labour productivity and ensure a complete victory for socialism.

We must opportunely solve the urgent scientific and technological problems arising in the practical socialist construction. We must constantly assimilate the advanced scientific achievements of progressive mankind and raise all our country's science up to international levels in the near future.

The fundamental task confronting our country's science at present is to serve the technical revolution in a positive way.

We face a number of difficult, complex tasks of technological renovation: to mechanize all branches of the national economy, including agriculture; to introduce comprehensive mechanization and automation in certain sectors; to push ahead with electrification throughout the country, and so on. To fulfil these tasks successfully, we should systematically invent various kinds of machinery and equipment suitable for our country's actual conditions, design both highly-efficient automatic machines and equipment for automation, and investigate rational methods of automation.

The force of science should be harnessed to investigate the country's natural resources and study how to use them effectively. At the same time, it should work towards establis

ing a self-supporting industrial system based on domestic natural resources.

Above all it is very important to develop the ferrous metal industry by relying on domestic fuel sources. Instead of crying about the lack of coking coal, we must study methods of manufacturing iron with anthracite that is abundant in our country. For this purpose, we must perfect the reduced pellet process and the continuous production process of steel making with granulated iron as soon as we can.

It is also essential to speed up chemicalization of the national economy using domestic resources and save as much electric power as possible in our chemical processes. To this end, we should advance the research and widely introduce the results of the gasification of anthracite in the synthesis of ammonia and other branches of the chemical industry, in metallurgy and in other spheres of the national economy. We should also complete the tasks of producing carbide by the oxygen heat treatment and of carbonizing lignite at high temperatures. Furthermore, we should continuously promote research to develop the synthetic fibre and synthetic resin industries and to industrialize synthetic rubber production. The raw materials for these industries are anthracite and limestone, buried in inexhaustible quantities all over the country.

We must open new fields of science, introduce the latest achievements of science and technology throughout the national economy, and actively develop the important areas of the basic sciences.

Research work for introducing atomic energy into production should be carried out under a far-reaching programme. Radioisotopes and radiation should be widely applied in various fields, including industry and agriculture. We should carry out profound studies of supersonic waves and high frequency electronics, efficiently apply these technologies in production and construction, and introduce the production of semiconductor materials using domestic raw materials as well as extend the range of their application. We should devote proper attention to the development of electronics which is of great

mportance in the national economy. Work in basic sciences uch as mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, etc., should be mproved decisively so as to contribute to the solution of techical problems that come up in all spheres of the national econmy.

A number of urgent tasks which will ensure high agriculural yields and help to develop stockbreeding should be carled out. In order to guarantee better health and longer life or the working people, we should intensify medical research vork to develop *Tonguihak,* or traditional Korean medicine, long with modern medicine and to work out a theoretical sysematization of the folk cures bequeathed to us by our ancesors.

Our Party and people have already accumulated a wealth f valuable experience in the revolutionary transformation of ociety and economic and cultural construction. Social science hould provide theoretical generalization of this experience, horoughly explain and propagate the Party's lines and polcies on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and make a comlete study of the Party's revolutionary traditions and the ation's cultural heritage. At the same time, the new social nd economic problems raised in socialist construction should e solved rapidly to help the growth of the national economy. n particular, social scientists should make a profound study of south Korea's current economy and culture and collectively laborate ways for rehabilitating and developing them in the uture.

The important thing in the cultural revolution is to increase the general and technical knowledge of the working peole. Without this we cannot accomplish the technical revoluion or achieve the complete victory of socialism.

Our tasks in the field of education are to arm the working masses firmly with accurate information and a correct viewpoint on nature and society and to raise their cultural and technical standards The public educational establishments should educate and train the children and the youth in the latest achievements of science and culture and also in the

communist world outlook by increasing the contact between school and practical life and combining education closely with productive labour. In this way we should bring up the younger generation to be a new kind of people who are loyal to the Party and the revolution and are well-rounded in their development. Thus we should steadily replenish the ranks of cultured and conscious working people in our society.

Based on the successful enforcement of compulsory secondary education, nine-year compulsory technical education should be fully introduced during the period of the Seven-Year Plan. Going over to universal compulsory technical education means a further development of the socialist education system. It marks an epochal change in the work of training the younger generation to be capable builders of communism.

Today, with the technical revolution taking place throughout all branches of the national economy, the need for technical personnel is greater than ever before. Progress will not continue unless our training of technical personnel keeps pace with the high rate of development of the productive forces and of the technical revolution in the country.

To meet the present and future demands of the national economy for technical personnel, we must, during the Seven-Year Plan, train 460,000 assistant engineers and junior specialists and strengthen higher education to train about 180,000 engineers and specialists. Especially we should concentrate our training of specialists for areas where they are badly needed, such as machine-building, electricity, chemistry, geology, transport, light industry, fisheries, farming, animal husbandry and public health.

One of our Party's consistent policies is to develop a system of various forms of higher education which permits working people to study without leaving their productive activity, in conjunction with the regular system of higher education. In particular, we should greatly increase factory colleges, whose advantages we know by experience, and train a large number of competent working-class technical cadres who are versed in both theory and practice.

By strengthening adult education and putting into operation the system of learning technology and skills in productive enterprises on a regular basis, the cultural and technical level of the working people should be radically raised and the Party's call for everyone to acquire more than one technical skill should be put into practice.

Literature and art play an important role in the communist education of the popular masses. Writers and artists are entrusted with the important responsibility of portraying the real heroes of both our revolution and the building of a new life, thereby educating people in the ideas of the Party and the working class.

The most important thing of all is to describe our reality vividly—a reality in which miracles are performed everywhere, everyone is being remoulded into a new, communist type of man, and the grand Chollima advance is on—and to create typical images of the Chollima riders, the heroes of our time. Today our life glows with the indomitable will and optimistic passion of the working people for building a new society faster, and it provides countless beautiful stories which embody unlimited love for man and collectivist morality. Writers and artists should penetrate deeply into this valuable life of ours and produce fine literary and artistic works that make an active contribution to remoulding the people's ideas and inspiring the masses to the revolutionary cause.

Furthermore, by creating images of the communist fighters who waged the long, difficult struggle to liberate the fatherland and win the revolution, they should continue to raise their standards in educating our generation in the lofty revolutionary spirit of these fighters.

The characteristic features of the best literary and artistic works lie in the high ideological content and artistic value which conform with the demands of the times and the people's aspirations. Such valuable works can be produced only on the basis of socialist realism, the only correct method of creative expression at the present time.

There is not the slightest room in our society for bour-

geois literature and art which run counter to the revolution and hinder the advancement of the people, and we have infinite possibilities now to explore revolutionary literature and art which will serve the workers and peasants. Writers and artists should wage a resolute struggle against all the poisons spread by reactionary bourgeois literature and art, and they should devote all their talent and creative zeal to enrich our Red literature and art, making it more militant.

Literature and art can only touch people's hearts and evoke love when the socialist content is correctly bound up with the varied and ingenious forms characteristic of our nation. We should incorporate and develop the traditions of our brilliant national art so that all the beautiful and progressive contributions of our ancestors can burst into full bloom in our time.

We should energetically develop mass cultural work, search out the talent among our people, and bring this talent into full play so that the working people themselves can participate in literary and artistic activities and enjoy art as much as they want wherever they are.

We will turn our country into an advanced socialist state with modern science and a developed culture by thoroughly carrying out all the tasks that arise in the course of the cultural revolution.

6. IMPROVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S STANDARD OF LIVING

Under the socialist system, solicitude for man is the supreme principle. Under this system technology advances and production grows steadily, thus promoting the material and cultural well-being of all working people. This principle of socialism is strikingly expressed in the Seven-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy.

An important task before our Party is to radically improve the people's standard of living in the shortest possible time on

the basis of a thoroughgoing technological innovation and a great upsurge in production.

The Seven-Year Plan envisages a 2.7-fold increase in the national income which will surpass the prewar level 9 times in 1967.

We will adjust accumulation and consumption so that we may correctly relate the future development of the national economy to the satisfaction of the people's immediate requirements, and combine the interests of the whole society with the personal interests of the working people. In the future as well, we will continue to allot a large proportion of the national income to popular consumption, while ensuring the steady growth of accumulation.

The real income of factory and office workers is expected to rise 1.7 times during the period of the Seven-Year Plan. During the same time the number of factory and office workers will grow 1.5 times The number of members of factory and office workers' families who take jobs will continue to increase, and real per-family income will more than double in seven years. The peasants' real income will also increase more than two times during the same period, which will bring their general living standard up to the level of former well-to-do middle peasants.

We should achieve a more rational wage scale for the workers in all branches of the economy and an even increase in the income of peasants in different areas. At the same time we should, as we have always done, correctly adhere to the principle of raising the general living standard of factory and office workers and of the peasants proportionately.

Our Party envisages the abolition of taxes levied on the population at the earliest possible date.

At the moment the overwhelming majority of our state's revenue is obtained from accumulation in socialist state enterprises. Tax revenue from the population is negligible. We will be in a position in these very days to abolish taxes completely now that necessary funds for economic and cultural construction can come entirely from state accumulation.

social and cultural needs, are designed solely for the welfare of our factory workers, office workers and peasants.

In our social system nothing is more precious than man. We must keep developing the public health service so as to protect man's life and promote the working people's health. Public hospitals in the cities and counties and the clinics in each *ri* should be expanded and receive more doctors so that the section medical care system, an advanced medical service, may be put into practice in the near future. At the same time we should set up more maternity homes, children's hospitals, and hospitals for tuberculosis and other specialized hospitals in various places, and build more sanatoria in the vicinity of our major hot springs and spas. In the sphere of public health the line of preventive medicine should be firmly maintained, and sanitation and anti-epidemic work should be carried out regularly and vigorously in urban and rural areas.

We should build more nursery schools and kindergartens and radically improve their work in order to take the best care of our children, the hope of the future, and make life more convenient for mothers.

Thus, we must make sure that all the working men and women work with great facility and lead a rich and cultured life.

Comrades,

The Seven-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy is the most far-reaching, long-term plan in the history of our country. It is a grandiose blueprint of economic and cultural construction for the prosperity and progress of the homeland and for the happiness of the people. This vast plan which envisages a high rate of economic development reflects the requirements of the situation in our country and fully accords with the aspirations of our people.

When the Seven-Year Plan is fulfilled, our country will have grown stronger than ever before, and our society will take on a new appearance.

Towards the end of the Seven-Year Plan we will have a developed socialist industry which will always be capable of

providing all sectors of the national economy with new and more efficient machines and equipment and will be able to meet the requirements of all the people satisfactorily. We will also transform our country's nature on a large scale and equip agriculture with modern machines and technology, bringing in a big harvest every year. Our towns and countryside will be more beautifully built up, and all aspects of our people's life will become bountiful, modern and more enjoyable.

The fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan will have a deep-going influence upon the general situation in our country. Our revolutionary base in the northern half of the Republic will become an impregnable fortress, and the foundation of the national economy for the reunification and future prosperity of the country will gain strength. This will greatly inspire the people in south Korea to the struggle for freedom and a new life.

To realize the grand programme of socialist construction presented by the Party, it is necessary to introduce continual technological renovations in all fields of the national economy, fully mobilize all our resources, and enforce a system of strict economy.

We should decisively raise labour productivity throughout the economy by promoting technical development, raising the level of technology and skills of the working people, and by constantly improving the organization of labour while cultivating a communist attitude towards work among the people

At the same time, we must systematically cut production and construction costs by utilizing the means of labour more effectively, by economizing on electricity, coal, metals, timber and other materials in every way, and by reducing nonproductive expenditures.

All the working people should always lead an intense and simple life, combat extravagance and depravity of every kind and actively tap all potentialities for building socialism.

To hasten the complete victory of socialism all Party members and working people should eagerly study science and technology, work against time with an ever-growing [illegible]

strive to increase the quantity and quality of our products and carry out construction more quickly.

There is no height which cannot be conquered if only we continue to advance the great Chollima Movement of our times and carry through the general line of the Party.

The triumphant socialist system, revealing greater advantages every day, gives a strong impetus to the development of the country's productive forces. The foundation we have already laid for an independent economy has inexhaustible potential.

All the workers, peasants and intellectuals are rallied more firmly than ever before around our Party that is leading them to happiness and glory, and they are firmly convinced that a bright future and victory will be theirs.

Our people never stop rushing forward at the speed of Chollima along the path to socialism. Just as they have successfully laid the foundations of socialism by overcoming all difficulties and trials, they will undoubtedly win another splendid victory in the new battle to execute the great far-reaching tasks laid down by the Party and to conquer the high peak of socialism.

III. FOR THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

Comrades,

During the period under review the situation in south Korea has changed tremendously. The great achievements in socialist construction in north Korea have decisively moved the balance of forces between revolution and counterrevolution in Korea in favour of the revolutionary forces.

The main trend of south Korean development today is that while the revolutionary forces striving for the peaceful reunification of the country and for democracy grow continually

stronger, the counterrevolutionary forces, isolated from the masses of the people, resort to the adventurist means of military terrorism in a last-ditch effort to find a way out of their blind alley.

In the spring of last year the south Korean people, no longer able to endure corruption and tyranny under U.S. imperialist colonial rule, finally rose up in a heroic resistance struggle for a new government and a new life, and they overthrew the Syngman Rhee regime. This was a great victory for the south Koreans in their struggle to save the nation. It was a telling blow to the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression in Korea.

The April Popular Uprising marked a new turning point in the south Korean people's anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation. During this resistance the political consciousness of the south Korean people increased remarkably. With the momentum of their resistance, the spearhead of the struggle gradually began turning against U.S. imperialism.

The popular uprising and subsequent developments in south Korea show that the U.S. imperialists can never subdue the south Korean people, no matter how bloody the repression they resort to.

At the end of the Chang Myon regime the political and economic crises became extremely acute in south Korea. Life for the people became unbearable and corruption and social disorder deteriorated with each passing day.

The broad masses of the people came to realize all the more sharply that without the peaceful reunification of the country they could not free themselves from poverty, complete lack of rights, and colonial slavery. A mass struggle demanding north-south exchanges, the independent peaceful reunification of the country, and north-south negotiation developed with great force. South Korean youth and students came out with a proposal for north-south negotiation and exchanges, and the vast masses of the people rose in response. The general trend rapidly turned in favour of the masses of the people who supported the peaceful reunification of the country.

Driven into a tight corner, the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean reactionaries embarked upon the adventurist path of setting up a fascist military dictatorship to try to maintain their precarious rule.

The establishment of the dictatorial military regime in south Korea testifies to the fact that the U.S. imperialists' position in Korea is weakened, not strengthened. This is nothing more than the death-bed frenzy of the doomed. No matter what they do, the U.S. imperialists can never save the irretrievable, disintegrating colonial system in south Korea. The fascist military rule rather inflames the struggle of the people and will hasten the ultimate collapse of U.S. imperialist colonial rule over south Korea.

South Korea today has turned into a land of darkness where all democratic freedoms and rights have been denied—into a slaughter house of the people rampant with mass terrorism and murder. The south Korean military regime has disbanded all political parties and social organizations, closed down all the progressive organs of the press, and has already arrested, imprisoned, or massacred more than 100,000 patriots and innocent people.

Political chaos and unrest are steadily growing in south Korea and the contradictions and conflicts within the military circles are sharpening to an astonishing degree. The south Korean economy is going from bad to worse, and mass starvation is sweeping the whole of the south. It can never be otherwise as long as U.S. imperialism dominates south Korea.

The military rulers of south Korea are now clamouring about "reform," "building a self-reliant economy," and "relief for the people." But these are nothing but deceptions designed to placate the people's discontent and intensify fascist suppression. Developments in south Korea are vividly revealing that such slogans are nothing but empty promises.

In south Korea power is completely held by the U.S. imperialists. Until the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism is abolished, the south Korean regime, no matter who may seize power, will inevitably represent the interests of the U.S. impe-

rialists and their collaborators—the landlords and the comprador capitalists—and the position of the south Korean people cannot expect to improve.

By means of "aid," the U.S imperialists have seized the main arteries of south Korea's economy, subordinated them to their military purposes and completely blocked the road to independent development of the national economy in south Korea. Reduced to a military appendage of U.S. imperialism, the south Korean economy is faced with unavoidable ruin.

South Korea's industry is bankrupt. Oppressed by American monopoly capital and comprador capital, national industry is disintegrating even more and is steadily advancing towards bankruptcy and ruin. The overwhelming majority of the national capitalists' enterprises consist of medium- and small-sized units and at present, more than 80 per cent of these are either not functioning or are operating below capacity.

Today, south Korea's meagre light industry is almost entirely dependent on American machinery, equipment and raw material. The bulk consists of war industry which provides supplementary war materials on the spot to the American mercenaries. The masters of this war industry are the comprador capitalists under U.S. protection.

South Korean markets are overflowing with U S. commodities from overseas, and imports from U.S "aid" account for 80 per cent of south Korea's total volume of imports, which is 20 times the total volume of exports.

Thus, south Korea today remains a backward agrarian region without an independent industry.

Alongside the bankruptcy of industry, the south Korean rural economy has also been utterly devastated.

Feudal landlordism still prevails in the countryside. The bulk of the "distributed land" for the peasants has again been massed in the hands of landlords and rich farmers, and the peasants are subjected to ruthless feudal exploitation.

The pillage and exploitation by the U.S. imperialists and the landlords have not only held back the development of south Korea's agriculture but have sapped it to the limit Com-

pared with pre-liberation years, cultivated land has gone down 200,000 *chongbo* and the area sown, 400,000 *chongbo.* U.S. imperialist aggressive troops have requisitioned more than 100,000 *chongbo* of land from the south Korean peasants for military use. With industry bankrupt and the rural economy completely disintegrated, agricultural technology is horribly backward.

The destruction and stagnation of agricultural productive forces have caused a sharp decline in production. Grain output in 1960 dropped to two-thirds of the 1937 pre-liberation level.

Economic bankruptcy and cruel exploitation by the landlords and comprador capitalists have reduced the working people to a state of indescribable misery.

More than 6 million working people, that is, half of the labour force of south Korea, are chronically unemployed or semi-unemployed.

The regime in south Korea annually appropriates more than 70 per cent of its budget for military expenditure. To cover this, it is raising taxes even more. Soaring inflation caused by oversized military expenditure weighs heavily on the working people. As of July 1961, the volume of currency in circulation had increased 206 times and commodity prices 126 times in comparison with 1949. The tax burden of the south Korean people rose more than 10 times in the seven years after the war. The workers are forced to work 10-18 hours a day, while their wages are less than one-third of what they need to meet minimum costs of living.

The broad masses of peasants have been reduced to debt slaves of landlords and usurers. The amount of peasants' debts soared 20-fold in the postwar period. Each year tens of thousands of peasant families are ruined and are forced to desist from farming. Since industry cannot absorb the ruined rural population, most of them are wandering beggars.

Such is the outcome of 16 years' rule by the U.S. imperialists and their stooges. Such is the result of U.S. "aid" to south Korea.

The U.S. army's occupation of south Korea and their policy of aggression are the main obstacles to the peaceful reunifi-

-cation of our country and the democratic development of south Korean society. They are the root of all the present misfortunes and sufferings of the south Korean people. The U.S. imperialists have converted south Korea into their colony and military base; they are constantly menacing peace in Korea and are doing all they can to obstruct our country's peaceful reunification. They have utterly ruined the south Korean economy, plunged the people of the south into the depths of famine and poverty, and turned the whole of south Korea into a living hell of terrorism and tyranny. Countless patriotic people and innocent countrymen are shedding their blood because of the atrocities of the U.S. robbers, and our sisters are insulted and walked over in south Korea.

Today the U.S. imperialists are stepping up their war preparations under the pretext of "protecting" south Korea from "communist aggression," and they are viciously scheming to drive the south Korean people into a fratricidal conflict.

U.S. imperialism is the principal target of the struggle of the people in south Korea and the sworn enemy of all the Korean people. As long as U.S. armed forces occupy the south, we cannot expect a durable peace in Korea and the peaceful reunification of the country, and the south Korean people cannot win genuine freedom and liberation.

In maintaining their colonial rule in south Korea, the U.S. imperialists rely on the landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who serve them as guides and faithful allies in their aggression. The landlord class, under U.S. imperialist protection, ruthlessly exploits and suppresses the peasant masses. The comprador capitalists make fortunes by bringing in American commodities and capital, by plundering our country's natural resources and selling them to their masters, and by supplying the American mercenary troops with war materials.

Thus, the revolution in south Korea is a national-liberation revolution against imperialism, and is, at the same time, a democratic revolution against the feudal forces The basic demand of this revolution is to drive the aggressive forces of U.S im-

perialism out of Korea, shatter its colonial rule, and achieve both democratic development in south Korean society and the reunification of the country.

Comrades,

To carry on the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle successfully and to emerge victorious, the south Korean people must have a revolutionary party which takes Marxism-Leninism as its guideline and represents the interests of the workers, peasants and other broad sections of the popular masses. Without such a political party, it is impossible to set forth a clear-cut fighting programme for the people, to solidly unite the revolutionary masses, and to carry on the popular struggle in an organized way.

perialists and to struggle for the withdrawal of the U.S. forces of aggression.

The south Korean people must thoroughly expose and smash the sinister design of the U.S. imperialists to pit our brothers against each other under the pretext of checking "communist aggression." The Korean people want no fratricidal conflict. There may be different ideas and different political points of view among us, but the differences should not be an obstacle to the country's peaceful reunification, much less a cause of war. The phrase "communist aggression" is a lie invented by the U.S. imperialists and is nothing but a smokescreen to justify their occupation of south Korea, cover up their intention to invade all Korea, and to hoodwink the people in the south. The south Korean people must rise up in an all-people resistance to frustrate U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war preparations. Young people must fight against forced conscription. Workers must organize slowdowns and strikes to obstruct the enemy production of armaments and transport of war supplies. And the entire people in south Korea must fight against the construction of military bases and installations.

The south Korean people must resolutely condemn and curb the bandit actions of the U.S. troops—the contempt, plunder and slaughter of our fellow countrymen—and bridle the aggressors so that they cannot operate arbitrarily. They must unconditionally refuse to collaborate in any way with the U.S army of aggression and should not give them even a single grain of rice or a single drop of water. The aggressors must be made to tremble before the resistance of the enraged people, and not a single foot of our land should be left for these aggressors to stand on. Thus, the U.S. troops of aggression should be forced to withdraw as soon as possible, all the shackling military and economic pacts concluded between south Korea and the United States repudiated, and the U.S. colonial fetters shaken off once and for all.

When all the patriotic forces in south Korea are firmly united as one and rise up resolutely in the anti-U S struggle.

the U.S. imperialists will find it impossible to hang on in our territory. And they will be driven out of south Korea without fail.

At the same time the south Korean people must struggle against exploitation and oppression by the landlords and comprador capitalists who are in league with the U.S. imperialists. They must also fight for the democratic development of south Korean society.

At present there is an urgent demand in south Korea to democratize social and political life, carry out democratic reforms in economic and cultural areas, and resolve the problem of the people's living conditions.

The south Korean military regime has completely deprived the people of even the most elementary democratic rights, binding them hand and foot.

South Korean military rulers are intensifying their fascist suppression of the people, arresting and jailing large numbers of patriots at random on the pretext of combating communism. They have gone so far as to perpetrate the intolerable outrage of sentencing reporters to death merely because they stood for withdrawal of the U.S. imperialists and for reunification without outside interference.

The people in south Korea must smash the fascist dictatorship and fight for their democratic freedom and rights. Freedom of speech, press, association, assembly, demonstrations and strikes must be guaranteed and freedom of activities for all political parties and social organizations must be restored. The barbarous terrorism of the military regime must be stopped immediately. All patriotic political prisoners and innocent people under arrest or in prison must be released immediately, and both agents of U.S. imperialism and traitors to the nation must be punished.

Solution of the land problem is one of the most important tasks confronting the democratic revolution in south Korea. Unless this problem is settled and agricultural productive forces are freed from their feudal fetters, the peasant masses, who make up more than 70 per cent of the population in south Ko-

rea, can neither be saved from hunger and poverty, nor stabilize their living conditions.

The south Korean peasantry must unite in one body and struggle to enforce a democratic agrarian reform and to put an end to the system of feudal exploitation. Land should and must be owned by the peasants who till it. The landlords' land must be confiscated and distributed without payment among the landless and land-poor peasants so that they can realize their age-old desire for land. Those who have opposed U.S. imperialism and contributed to the cause of the country's peaceful reunification may be compensated for their land.

Land requisitioned by the U.S. occupation forces for military use must be immediately restored to the peasants.

A thoroughgoing democratic agrarian reform must be enforced; at the same time land must be extensively reclaimed and divided for free among land-poor peasants and unemployed people who had been forced to abandon farming.

Exploitation of the peasants through various kinds of usury must be prohibited; their land debts, as well as all the debts of the poor peasants, must also be cancelled.

The liquidation of feudal relations in the south Korean countryside will not only pave the way for the development of the agricultural productive forces and ensure the improvement of the peasants' living conditions but will also create favourable conditions for the development of national industry.

Without an independent national industry neither the people's well-being can be promoted nor national independence achieved. The factories, mines, railway facilities and banks owned by U.S. imperialists, comprador capitalists and traitors to the nation should be confiscated and nationalized to uproot the economic bases of foreign imperialism and the traitorous domestic forces and to develop national industry. In particular, middle and small entrepreneurs must be allowed to develop freely by protecting their sector of the economy and ensuring them raw materials, funds and markets.

The south Korean workers must struggle for the enforcement of an eight-hour day, social security, a wage [illegible]

the improvement of working conditions. Jobs must be given to the millions of unemployed as soon as possible and the workers' wages raised to meet, at the very least, the minimum cost of living. Commodity prices must also be stabilized, and the tax burden of the working people drastically alleviated together with the abolition of miscellaneous charges.

There is no work even for the small number of scientists and technicians in south Korea, much less conditions and freedom for their scientific research. The minds of the people are poisoned by reactionary, decadent American culture, while the culture peculiar to our nation is trampled upon and left to rot. Scientists and people working in culture and art must fight the penetration of reactionary American culture, struggle to improve their living conditions, and bravely strive to build a democratic national culture which serves the nation's independent development and the people's interests.

South Korean student youth and intellectuals should fight against the militarization and commercialization of schools and for a democratic reform of the educational system. Universal, compulsory primary education must be enforced to educate all children of school age at state expense, and an extensive adult education system should be introduced to give the working people an opportunity to learn and to eliminate illiteracy.

In south Korea today various epidemics and chronic diseases are rampant owing to the people's wretched living conditions and the rulers' criminal indifference to public health. Countless numbers of sick people, denied medical treatment, are suffering and dying. A system of free medical service must be instituted to protect the health of the people, and state measures must be taken to eliminate different kinds of epidemics.

To democratize all aspects of life for people in south Korea, one of the major tasks is to ensure to the women of the south social status and rights equal to those of men. Women should be liberated from the humiliation of being mistreated and despised, their personal dignity should be respected, and they should be guaranteed an equal opportunity for education. They should be actively incorporated into the work of society,

and they should be included under the principle, equal pay for equal work.

The U.S. imperialists are keeping 700,000 mercenary soldiers in south Korea. Command of the "ROK army" is in the hands of the U.S. imperialists: its commanders are American generals. The overwhelming majority of the south Korean army are peasants and workers in uniform. They are young working people pressganged into the "ROK army" by the minions of U.S. imperialism.

Men in the south Korean army are forced to level their guns at their fellow countrymen in north Korea and to fire upon their parents and brothers who fight for freedom and survival.

In north Korea there is no enemy of the "ROK army." The People's Army, an army of workers and peasants, never wants to fight its brothers in south Korea. The real enemies of the "ROK army" are the U.S. imperialists, who occupy our territory, and their flunkeys.

The south Korean army should no longer remain a blind tool of the U.S. imperialists in their suppression of the people's patriotic and democratic movements and their invasion of the whole of Korea. Rather, it should become a national army, a people's army, defending the interests of the workers, peasants and the rest of the broad popular masses against the foreign imperialists. Command of the "ROK army" should be wrested from the hands of the U.S. imperialists. The anti-popular military service system should be abolished. And the fascist military system should be turned into a democratic one.

The rank and file and the junior officers of the "ROK army" must not be deceived by the pernicious plot of the U.S. imperialists to make Koreans fight Koreans. They must come over to the side of the people, resolutely reject the orders of the American commanders and the traitorous clique in the upper crust of the "ROK army," and fight against the U.S. imperialists and their minions.

People can win freedom and liberation only through their own struggle. The south Korean people have a glorious tradition of heroic struggle against foreign imperialist aggressive

forces and against domestic exploiters. The liberation struggles of the popular masses, such as the Kabo Peasant War, the March First Movement, the June 10th Independence Movement and the Kwangju Student Incident, have been waged without stop, and telling blows have been struck at the oppressors. When the vast majority of the popular masses rise up in a body to struggle against their oppressors, any imperialist stronghold can be smashed. The U.S. imperialists bragged that the Syngman Rhee regime was the strongest anti-communist regime in Asia. But it was overthrown precisely by the mass struggle of the south Korean people.

Workers, peasants, youth and students, intellectuals and the broad masses of the people in south Korea must valiantly rise up in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges for democracy and for the right to exist.

Comrades,

The only way for the south Korean people to completely free themselves from their present tragic situation is to drive out the U.S. army, overthrow the fascist dictatorship and reunify the country peacefully. During their history of tribulations since the liberation sixteen years ago, the south Korean people have come to realize keenly that they cannot go on living with the country divided into north and south.

The only way to rehabilitate and develop the economy and improve the people's living conditions in south Korea is to achieve the country's reunification by the united strength of north and south Korea.

Peaceful reunification of our country is the unanimous desire of all Koreans and the supreme national task which must be solved without delay.

The position of our Party on the question of Korean reunification is clear. The Party has consistently maintained that the question of reunifying our country should be solved independently by peaceful means based on democratic principles. The Korean people can and must themselves achieve peaceful national reunification.

To fully solve the question of our country's reunification,

a unified government should be established by free elections on democratic principles throughout the whole of Korea without any interference from the outside forces Separate elections in south Korea alone can never alter the situation. A unified government truly representing the people's will can be formed only through all-Korea elections in which the people in the northern half, and the workers, peasants and various other strata of the people in south Korea participate; and only by forming such a government can the south Korean people gain their freedom and rights and change the conditions in which they live.

We consider that such elections should be held on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot

The reunification of Korea is an internal affair of our nation which must be decided by the Korean people of their own free will. There can be no expression of the people's free will as long as the country is occupied by the imperialist aggressive forces and outside interference is tolerated. The prerequisite for genuine free elections is to force the U.S. imperialist army of aggression out of Korea and to reject any interference from outside.

At the same time, freedom of political activities should be guaranteed throughout north and south Korea. All political parties, social organizations and individual public figures in both parts should be able to openly announce their political platforms, express their political views before the people without any restriction, and engage in free activity wherever they are in the country. Only when these conditions are ensured can the Korean people establish a unified government through genuine free elections.

The proposals of our Party and the Government of the Republic on the peaceful reunification of the country are most reasonable, realistic and fair. Our reunification programme enjoys the ardent support of the entire Korean people and the approval of the peace-loving peoples of all countries of the world. Only the U.S. imperialists and their followers, the traitorous reactionary forces, prevent the holding of free, general elec-

tions throughout north and south Korea and stand opposed to the peaceful reunification of the country.

Frustrating the obstructive manoeuvres of the enemy, all patriotic people in south Korea should courageously struggle for general elections throughout north and south Korea. Workers, peasants and other sectors of the people in the south should wage a stubborn fight for the withdrawal of the U.S. army of aggression and for the attainment of the independent, democratic and peaceful reunification of the country.

Although the Korean people's struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country is complicated by difficult twists and turns, the revolutionary situation is developing in our favour. All Koreans are eagerly awaiting the great event of national reunification, and the day of its realization is drawing nearer.

To fulfil this national aspiration the Korean people in the north and south should unite all their forces and enter the struggle against the U.S. imperialists' occupation of south Korea and for the country's peaceful reunification.

The most crucial necessity in the development of the revolution today is to form an anti-U.S., national-salvation united front in south Korea, embracing all patriotic forces. The workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, youth and students, intellectuals and even the national capitalists in south Korea are all suffering from the partition of the country and U.S. imperialist colonial rule. They are all linked by common national interests. The forces of all these classes and strata should be solidly united and directed in struggle against U.S. imperialism, the principal enemy of the Korean people. Only by doing so, can the south Korean people repel the common enemy, win the struggle for liberation and realize the cause of national reunification.

It is of utmost importance in forming an anti-U.S., national-salvation united front to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class. The worker-peasant alliance should become the political and social basis of the united front.

While consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, a battle should be waged to strengthen solidarity with the youth and students and intellectuals. They should be more extensively drawn into the anti-U.S., national-salvation struggle and should be made to go deeply among the broad masses of the people, including workers and peasants, and keep close ties with the popular masses.

Thus, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys should be thoroughly isolated, all the patriotic, democratic strata in south Korea should be rallied under the banner of independent peaceful reunification, and unity should be achieved between the patriotic, democratic forces of south Korea and the patriotic, socialist forces of north Korea.

We shall march hand in hand with those who struggle against U.S. imperialism without asking about their past, their class background, social status, political views and religious beliefs. We will warmly welcome even those who in the past committed crimes against the homeland and the people provided they repent their crimes and openly support the country's peaceful reunification. And we will not fail to embrace them at all times after the reunification.

We are now living in the age of the disintegration of the imperialist colonial system, in the great era of national-liberation revolution. Hundreds of millions of people who only yesterday were oppressed and exploited by foreign aggressors have won their freedom and independence, throwing off the colonial yoke. All the peoples of the world who groan under imperialist oppression are launching valiant struggles against the aggressors. The liquidation of colonialism is a trend of the times which no force can hold back.

How can our nation, with its long history and time-honoured culture, put up with U.S. imperialist colonial rule and tolerate national humiliation and persecution in this great age of national-liberation revolution?

All those who love their country and people should unite and rise up in the save-the-nation struggle to expel the aggressors and reunify the country peacefully.

Once the entire Korean people firmly unite to combat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, they will be able to defeat the enemy, no matter how desperate he may be, winning a glorious victory.

The U.S. imperialists will be driven out of Korea and the cause of national reunification will unquestionably be achieved by the united might of the whole nation.

IV. THE PARTY

Comrades,

All the brilliant victories our people have won in the struggle for socialist construction and the peaceful reunification of the homeland are attributable to the Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party and testify unequivocally to the correctness of the Party's lines and policies.

Our Party has confidently led the Korean people to victories along the path indicated by Marxism-Leninism and honourably fulfilled its duty as the experienced General Staff of the revolution.

Thanks to its wise leadership, its unshakable Marxist-Leninist principles, its infinite fidelity to the interests of the Korean working class and working people and its uncompromising, resolute struggle against the enemy, our Party today has won the absolute support and confidence of the Korean people. It has become their reliable guiding force and they completely trust it with their destiny. The Party has been further tempered and seasoned and has grown and developed into a Leninist Party with iron-like unity and cohesion in the fierce struggles against internal and external enemies and in the course of carrying out arduous revolutionary tasks.

The period under review has been one of harsh trials and historic changes in the development of our country's revolution and our Party.

During these years in the international arena, the impe-

rialists continued their malicious anti-communist campaign in an attempt to destroy the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement. In line with the imperialists, the international revisionists came out wildly against Marxism-Leninism.

In particular, the situation in our country with its divided territory and with us face to face with U.S. imperialism has become more acute, more complicated. The enemy continued his subversion and sabotage, and many difficulties came up in our socialist construction. Overall socialist transformation and construction in town and country were accompanied by fierce class struggles. Class struggle at home and abroad also was reflected within the Party, and anti-Party factional elements came out against the Party and the revolution at the crucial moment.

But our Party has overcome every trial and emerged victorious on all fronts of the struggle.

The more vicious the machinations of the enemy, the higher the Party held the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, waging a decisive struggle to smash the enemy's intrigues to bits and struggling to build up its revolutionary ranks more firmly than ever and to uphold the revolutionary cause in Korea to the very end.

In the struggle against imperialism and for the common cause of socialism and communism, our Party has always fought resolutely to uphold Marxist-Leninist principles and strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and proletarian internationalist solidarity among the fraternal parties. At the same time it concentrated its primary efforts on firmly building up our country's revolutionary base, a link in the whole chain of the international revolutionary front

The Party has pushed ahead more vigorously with its revolutionary work to convert the northern half of the Republic, our revolutionary base, into a powerful bastion of socialism in a short time. It has simultaneously waged the struggle against the enemy of the revolution through a movement of all the masses. This has enabled us to prevent the enemy from

setting foot on our soil and to safeguard the socialist gains firmly from its encroachment, rallying all the popular masses around the Party.

First of all, we have reinforced the organization and ideology of the Party ranks and strongly protected Party unity and cohesion.

The Party has constantly waged a vigorous ideological struggle against infiltration of revisionism and all shades of reactionary bourgeois ideas, and against factionalism, nepotism and other anti-Marxist, anti-Party ideological elements within the Party, thus all the time ensuring its ideological purity and unity of will and action and carrying its just revolutionary lines through to the end. In particular, with the impetus of the August 1956 Plenary Meeting and the Party Conference in March 1958, the Party cleared itself of anti-Party factional elements and attained a great victory in the battle to defend its unity and cohesiveness. The anti-Party factional elements were the enemies of the revolution who were forced to reveal their true colours, no longer able to remain in hiding within the revolutionary ranks as the social revolution became more intense and the class struggle raged fiercely in our country. They were a gang of capitulators and alien elements who degenerated in face of the arduousness of the revolution.

Through its stubborn struggle against the anti-Party factionalists and their harmful ideological hangovers, our Party crushed the factions which had so much damaged the working-class movement of our country over a long period of time. Thus it decisively strengthened its unity and solidarity and accomplished the historical cause of unifying the communist movement in Korea. This is the most precious gain won by the Korean Communists in their protracted, difficult struggle and a great victory of historic significance in the development of our Party.

While battling against the ideological aftereffects of factionalism and against revisionism, the Party continued a vigorous ideological struggle to overcome the harmful effects of dogmatism divorced from revolutionary practice and thereby

established *Juche* more firmly in all areas of our work, leading Party members and the masses to give full play to their initiative.

Through these ideological struggles, the Party spirit of all members has been further enhanced. Moreover, the Party ideological system has been firmly established within the whole Party: each member always resolutely upholds Marxist-Leninist principles and the Party's lines in every circumstance and fights to the last with all his power to carry through its policies. This has strengthened the unity and fighting capacity of our Party immensely and has constituted the basic guarantee for all our victories.

While reinforcing its ranks and waging a vigorous struggle against internal and external enemies, the Party organized and mobilized the revolutionary force of the popular masses, firmly united around the Party, in the struggle to build a socialist economy.

In the course of carrying out the decisions of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting, which convened under extremely difficult internal and external circumstances, the creative zeal of the masses grew further, a great upsurge began in our socialist construction, and the historic Chollima Movement of the working people started. The Party has trusted the masses, and the masses, in turn, have followed the Party. United as one, the Party and the masses have fought untiringly for the triumph of socialism, overcoming each and every obstacle. We have thus victoriously accomplished the historic cause of laying the solid foundations of socialism at an unprecedentedly high speed on the soil of our country—a country which was once a backward colonial semi-feudal society and which was reduced to ashes by war—and we have built up a strong bastion of peace and socialism at the eastern outpost of the socialist camp.

Through the struggle for rigid adherence to its Marxist-Leninist position and its practical achievements in socialist construction, the Party completely shattered all enemy plots and vividly demonstrated the invincibility of the Marxist-Leninist cause and the united strength of our people. In doing

this we have been consistently loyal to our national and international duties to the Korean people and the international working class.

The great victories won in the complex class struggle and the building of socialism have enabled our Party to rally the entire working masses more closely around itself and strengthen ties of kinship with the masses. These victories have brought about great changes in all fields of Party work.

All the Party organizations, from the Party Central Committee down to the primary Party organizations, and all Party members have been closely tied with unity of ideology and will. The old pattern has been eliminated in Party work, and the revolutionary work style and method have come to prevail throughout the Party. All Party members breathe as one with the Party Central Committee, and the entire mass of our people march ahead in high spirits towards victory, going through fire and water under the banner of the Party. Never before in the history of the working-class and communist movements in our country has our Party been so organizationally and ideologically solid as it is today. Never before have the whole Party and the entire people been as strongly knit together and united with a single ideology and will as they are now.

Today we can say with confidence that we have a powerful Marxist-Leninist Party that can definitely lead the Korean people to victory, braving any adversity or difficulty.

This, in the main, summarizes the great victories attained by our Party in the course of its development during the period under review.

Comrades,

During the period under review, our Party has grown significantly in membership and has been further consolidated in quality.

As of August 1, 1961, our Party had a total membership of 1,311,563: 1,166,359 full members and 145,204 probationary members. This is 146,618 more than at the time of the Third Party Congress in 1956.

Chollima riders, labour innovators and many other front-

rank working people who displayed patriotic devotion in all fields of socialist construction and who were tested and tempered in hard struggles, have been admitted to the Party's ranks, and the Party has come to deepen its roots in the working class. The proportion of workers in the entire Party membership has risen from 17.3 per cent at the time of the Third Party Congress to 30 per cent today.

This growth of our Party reflects the increase of the revolutionary force of our country's working masses, headed by the working class. It is an expression of the popular masses' profound feeling of love and trust for our Party.

During the period under review, the Party Central Committee, in view of the particular history of our Party building and its difficult revolutionary tasks, has done everything within its power to reinforce the organizational and ideological unity of the Party and decisively strengthen its leadership role

As our Party was rapidly developing into a mass party, improving the quality of its members became the basic task in Party building. In particular, because of the fierce class struggle and immense task of socialist construction in our country, it was imperative that the Party expand and consolidate its forces in urban and rural areas even more and strengthen the fighting capacity of all its organizations.

Our Party has always directed special attention to reinforcing its ranks in accordance with Leninist principles of Party building

The most important thing in consolidating the Party's ranks and increasing its militancy is work with cadres.

Cadres are the nucleus of the Party and its commanding staff in carrying out revolutionary tasks. Work with cadres is not only crucial in fortifying the Party's ranks of nuclei and strengthening its leadership. It also constitutes the most important factor in the allocation of Party forces.

During the period under review the central tasks that confronted our Party with respect to personnel affairs were to improve the qualitative composition of the cadres' ranks and

to build them up more firmly in Party and state organs, including lower Party organizations and local power organs.

We have observed the principle of forming the core with the old revolutionary cadres who had taken an active part in the struggle for the liberation of the fatherland and with the cadres of working-class origin who have been tested in practice, and of boldly promoting a large number of new, young cadres who have developed rapidly among the working people after liberation.

We have extensively selected and trained cadres of working-class origin, and boldly given them major leading posts. We have firmly built up the ranks of cadres in factories and in the countryside with many excellent ex-soldiers and with nuclear Party members who have been steeled in the struggle for construction. At the same time we have systematically sent competent cadres from the centre down to local areas to reinforce the ranks of cadres there steadily.

While training large numbers of new intellectuals among the workers and peasants, the Party has boldly promoted old intellectuals to cadres and steadily developed them through education. The Party further improved the leadership ability of the ranks of cadres by correctly combining those of working-class origin with those who had an intellectual background.

We have encouraged all Party organizations to give prime attention to personnel matters at all times. We have fought against tendencies of nepotism and regionalism in the selection and allocation of cadres and against having illusions about cadres, and tried to overcome arbitrary judgment and subjectivism on the part of functionaries.

In view of the fact that the composition of the cadres' ranks was changed and many new cadres promoted, the Party has directed special attention to their guidance and education. We have steadily trained cadres through practical work; we have also taken both Party and state measures to induce them to study harder and have established a habit of study throughout the Party.

All this has resulted in decisively strengthening our Party's

personnel matters, improving the qualitative composition of the cadre ranks and raising their political and ideological level. The proportion of cadres of worker origin in Party and government organs has increased from 24 per cent at the time of the Third Party Congress to 31 per cent now, and old revolutionary cadres and those of working-class origin play nuclear role at important Party and state posts. The ranks of cadres in all major branches from the capital down to local areas have been built up with nuclear Party members who are boundlessly loyal to the Party. Competent revolutionary commanders who can carry through the will of the Party thoroughly and are capable of organizing the work of implementing its policies properly have been formed on all fronts—in politics, the economy and culture.

During the period we are reviewing, we have exerted a great deal of energy to consolidate primary Party organizations and increase their fighting power. This was the main content in our work to strengthen the Party qualitatively, as well as to expand and consolidate its forces on all fronts of socialist construction.

In guiding their subordinate units, all Party organizations, from the Party Central Committee down to the provincial, city and county Party committees, devoted their primary attention to strengthening the primary Party organizations. In particular, city and county Party committees concentrated their main forces on helping and directing the work of primary Party organizations by regularly sending them their leading functionaries.

In strengthening its primary organizations, the Party first gave its attention to steeling the Party spirit of the entire membership.

Party spirit means infinite loyalty to the Party. It is the strong class consciousness based on the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the indomitable revolutionary spirit of fighting through thick and thin in order to safeguard the Party and the revolution and carry out the Party's policies. We have consistently steeled all our members' Party spirit by intensify-

ing their education in Marxism-Leninism and the Party's policies, while at the same time waging a vigorous ideological struggle inside the Party and guaranteeing an intimate link between their Party life and the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks.

As an important step in fortifying its primary organizations, the Party has paid great attention to training its core members and to steadily expanding their ranks. This was especially important in our Party because its ranks grew rapidly and there was great disparity in the political preparation of its members.

Each Party organization has systematically educated its nuclear members and consistently trained them through practical work, constantly guiding them so as to enhance their vanguard role in the inner-Party ideological struggle and in the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks. Party organizations have actively enlisted their core members to educate and help new members, as well as all others with a low political level. The Party life of the entire membership was also improved by the exemplary role of these core members.

With the tempering of Party spirit and the numerical growth of our nuclei, the Party members' vanguard role has been strengthened and all the primary Party organizations have sunken deep roots among the masses. They have thus become militant and vital organizations capable of actively carrying out their revolutionary tasks.

In our Party today there has been established a revolutionary tone of Party life based on Leninist standards. All Party members are growing into revolutionary fighters with the Marxist-Leninist Party spirit of always being ready to defend the interests of the revolution and the class position.

In the area of Party building, intensive guidance to lower Party organizations was one of the major undertakings of the Party Central Committee during the period under review.

In order to improve the work of Party organizations at all levels and rapidly bring it up to the standard set by the Party Central Committee, we followed a line of conducting intensive work to strengthen lower Party organizations one

by one, allocating a considerable number of leadership personnel to the guidance of specific bodies.

Under the direct leadership of the Party Central Committee, guidance groups consisting of hundreds and thousands of able cadres were dispatched to provincial, city and county Party organizations. These groups studied the actual state of affairs in all the work of the respective Party organizations and gave them thorough guidance in their work for several months until radical changes took place.

During our intensive guidance, we detailed the Party's policies and methods of work to the lower-echelon functionaries and did all we could to raise the quality of their work and to remove obstacles and difficulties from their path. We also took measures to radically improve their work through a comprehensive understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of Party organizations. This concrete guidance and assistance to Party organizations not only helped give the Party members and the working masses a deeper understanding of the correctness of the Party's policies and improve the work of lower Party organizations decisively; such work also made it possible to eliminate the wrong tendency of fearing and avoiding guidance and checkups by higher organizations and cement unity with functionaries at the lower levels to an even greater extent.

Through intensive guidance we also roused the Party members and the broad masses of the working people to struggle to improve their work. We also helped them in a positive way to discover shortcomings in their work independently in the light of the Party's policies, as well as to overcome these shortcomings through determined struggles on their own. This helped tighten the Party life in Party organizations, give full scope to inner-Party democracy and further steel the Party spirit of the members. Intensive guidance also allowed us to correctly identify nuclear members and fortify the leading bodies of the Party organizations by incorporating them into these bodies.

By systematically carrying out intensive guidance, the Party has consolidated its local bodies organizationally and

ideologically and generally improved the work of Party organizations. The Party established a unitary ideological system and a unified system of work so that its intentions and policies could be put into effect with greater thoroughness by lower Party organizations. Intensive guidance has also served as an excellent school for the education in practice of those who comprised the guidance groups: functionaries from the central organs and many cadres from local Party and power organs and economic and cultural institutions. We have generalized the experience gained in this guidance to the work of all Party organizations, thereby helping to improve and develop the work not only of local Party organs but also of power organs, working people's organizations and economic and cultural institutions.

During the period under review, a radical change has taken place in the struggle to improve the style of leadership and method of work in the Party.

The fundamental requirement of the Party's revolutionary leadership is to steadily raise the political awareness of the masses and to organize and enlist their inexhaustible energy and creativity to the maximum in the implementation of the Party's policies.

This revolutionary work method of serving the masses wholeheartedly, relying upon them, and enlisting their creative power is a tradition of our Party inherited from the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

But many of our functionaries who were formed after liberation had no experience in working with the masses—winning them over and rousing them to action under difficult conditions. At one time the bureaucratic style of work, which is fundamentally incompatible with the style of Party work, was spread among more than a few functionaries by certain unsound elements. Therefore, arming all functionaries with the revolutionary mass viewpoint and a mastery of revolutionary leadership methods presented itself as a very important task for our Party.

In the past period, in order to rectify the functionaries'

work style and improve their work method, we have exerted all our efforts to take over and develop all aspects of our Party's traditional revolutionary style of work.

First of all, we have categorically rejected the armchair work style which is divorced from the masses and have strengthened guidance at production sites. In all guidance we have endeavoured to give priority to political work designed to heighten the political awareness of the masses and bring their activity and creativity into full play; we have tried to solve all problems in a revolutionary way by relying upon the strength of the masses.

The Party Central Committee has systematically sent responsible Party and government cadres down to factories and villages to continue to conduct on-the-spot guidance as one of its routine activities, explaining and bringing the Party's policies home to the working people and consulting directly with them to find ways and means to overcome obstacles and difficulties arising in the course of carrying out revolutionary tasks.

In such on-the-spot guidance, the Party has always solved the principal problem in one given place and made it a model. Then it systematically generalized all concrete experience and lessons gained in that one area and, in this way, combined general and specific guidance and successfully overcame subjectivism and formalism in its leadership.

In order to ensure correct revolutionary leadership for the masses, we should constantly improve and perfect the method and system of Party work in conformity with our continually developing realities and working conditions.

The new situation that has prevailed in our country in the last few years demanded that the whole system and method of Party work improve accordingly. The main characteristics of the new circumstances are: due to the completion of the socialist transformation of the relations of production the socialist economic sector became completely dominant in the national economy; the productive forces developed at a very high rate and the scale of production expanded rapidly; and the

political enthusiasm of the masses grew stronger. The old work system and method adapted to a scattered and spontaneous private economy had become incompatible with the new circumstances in which a planned and organized socialist economy was dominant, and the standard of the functionaries' work could not keep up with our fast changing and developing reality.

This situation found concentrated expression, above all, in the rural economy which had been transformed into a socialist co-operative one in a short time and in which the co-operatives had rapidly grown larger as they were amalgamated with the *ri* as a single unit.

The Party Central Committee gave on-the-spot guidance to the Party organizations in Chongsan-*ri* and other villages in Kangso County, South Pyongan Province, and found concrete ways to decisively improve the work system and work method in Party and state organs. The Party Central Committee generalized this experience in all areas of our work, thereby bringing about a great change in all Party work.

Through the struggle to generalize the experience acquired in guidance to Chongsan-*ri*, we managed, first of all, to thoroughly establish the work system whereby functionaries from Party and state organs would personally go to lower units and give concrete assistance to their subordinates and the masses. The centre has been able to help the province, and the province assist the county. In particular, the functionaries of county organs, the lowest leadership units of Party and state, have been encouraged to go down regularly to the *ri*, which has become the basic production unit in the countryside. There they assist in its work in a responsible manner, personally organizing and carrying out Party and economic work together with the *ri* functionaries.

This work system has not only become the most effective means to eliminate as quickly as possible the disparity between the fast-developing reality and the lagging level of leadership given by the functionaries. It has also become a great force for eliminating the old work style and work system which were divorced from the productive activities of the

masses, for decisively reinforcing the work of the Party and state organs in the basic units of production, and for accelerating the development of the socialist economy.

In the course of generalizing the experience gained at Chongsan-*ri*, we have completely transformed Party work into living work with people, and we have effected a new change in our work with the masses. We have seen that all Party organizations carry out their work militantly and promptly in close combination with the productive activities of the masses. We have guaranteed that they conduct political work with every Party member and with each working man and woman in a more concrete fashion Party organizations gave each Party member suitable assignments and raised his vanguard role among the masses. At the same time Party functionaries went among the masses and helped them in their work in a comradely way, educated and remoulded them with the ideas and policies of the Party, and also vigorously mobilized all Party members and working people for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks.

As a result, we have definitively smashed the outmoded pattern of bureaucracy and begun to establish our Party's revolutionary work method throughout the Party. Our Party organizations have learned how to go deeply among the masses and skilfully organize and enlist their enthusiasm and creative power, establishing closer ties of kinship with them. Today the working people of our country have come to trust the Party, call on Party organs for consultation about all matters, live and work relying on the Party organizations, and strive with all their energies and talents to carry out the tasks set by the Party.

This signifies a splendid victory of our Party's consistent mass line.

With the unity of the Party cemented and its method of work decisively improved, a big change has been made in educating and remoulding the masses with communist ideology and in bringing them together as one.

The victory of the revolution depends, in the last analysis, on which side is able to win over the largest number of people.

All the Party's activities, then, should be concentrated on rallying the masses and drawing them into the revolution.

Especially this question of winning over the masses, of educating and remoulding them, acquires even greater significance in our country with its divided territory and with the U.S. imperialists continually disrupting our revolutionary forces through their vicious machinations.

Since immediately after liberation, our Party has waged a stubborn struggle to turn the northern half of the Republic into a single political force and has made persistent efforts to consolidate the unity of all the labouring masses on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. Over the past several years we have set the political unity of our people on a new footing by establishing a single socialist economic system in the northern half of the Republic. On this basis, we have even more vigorously worked to rally all strata of the masses around the Party and to educate and remould them.

In each period of the revolution's development the Party clearly defined the main objects of the dictatorship of the proletariat and pursued a positive policy of isolating the handful of hostile elements while boldly drawing in all social strata which can be won over to the side of the revolution, actively educating and remoulding them. Such a Party's policy gave fuller scope to the enthusiasm and activity of the masses from all walks of life and strengthened the unity of all our people.

The most important thing in educating and transforming the working masses is communist education.

Our Party clearly defined the main points of communist education to be dealt with in the present historical period: constantly improving its methods, it systematically remoulded the ideological consciousness of the working people.

The Party intimately combined communist education with the teaching of revolutionary traditions. Its main effort was to conduct mass education directly linked to the productive activities of the working people, using influence by positive example as its basic method. This made it possible to eliminate formalism in communist education, develop the Party's mass

education to new heights, and bring about changes in the work of remoulding the ideological consciousness of the working people. In this way, a new attitude toward living and working in a communist way has begun to appear among the masses, and the work of educating and remoulding people has gradually become one that the masses themselves have taken on. A great number of our workers, peasants and intellectuals have participated in the Chollima Workteam Movement under the slogan, "Let's live and work in a communist way;" they have also carried out the work of educating and remoulding people along communist lines as a mass movement tied to production.

Our Party has now confidently embarked on the successful fulfilment of the difficult task of completely freeing the working masses from obsolete ideology, and the vast masses have gotten down to the work of educating and remoulding man.

Comrades,

During the period under review, our Party has been tremendously successful in reinforcing its ranks.

We must advance even further toward new victories, consolidating the successes already gained. There is no reason at all for us to become self-satisfied.

Our Party now faces the momentous task of successfully carrying out the Seven-Year National Economic Plan and building up the democratic base in the northern half into an impregnable bastion in order to realize the historic cause of the country's reunification. This revolutionary task demands that we further strengthen our Party—the Korean people's guiding force and the organizer of all its victories—into an indestructible force and solidify the unity of all the popular masses under the leadership of our Party.

Today, the destiny of all the Korean people and the ultimate victory of the Korean revolution depend completely upon the leadership of our Party. The fortification of the Party is a decisive guarantee for the triumph of our revolution.

We must continually exert every possible effort to consolidate the Party organizationally and ideologically and to strengthen its leadership role.

The most urgent task in Party work at present is to continue reinforcing the ranks of the cadres and sharply raise their level of leadership.

In all fields our reality, which is advancing dynamically at the speed of Chollima, requires more competent commanders with revolutionary sweep.

A weak point in our current work is that the cadres' level of leadership can hardly keep up with the revolutionary spirit of the masses who have wholeheartedly supported the Party's correct lines and policies or with the rapidly changing and developing reality. We should make every possible effort to raise cadres' level and, in particular, rapidly improve the qualifications of the functionaries in ministries, management bureaus, and in local Party and power organs, and of the leading personnel in factories, enterprises, and in the countryside, who are directly responsible for carrying out the Party policies in building a socialist economy.

Revolution is a complex and difficult task; it is a remaking of nature and society. To carry it out successfully we must possess both revolutionary will and the weapons and means for reorganizing life and building it. Marxism-Leninism and scientific knowledge are the powerful revolutionary weapons which shine a clear light down the road to victory and ensure our advance in the complex, arduous struggle.

Despite the fact that they are good workers who developed through difficult struggle and are loyal to the Party, some of our functionaries lag behind reality, just marking time, because they neglect to study science and technology and cling to their limited experience. Some of them are also so cautious that they cannot have faith in the revolutionary power of the masses and do not work boldly in a revolutionary way.

Most important in raising the cadres' leadership ability is that all the functionaries study Marxism-Leninism, acquire scientific knowledge, and equip themselves with the revolutionary spirit of the working class. Every single one of them should learn, upholding at all times the slogan, "The entire Party must study."

All cadres must study Marxist-Leninist theory and the Party's policies profoundly and master them to be able to analyse reality scientifically and carry out the Party's policies correctly in any complex situation. In particular, they must thoroughly prepare themselves with scientific knowledge about socialist economic construction, our principal revolutionary task in the present period. All the cadres must systematically study Marxist-Leninist philosophy and political economy in connection with our Party's policies. They must acquaint themselves with technology and with concrete economic problems relative to industry, agriculture, construction, transport, trade, and so forth. In addition, all cadres must profoundly study the revolutionary traditions of our Party and understand them, and arm themselves with revolutionary spirit so that they may defend the Party's policies to the utmost and carry them out with revolutionary sweep

Cadres of working-class origin should acquire knowledge and technology from the intellectuals. The cadres who are from the intelligentsia should, in turn, acquaint themselves with the revolutionary spirit and organization of the working class

We must all learn from each other and, particularly, from the masses.

Our best instructors are the popular masses and reality. All cadres should humbly learn from the masses, raise their own level through practical work, constantly sum up the results of their own work, and generalize their experience.

The Party organizations at all levels must further expand cadre-training institutions, improve the quality of instruction and education, and extensively re-educate the cadres on the job The cadres at the county and higher levels should be encouraged to complete a college course in the shortest possible time either through the Central Party School, the Institute of National Economy, and the communist colleges or through correspondence courses offered by institutions of higher education. The system of learning while working should be established so that managers, chief engineers, shop managers, chairmen of the Party organizations in all production units and

management personnel of the co-operatives can master specialized knowledge and technology in their respective fields.

All the cadres should, in this way, become competent workers who are not only infinitely loyal to the Party, well-prepared both politically and theoretically and knowledgeable about their job, but also have a high cultural level.

One of the important tasks still before us is the problem of further consolidating the primary Party organization, the Party cell.

The primary Party organization is the base for the Party life of each member. It is our Party's basic organization and combat unit which unites the masses around the Party and carries out the Party policies directly with them.

Only strengthening the primary Party organizations makes it possible to strengthen the whole Party and mobilize all its members and organizations as one man to fulfil revolutionary tasks.

In particular, to make sure that the large-scale work of socialist construction now under way in our country is successful and to enlist the exceptionally high revolutionary zeal and initiative of the masses for this work to the greatest possible extent, it is necessary to make every primary Party organization a militant one which functions actively, is quick to perceive new things, enjoys prestige among the masses, and is able to unite the masses and lead them with vigour.

Every primary Party organization must concentrate on inducing all members to fully discharge their duties as provided for in the Party Rules in strict accordance with Leninist standards of Party life. It must also concentrate on actively developing the practice of criticism and self-criticism in Party life and on energetically conducting both Marxist-Leninist education of the members and inner-Party ideological struggle so as to steel their Party spirit and establish the Party's ideological system more firmly among them. All Party members should be educated and trained in this way so that they can courageously combat negative phenomena of all kinds, resolutely defending the Party lines and policies and striving to put

these policies into practice to the fullest possible extent wherever and whenever they may be.

The primary Party organizations must continuously expand and reinforce the Party's ranks of nuclei while at the same time mobilizing every single member to carry out revolutionary tasks. Each Party organization must correctly assign Party duties according to the character, ability and physical condition of each of its members, daily assist them in the implementation of these assignments, and review and sum up the results promptly. Thus, we should lead all members to always act as required by the Party and to advance at the head of the masses in their fight to carry out the Party policies.

The Party organizations must strengthen their ties with the masses, educating them in Party ideology from one day to the next. At the same time they must pay close attention to the steady expansion of Party ranks by properly recruiting members from the working people.

Party members are self-conscious revolutionary fighters who make a total commitment to the struggle for the revolution and the final victory of socialism and communism. Our Party members assume the heavy responsibility of leading all the masses and carrying the Korean revolution to completion for the country's prosperity and the happiness of the working masses.

Every Party member must tirelessly endeavour to be infinitely loyal to the revolution, to further cultivate the qualities of a revolutionary fighter in order to be a model for the masses in every respect, and to improve his political level and practical abilities. All of our members should be firmly equipped with Marxism-Leninism and the Party's policies. They should become capable political workers, not only defending these policies and carrying them through to the end, but also explaining and propagating them among the masses and leading them forward by educating and remoulding them with the Party ideas.

Furthermore, Party members should be well versed and proficient in their work. They must all make special efforts to

learn science and technology and raise their educational and cultural levels.

Every member of the Party should thus become a conscious revolutionary fighter armed with Marxism-Leninism as well as a knowledgeable and competent builder of the new life—a person who has the high standards of technical expertise and culture.

In order to enhance the leading role of the Party, it is essential that Party committees at all levels be reinforced and their functions and role strengthened.

The Party committee is the supreme leading organ in its respective unit; it is the general staff in every aspect of work. Correct implementation of the Party's policies in all areas depends entirely upon the leadership of Party committees.

Today, the socialist system has been established completely in our country, and our Party assumes full responsibility in politics, economics, military affairs and culture and in all aspects of the people's daily life. This demands that Party committees at every level improve their leadership and supervision in all fields.

By the strengthening of Party supervision we do not mean that the Party should do administrative work itself. Rather, supervision by rank-and-file Party members and the collective leadership of Party committees in all work should be improved.

If Party committees are to perform their role as the general staff effectively, they must, before anything else, be made up of core members who have strong Party spirit and leadership qualities. The committees must be composed of men and women familiar with the problems of a given field and capable of efficiently performing their work properly incorporating the wishes of the masses. In particular, the committees should take their members largely from the working people and specialists directly involved in production. All the Party committees should thus be more closely linked with the masses and capable of organizing and enlisting their wisdom to the full.

Party committees should properly assign duties to their

members, continually increase their activity and political and practical levels so that all members can strictly abide by Party principles in solving any complex problem and actively organize their work on the basis of the Party's policies.

Collective leadership is the basis of the Party committees' activities. Working from the Party policies, the Party committees must collectively discuss all important matters arising in a given field, decide on how to proceed, give assignments and correctly mobilize their forces.

Leadership and supervision should be strengthened over all state organs, working people's organizations and economic and cultural institutions, and their work should be checked and analysed in good time so that they are able to fulfil their assignments responsibly in accordance with decisions of the Party committees.

Here, further improvement of the Party guidance and supervision in economic construction becomes a matter of great importance. The Party committees must supervise the work of ministries, management bureaus, and economic bodies in fulfilling the national economic plan so that they know how to execute the Party policies correctly. It is incumbent upon provincial, county and city Party committees, in particular, to intensify their guidance and supervision of industry and agriculture.

We must strengthen Party guidance and supervision in all spheres so that each state body and working people's organization fully exercises its functions in the struggle to implement the Party policies under the unified leadership of the Party.

The people's power is the executor of all the lines and policies of our Party, a powerful weapon for socialist construction, and a reliable defender of our revolution.

Party committees at every level are obliged to strive persistently to consolidate the people's power organs and increase their functions and role in fulfilling revolutionary tasks.

The momentous task confronting people's power bodies at present is to improve their functions as organizers of the economy and as educators of culture.

The power organs at all levels should raise the quality of planning in economic management even higher than it is and put the socialist principles of planned production, planned accumulation, planned distribution and planned consumption into practice in a thoroughgoing way. The power organs should organize production and construction and push them ahead in a planned way in order to ensure the speedy development of the productive forces and the systematic rise in labour productivity. They should also be trying at all times to raise the working people's standards of technical know-how and skills and to improve and strengthen labour administration. The government bodies at all levels should have a greater sense of responsibility for the people's living conditions, steadily promote their material well-being by properly guaranteeing supply services for the working people and paying serious attention to education, public health, town administration and rural construction; and they should vigorously fulfil the task of the cultural revolution put forward by the Party.

The government bodies from top to bottom are required to abandon bureaucratic, armchair work methods in every one of their activities and conclusively establish the Party habit of giving priority to political work, observing and analysing phenomena from a political framework at all times, and dealing with current problems promptly and accurately.

Thus, our people's government bodies should become powerful institutions of political power that champion the people's interests, serve them more faithfully and, as a weapon of the revolution, responsibly carry out the Party's policies.

We should strengthen in every possible way the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat represented by people's power, thereby to firmly protect the gains of socialism and the people's happy life against encroachment by the enemy.

The U.S. imperialists who occupy south Korea and their stooges continue manoeuvring viciously to undermine socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic.

The organs of people's power should totally smash such

schemes of the enemy. It is necessary that we fortify the People's Army and the Worker-Peasant Red Guards politically and ideologically; we must reinforce the interior service organs, public procurators' offices and judicial bodies, further enhancing their role and functions. Sharp vigilance should be maintained against the enemy at all times, revolutionary discipline and order established in every sphere and a vigorous struggle against counterrevolution fought unremittingly in an all-people movement. In this way, we will defend our coasts and borders firmly, capture enemy infiltrators opportunely and thoroughly expose and frustrate all enemy subversion and sabotage at every step. We must prevent the enemy from worming his way into our place—we must make it impossible for him to set foot on our soil.

In addition, we have to increase the role of the working people's organizations as transmission belts linking the Party with the masses.

During the past period, our working people's organizations have scored great successes in establishing the Party's ideological system in their ranks, rallying the working masses around the Party, and organizing and mobilizing them to fulfil its policies.

Today the working people's organizations face the important task of giving more positive support to the Party through a greater display of activity and initiative in executing its policies.

It is of tremendous significance in organizing and mobilizing our revolutionary forces to enhance the role of trade union organizations, whose ranks embrace all of the factory and office workers.

Trade union organizations should, first of all, fully establish a system of work which will permit them to stick to their proper duties and to fulfil them responsibly and concretely.

They should devote great efforts to rallying all factory and office workers more closely around the Party and establishing its ideological system firmly within the working class, thus helping our working class act with a single will and

purpose in response to the Party's call and faithfully serve the interests of the Party and the revolution.

Trade union organizations should encourage workers' active participation in the management of enterprises by further improving and intensifying the work of the production conferences; they should ensure fulfilment and overfulfilment of production goals by organizing and developing socialist emulation on a broad scale. Above all, they should exert their utmost efforts to expand and develop the Chollima Workteam Movement so as to give fuller scope to the enthusiasm and initiative of the working people in socialist construction, and educate and remould them along communist lines.

Trade union organizations should instil in all working people the spirit of consciously observing state discipline and social order and protecting and valuing state property, and should steadily improve their technical and cultural standards.

An important duty of trade unions is to try to improve the work conditions of the working people and raise their material and cultural standards. They should feel a greater sense of responsibility for ensuring the working people labour protection and safety on the job and should actively work to organize and improve this work. At the same time, they should continue to promote general production culture. They should also pay great attention to cultural activities, to recreation and holidays for the working people, and to improving their material conditions. In this way, they should thoroughly implement the Party's policy of promoting the welfare of the people.

The Democratic Youth League organizations, composed of broad sections of young people, face the vital task of educating all the younger generation to be reserves that the Party can rely on.

The DYL organizations should energetically conduct communist education and education in the revolutionary traditions among all the youth so that they may equip themselves with the strong spirit of faithful service to the Party and the revolution and carry the Party's policies through to the end,

valiantly overcoming any obstacles they may face and taking the lead in tackling difficult and toilsome jobs.

The DYL organizations must constantly stimulate young people's interest in their studies and firmly guide them all toward systematic study habits so that they may develop a deep understanding of Marxism-Leninism and the policies of our Party and acquire an adequate scientific background. In particular, they must guarantee that every young person acquires more than one technical skill and that student youth become competent, able builders of socialism by strengthening their study discipline and correctly combining academic pursuits and productive labour. In this way, they will ensure that all young people actively participate in socialist construction, particularly in carrying out the technical revolution, and display their energy and talent to the fullest extent.

The DYL organizations must actively strive to firmly establish moral conduct befitting a Communist among the youth. Young people must resolutely combat all manifestations of immorality and indolence along with the penetration of old bourgeois customs; they all must have the revolutionary traits of frugality in life and diligence in work.

The DYL organizations should constantly train the younger generation physically as well as mentally and prepare them more competently for productive labour and national defence by vigorously carrying on physical culture and sports among the youth and children on a mass basis.

In this way all of our youth will be educated to become a new kind of man, versatile and imbued with revolutionary optimism and creativity, ever energetic, bold in thought and action, innovative—who vigorously marches forward to build a bright future.

The Democratic Women's Union organizations should intensify communist education among women, raise political consciousness and cultural standards, and encourage working women to take a more active role in socialist construction.

In view of the fact that women have entered the life of our society in full force and their numbers have increased

considerably in all fields of economic and cultural construction, the branches of the Democratic Women's Union should strengthen their organization in factories, enterprises and rural districts, bring their activities closer to production centres, and actively educate and remould people, uniting front-rank women firmly.

Party committees at all levels should solidly build up the working people's organizations such as the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Democratic Youth League and the Democratic Women's Union, set lines and methods for work at the right time, and continue to strengthen Party leadership so that the role of these organizations is enhanced. In particular, the Party organizations should strengthen the work of all the committees of the working people's organizations so that they may take on the tasks assigned by the Party immediately at a given moment and keep pace with the Party in their struggle.

Party committees at every level are required to carry out the Party's revolutionary mass line thoroughly and steadily develop the revolutionary method and style of work in all activities.

These committees should go deeply among the masses, bringing leadership closer to the lower levels, seek out and popularize exemplary deeds—the new buds blossoming in the midst of the masses—as soon as they appear and skilfully enlist and organize the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses in realizing Party policies.

To educate, remould and unite the masses is the central problem our Party has to deal with at the present stage. We must activate the whole Party to educate and remould people and carry out this work on a mass basis.

Party organizations from top to bottom should, from the first, always be seriously concerned about educating and remoulding those strata of the population whose social background is complicated and then uniting them around the Party.

Owing to decades of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, to the country's division into north and south, and especially,

to the enemy's schemes for destroying our unity during the Fatherland Liberation War, the social and political composition of our population has become complex.

It is crucial in consolidating the unity of all the people that we correctly solve the problems of the social strata of people who have complicated backgrounds, and definitely win them over to the side of the Party and the revolution.

Today, all the conditions are in our favour for carrying out this task more successfully. All of the people in the northern half of the Republic have not just broken with out-of-date production relations and become socialist working people. They are already experiencing the happy life of the socialist system and clearly see their bright future in socialism and communism. Our Party is unified and seasoned in organization and ideology now as never before. Having grown into a powerful Party, it is fully able to enlist, educate and remould any stratum of society with an involved background.

The Party organizations at all levels should tirelessly strive to cultivate the revolutionary mass viewpoint of Party members and strengthen the solidarity of the popular masses with the working class as the core. They should bring in and trust anyone who is now loyal to the revolution and who is earnestly trying to transform himself despite problems of origin, background and past record; they should actively help and patiently educate such people who will then be able to direct all their talents and enthusiasm toward the construction of socialism. Party organizations should systematically write off the past mistakes of people tested through struggle, and reappraise these people's origins so that their activity may be brought into fuller play.

By doing this work successfully we will drive the enemies of the revolution further into a tight corner, strengthen the solidarity of all our people and guarantee mutual confidence and harmony throughout society

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Communism is built for the masses; it will enable everyone to live in abundance. Communists are entrusted with the historic mission of liberating all people, freeing them completely, and leading them to communism. No one is born a laggard. Although some people may be remoulded earlier than others there is no one who is incapable of change.

No one should be left lagging behind. We must patiently, steadily educate and reform every man and woman and march forward together, helping one another, to the glory of communism.

This education and remoulding of all the masses is a profound ideological revolution which ultimately destroys capitalism even in the realm of men's consciousness and completely liberates them from everything that is obsolete—an inheritance of the past. This is the most difficult and prolonged task facing the working class after its seizure of state power. We have just started doing this, and our successes so far are just the beginning.

Basing ourselves firmly on successes and experience already gained, we must educate the masses of working people in communist ideology all the more dynamically.

Since diametrically opposing systems confront each other in north and south Korea and our enemies are viciously plotting against socialism, we must give constant priority to convincing the working people of the superiority of the socialist system and its inevitable victory and imbuing them with class consciousness so that they may resolutely protect the revolutionary gains and the socialist system under all circumstances.

We are living in an age of revolution. Our country is not yet reunified and we are confronted with many difficult tasks. We have yet to achieve the country's reunification and build communism on the soil of our fatherland. Only then can we say that we have performed our duty as Korean Communists. Many oppressed peoples in the world are still struggling to free themselves from exploitation by capital and the yoke of imperialism. We must continue an intense struggle for the final triumph of the revolution.

Therefore, we must fight tenaciously against the penetration of bourgeois ideology, reject immorality and indolence, create a revolutionary climate that promotes a frugal and vigorous way of life among the working people, and educate them in the revolutionary spirit of uninterrupted innovation and continual advance.

The spirit of loving work is one of the most basic qualities of the new man in a socialist or communist society. We should keep trying to foster among the working people the spirit of regarding labour as honourable and loving it as well as to establish a conscious attitude toward work.

Another important question in communist education is to eradicate individualism and selfishness, legacies of the old society, and to inculcate in the working people the spirit of collectivism that values the interests of the state and society and that helps them to pull together. Holding the slogan "One for all and all for one" ever higher, we should struggle to dye the entire northern half of the Republic red, to convert our whole society into one big family, harmonious and united.

We should always be deeply interested in educating the working people in socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. All the working people should learn to love their birthplaces and homeland, keep their work places, towns and villages in good condition, and resolutely defend their country. We must educate them in the spirit of strong friendship and solidarity, with the peoples of the socialist countries and the working class of the whole world, in the struggle for the common cause of peace and socialism. At the same time, education in proletarian internationalism should always be closely combined with education in socialist patriotism, firmly convincing the working people that our revolution is an integral part of the world revolution, that we can only contribute to that international revolution by driving forward the revolution, first of all, in our own country.

This educational work, aimed at remoulding the working people's ideology and cultivating communist ethics and qualities, must be carried out by the Party organizations in close

connection with the struggle to implement our Party's lines and policies.

The working people's communist education should invariably be linked up with education in the revolutionary traditions.

Life has already confirmed that when combined with education in revolutionary traditions, communist education becomes not only a matter of learning the general principles of communism but also one of following the living examples of Communists; it converts itself into education that influences people strongly and vitally.

The struggle and life of the anti-Japanese guerrillas, who fought the Japanese imperialists for many years under very difficult conditions and triumphed, offer all our working people concrete examples capable of arousing their deepest emotions and inspiring them to heroic struggle. Above all, they serve as the best textbook for educating the younger generation who has not gone through the trials of the revolution in the revolutionary spirit of communism. Our working people, filled with enormous pride and a sense of responsibility for carrying forward the revolutionary cause of the anti-Japanese guerrillas, draw inspiration from their heroic combat exploits in moments of difficulty and adversity, and display tremendous patriotic devotion and creative initiative in socialist construction.

Moreover, by giving the working people a clearer understanding of the historical roots of our Party and our revolution, education in the revolutionary traditions greatly contributes to fostering their fighting will to defend the Party and the revolution and protect the achievements of socialism to the last. Thus, education in communist ideology coupled with that in revolutionary traditions constitutes a powerful means for establishing the Party's ideological system among Party members and broad sections of the working masses and for arming them with Party ideas.

It is incumbent on the Party organizations at all levels to educate the working people in communist ideology more energetically by showing them the concrete models of the intrepid

revolutionary spirit, patriotic devotion and lofty communist traits of the revolutionary forerunners. Through their education of our revolutionary traditions, Party organizations should direct their main efforts at firmly establishing a communist world outlook among the working people so that they can live, work and struggle in a revolutionary way and at uniting them in strength around the Party.

With the triumph of the socialist system, the most effective method of mass education is that of influencing people by positive example.

Under the socialist system, where exploitation and oppression have been eliminated and where the opportunity of unrestricted advance is open to all, people long for what is beautiful and good, and positive trends prevail throughout society. Under socialism any positive practice is greeted with sympathy by the broad masses of people; it can immediately be popularized and serve as a model for all society to follow. Moreover, a positive example is a criticism of the negative; it clearly suggests how the working people can overcome the negative and gives them a strong push in this struggle.

Stressing the tremendous role played by positive example under socialism, Lenin taught us that it was the Party's duty always to make sure that the working people's examples and their valuable experiences are fully assimilated by the masses.

In our country where socialism has triumphed, the revolutionary spirit of the masses is now exceptionally high, and everywhere we are seeing fine, positive examples that move the people.

Party organizations at all levels should seek out positive examples in the masses in good time, and actively encourage and popularize them all over the country. It is also important in the education of individuals that we not only help them to follow the positive examples of others but also always recognize and actively support their own positive qualities, inspiring self-confidence and courage.

Meanwhile, we should go among the masses and through our own deeds, provide them with examples. We should thus

oughly explain and patiently persuade the masses until they understand, address ourselves in a kind and comradely manner even to those who have shortcomings, and wholeheartedly help them in every way we can to solve their difficulties and direct them down the right path. Without such patience we will neither be able to influence people nor successfully conduct the complex and difficult work of education and remoulding of man.

We can say that the basic principle for remoulding a person under socialism is to constantly encourage and patiently help him develop his positive characteristics to the utmost and overcome the negative.

Collective labour is the best school for educating man. And ideological work which aims at transforming people's consciousness can be successful only through practical struggle that changes nature and society.

When our communist education uses the production site as the base, where people work and live collectively, we can directly combine the work of transforming man's consciousness with the productive activities of the working people and most effectively foster qualities of communist morality in them.

With the production site as the base, this education and transformation of people is now moving ahead successfully in the towns and villages of our country, and the excellent results are being achieved particularly in the Chollima Workteam Movement.

The Chollima Workteam Movement, initiated by our working class under the leadership of our Party, is a fine school of communism for the working masses.

The Chollima workteam attaches prime importance to the communist education of the working people; it seeks the key to collective innovation of production in educating and transforming the people and in rousing their voluntary enthusiasm.

The Chollima riders, strictly basing themselves on the Party's popular work style and method, adopt educational measures suited to each team member and carry on the education and reforming of people in a systematic way. They are

always stimulating people to action by talking about the exemplary deeds of past revolutionaries and the positive practices of today, setting examples in practical work and giving comradely help in all matters to those falling behind. The Chollima riders thus influence people with the utmost patience and educate them through collective effort. In the Chollima workteams, yesterday's backward person becomes today's activist through the influence of the collective and deep comradely love; everyone strives to contribute to the common success, helping each other and vying with one another to take the lead in doing difficult jobs.

Life has already afforded a clear proof of the fact that the Chollima Workteam Movement is not only a drive for collective innovation in production but also a movement of the most popular kind for the education and remoulding of people.

Party organizations at all levels should pay profound attention to the further development of the Chollima Workteam Movement, particularly carrying on energetic communist education in the Chollima workteams, thus further enhancing their role as a communist school for the education and transformation of people.

All Party organizations should vigorously try to generalize the living examples of Chollima riders as well as their experience in work at the opportune moment. As the Chollima Workteam Movement gains momentum, new methods and forms of ideological work directly linked with the productive activities of the working people are now being created, for example, propaganda work with the farmers in the fields. Party organizations from top to bottom should popularize and continue to develop such forms and methods made on the production sites and, thereby, completely eliminate dogmatism and formalism in Party ideological work and further improve and strengthen mass education.

Our Party has already started grappling with the education and remoulding of the masses and all of them have responded positively. It is now the task for all Party organizations

to go deeply among the masses and carry out the work more boldly.

Party organizations at all levels and all Party members should always pay deep attention to the education and remoulding of the people. They are required to unite with the masses and constantly educate them, explaining and propagating the Party ideas and policies. If each of our one million Party members assumes the task of remoulding just one person, they can transform a million people.

We should mobilize the press, radio, literature and art, and all other means of education at our disposal more vigorously for educating and transforming the masses with the thoughts of the Party. Every work unit should give priority to the education and remoulding of people.

In order to carry on successful communist education among the working people, the ranks of cadres in the field of ideological work should be reinforced with more qualified and capable core Party members, and their political and theoretical level should be steadily raised.

By educating and remoulding all the popular masses with the thoughts of the Party in this way, the unity of the Party with the masses, the source of our invincible power, should be further strengthened.

Comrades,

The Party's unity of ideology and will is our heart and soul. It is the decisive guarantee of all our victories.

The struggle for the unity of the Party is the sacred, supreme duty of all Party organizations and every Party member.

Our Party has achieved today's strong unity within its ranks after a long and bitter struggle against the vicious enemies of the revolution.

Unsound ideas of various shades which are inconsistent with the ideas of the Party are, in the final analysis, diverse manifestations of bourgeois ideology. Should they grow unchecked within the Party, great harm may come to the Party and the revolution. As long as imperialism exists and the class struggle continues, we must constantly sharpen our vigilance

against the penetration of bourgeois ideology into the Party and struggle without compromise against any attempt, no matter how small it may be, to undermine the Party's unity.

Party organizations at all levels should arm their members more thoroughly with Marxist-Leninist ideas and fully acquaint them with the historical experience our Party gained in its struggle for unity and cohesion. They will thus encourage all of them to struggle vigorously and unceasingly against revisionism, dogmatism, factionalism, parochialism, nepotism and all other types of opportunism, and at all costs, to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the Party ranks.

Consequently, all Party members and Party organizations should think and act in the same way that the Party Central Committee does. They should fight to the last, joining their fate with that of the Party Central Committee no matter how difficult the circumstances.

When the Party's ranks are firmly united and rallied by one and the same will, we can repulse the attack of all enemies no matter how malicious they may be, overcome all adversities and difficulties and advance triumphantly.

We must always cherish the unity of the entire Party around its Central Committee as the apple of our eye, rally all the people in a rock-like unity around the Party, and with the Party and the masses united as one body, march on with high revolutionary spirits from victory to victory.

V. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Comrades,

During the period we are reviewing, we have also achieved tremendous successes in the realm of foreign relations.

Thanks to the heroic struggle of our people and the correct foreign policy pursued by our Party and Government

on the basis of a coherent assessment of the changing international situation, the international position of our country has been enhanced as never before.

In the period just past the general international situation has developed more favourably for the struggle of our people for the peaceful reunification of our country and for socialism.

Today the forces of socialism are decisively prevailing over the forces of imperialism on the world scene. The world socialist system is steadily surging forward and flowering, its might continually growing with each passing day.

The Soviet people are successfully carrying on the overall construction of a communist society.

Soviet industry and agriculture are developing at a rapid tempo on the basis of the latest technology, and the material and cultural well-being of the Soviet people is constantly improving.

The Soviet Union has reached the world's highest level of scientific and technical advancement, leaving the United States and other capitalist countries far behind. The space flights accomplished by the Soviet people bear witness to the remarkable development of Soviet science and technology and demonstrate both the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system and the invincible might of the socialist camp.

The successful building of communism in the Soviet Union adds to the power of the entire socialist camp and further strengthens the confidence of the peoples the world over in the victory of socialism and communism.

In People's China the socialist revolution has already triumphed and socialist construction is progressing successfully. The political and economic might of the People's Republic of China is growing; this is an important factor in increasing the strength of the socialist camp and consolidating peace in the Far East and in the world.

All the socialist countries in Europe and Asia are achieving great successes in the construction of socialism. In these

countries the national economy is developing at a high rate inconceivable in the capitalist countries and the people's standard of living is steadily rising.

Today the world socialist system has become a decisive factor in the development of human history, exerting an ever-increasing influence on the advancement of the world revolution.

The main features of our era are the growth of the forces of socialism, the unprecedented upsurge of the national-liberation movements in the colonial countries, and the consequent process of the final disintegration of the imperialist colonial system.

Colonies have all but disappeared in Asia and the Asian situation has changed fundamentally. The peoples of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Mongolian People's Republic march ahead confidently along the path of socialism, exerting enormous revolutionary influence upon the oppressed peoples in Asia and the world. Hundreds upon millions of people in Asia, oppressed and humiliated for centuries, have won national independence and are fighting against imperialism and colonialism.

Obsessed by the wicked desire to restore and maintain their domination over Asia, the U.S. imperialists pursue the policy of aggression against Asian countries and insolently meddle in their domestic affairs. The U.S. imperialist aggressors, however, are confronted with powerful resistance by the people in south Korea, South Viet Nam, Japan, Laos and everywhere they set foot.

The fierce flames of the national-liberation struggle are now enveloping the African continent and spreading to Latin America. In Africa today independent flags fly over 28 countries, embracing two-thirds of the continent's total area and three-fourths of its population. Those African peoples who have not yet thrown off the yoke of colonialism are waging a vigorous struggle to destroy the last stronghold of the colonial system.

The triumph of the Cuban people's revolution shows that

a new epoch of national liberation has come to Latin America. At present the peoples of nearly all the Latin-American countries are struggling resolutely against the colonial enslavement policy of U.S. imperialism and the dictatorship of its lackeys.

No amount of manoeuvring by the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism can prevent the final breakdown of their colonial system. Enlisting the active support and encouragement of the socialist countries, the peoples of all the colonial and dependent countries in the world will inevitably drive out the aggressive forces of foreign imperialism and win complete freedom and independence through their struggles for liberation.

The growing might of the socialist camp and the disintegration of the colonial system have decidedly undermined the forces of imperialism. Imperialism has already lost its domination over the greater part of the world.

Political and economic contradictions in the capitalist world are getting worse everyday and the contradictions among the imperialist powers over markets and spheres of influence are growing ever sharper.

The revolutionary struggle of the working class against the oppression and exploitation by capital is gathering greater momentum. The further upsurge of the working-class movement in the capitalist world is a powerful factor aggravating the inner contradictions of capitalism and shaking it to its foundation.

In the imperialist countries the broad masses of the people, along with the working class, are fighting more staunchly than ever against the tyranny of the monopolies and for their vital rights, democracy and social progress.

The ranks of the people fighting against imperialism are expanding in the world, and their forces are steadily growing. Imperialism is on the road to collapse and downfall.

Life testifies ever more convincingly to the law of historical development—that socialism is bound to win final victory all over the world and that capitalism is doomed to ruin.

The fundamental change in the balance of forces in the international arena has created the real possibility to prevent

a new world war and preserve and consolidate peace. Today, the powerful forces of peace and socialism stand in the way of the imperialist forces of war. The days are already passed when imperialism can unleash war at will.

However, this does not mean that the danger of war no longer exists. So long as imperialism remains, the source of war will not disappear.

The imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism are trying to find a way out of their disastrous position by heightening international tension, stepping up the arms race and unleashing another war.

In various parts of the world the U.S. imperialists are now interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, carrying out aggression and frantically preparing for a new war.

The U.S. aggressive circles and their followers, in an attempt to attack the socialist countries, have built up numerous military bases on the perimeter of those countries and keep on reinforcing the military power of the aggressive "NATO." By rearming the West German revanchists, the U.S. imperialists are creating a dangerous hotbed of war in the heart of Europe, and in West Berlin they are perpetrating provocative and subversive activities against the socialist countries. The U.S imperialists are now greatly aggravating the international situation and openly threatening world peace in connection with the question of a peace treaty with Germany. Clamouring for war preparations, they are desperately manoeuvring toward the unleashing of an adventurous nuclear war.

In Asia, the U.S. imperialists still occupy the southern half of our country and have turned it into their military base. They have further reinforced their aggressive forces and the puppet army in south Korea, introduced atomic weapons, guided missiles and various other modern weapons there, and they are ceaselessly staging military manoeuvres near the Military Demarcation Line.

Lately the U.S. imperialist aggressors have been increasing tensions in Korea even more, making noise about a new war. They are bringing new, specially trained contingents into south

Korea from the U.S. mainland and are stepping up their preparations for aggression, expanding military bases and installations on a large scale and pressganging more and more young and middle-aged people into the puppet army.

Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists occupy the Chinese territory of Taiwan, persist in hostile acts against the People's Republic of China, and are bent on aggression and interference in South Viet Nam and Laos.

In particular, U.S. imperialism is seeking to revive Japanese militarism, the source of war in Asia, and use it as a "shock brigade" in its aggression in the Far East. The U.S. imperialists concluded the Japan-U.S. military treaty with the reactionary ruling circles of Japan and are desperately trying to conjure up the aggressive "NEATO." The Japanese army is being reinforced and equipped with new types of weapons with the active support of the U.S. imperialists. Nursing the wild dream of conquering Asia again under the patronage of U.S. imperialism, the Japanese imperialists are now setting out upon the road of renewed aggression, openly talking about "sending troops abroad."

All this reveals that U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war and the most vicious enemy of mankind. For more than half a year, since its inauguration, the present U.S. Administration has consistently persisted in the bankrupt "positions of strength" policy, further stepping up the arms race and war preparations under the slogan of anti-communism. The present U.S. rulers have put out many spurious catchwords such as "peace," "progress" and "aid," but it is they themselves who have asked for the greatest war expenditures in the history of the United States, organized direct armed aggression against the Cuban people, and are now manoeuvring to plunge mankind into the holocaust of a nuclear war.

The war danger being created by the U.S.-led imperialists makes it incumbent upon the peace-loving peoples of the whole world to maintain the utmost vigilance and fight more actively in defence of peace. Peace does not come of its own accord; it must be won through the people's unflinching struggle. As a

result of the determined struggle of the socialist countries and the peace-loving forces of the whole world, the U.S. imperialists' policies of aggression and war are now suffering one setback after another.

A new world war can be prevented and world peace preserved and consolidated if all the forces for peace—the great socialist camp, the international working class, the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples, and the peace-loving states and peoples throughout the world—are constantly strengthened, more closely united and continue to wage a resolute fight against the imperialists' plots for the provocation of war by combining every possible means of struggle. Should the imperialist maniacs launch a reckless venture, the people will sweep away imperialism and bury it once and for all.

The socialist countries, by the very nature of their social system, strive for peace and pursue a pacific foreign policy.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have been making consistent efforts to settle the Korean question by peaceful means and have been struggling to safeguard peace in the Far East and the world.

The occupation of south Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their aggressive policy not only hinder the peaceful settlement of the Korean question but also gravely threaten peace in the Far East.

There can be no grounds or pretexts whatsoever for the U.S. imperialists to keep their armed forces in south Korea, thousands of miles away from the mainland of the United States. The U.S. imperialist army of aggression must get out of south Korea at once, taking all its lethal weapons with it.

We resolutely oppose the U.S imperialists' vicious scheme to create "two Chinas" by occupying Taiwan, an inalienable Chinese territory, and fully support the Chinese people in their just struggle for the liberation of Taiwan. We emphatically condemn the U.S. imperialists for their aggression and interference in South Viet Nam, Laos and other areas.

The Korean people cannot overlook the fact that Japanese

Korea from the U.S. mainland and are stepping up their preparations for aggression, expanding military bases and installations on a large scale and pressganging more and more young and middle-aged people into the puppet army.

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The Korean people cannot overlook the fact that Japanese

imperialism has raised its head again and is openly revealing its evil designs to invade Asia. The Japanese militarists, in particular, at the instigation of U.S. imperialism, are seeking to invade south Korea economically and, at the same time, are plotting, with the latter's participation, an aggressive military alliance. Our people resolutely denounce both this scheme of the Japanese militarists to reinvade south Korea and the criminal acts of the U.S. imperialists who actively support it. The rearming of Japanese militarism must be decisively stopped and the Japan-U.S. military treaty between the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese militarist forces must be immediately abrogated.

The U.S. imperialists must withdraw from south Korea, Taiwan, Japan, South Viet Nam, Laos and all other parts of Asia, and their aggressive blocs and military bases must be abolished. Our people, firmly united with all the people of Asia, will fight to expel the U.S. imperialist aggressors from all of Asia and defend peace in the Far East.

The Korean people support the efforts and the reasonable proposals of the Soviet Union which are aimed at frustrating the imperialist policies of aggression and war.

At present the Soviet Government proposes to conclude a peace treaty with Germany and, on this basis, to normalize the situation in West Berlin. It is striving toward this goal. In the face of the machinations of the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism to unleash a war, the Soviet Union has also taken a series of steps for the further strengthening of its defence capabilities and made a decision on the resumption of nuclear tests. These are justified measures for preventing the war adventures of the imperialists and for safeguarding world peace and the security of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We support the just stand of the Soviet Union with regard to the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the Soviet Government's decision on resuming nuclear tests.

Our Party and people, together with the peace-loving peoples of the whole world, will also continue in the future to wage a vigorous struggle against the U.S. imperialist policy to unleash a war, and for the defence of peace in the Far East and the

world. We will always remain vigilant and strengthen our defence capabilities in every way so as to decisively repel any surprise attack of the enemy, dependably safeguard our socialist gains and firmly defend the eastern outpost of the socialist camp.

Comrades,

It is the unshakable foundation of our nation's foreign policy to cement the unity of the socialist camp and steadily promote the relations of mutual co-operation and friendship with all socialist countries.

Today, the socialist countries are firmly united into a big family under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and are supporting and closely co-operating with each other. The unity of the socialist camp and the development of relations of friendship and co-operation among the countries of this camp constitute an important factor in consolidating national independence and facilitating socialist construction in each of these countries.

Our Party and people have exerted every effort to strengthen friendship and solidarity with all socialist countries and promote mutual co-operation with them on the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Particularly invaluable to us is the friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union and China.

The Soviet people are the liberators and closest friends of our people. Soviet people extended a warm hand of assistance to us and encouraged our struggle whenever our people were confronted with difficulties and ordeals in the course of the struggle to safeguard our country's freedom and independence and to build a new life. The Soviet Union is actively supporting our people's struggle for the peaceful reunification of the fatherland and is continuously aiding our socialist construction Unshakable and everlasting are the friendship and solidarity between the peoples of Korea and the Soviet Union which have been firmly established in the flames of the struggle for liberation and which have been consolidated and developed on the one road indicated by the great Lenin.

The Chinese people are our comrades-in-arms who have shared joys and sorrows, life and death with us in long revolutionary struggles. The Chinese people shed their own blood to aid us at the time of our people's Fatherland Liberation War against the armed invasion of the U.S. imperialists. The militant friendship and solidarity firmly established between the Korean and Chinese peoples through their joint struggle against the common enemy are continually being consolidated.

The recent conclusion of the Treaties of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Korea and the Soviet Union and between Korea and China is an epoch-making event which promotes Korean-Soviet friendship and Korean-Chinese friendship on a new and higher level. It manifests the unanimous support of the peoples of the Soviet Union and China for the just cause of our people.

The Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between Korea and the Soviet Union and the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between Korea and China are treaties of a strictly peaceful and defensive nature aimed, above all, at safeguarding the security of the Korean people against imperialist aggression. These treaties are not in conflict with the cause of the peaceful reunification of our country; rather, they will promote this reunification by holding in check the aggressive designs of the U.S. imperialists.

These treaties are in full accord with the interests of the Korean people and, moreover, will make a great contribution to strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and consolidating peace in the Far East and the world.

The friendship and solidarity between the Korean people and the peoples of all the other socialist countries are also growing stronger day by day; the relations of economic and cultural co-operation are further developing between our country and these countries. The peoples of all the fraternal countries have rendered and continue to render enormous economic and technical assistance in our building of socialism.

The support and aid given by the peoples of the Soviet

Union, the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, Romania, Mongolia, Bulgaria, Albania, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland have played a big part in accelerating socialist construction in our country and inspire our people in the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The friendship, solidarity and mutual co-operation between our country and the fraternal countries embody the lofty principle of proletarian internationalism and constitute an important guarantee for all the victories of our people.

The Korean people will also exert their utmost efforts in the future to strengthen both the might and unbreakable unity of the socialist camp and to develop relations of friendship and co-operation with the peoples of all socialist countries.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic consider an important part of their foreign policy the establishment and development of friendly relations with the national independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We are prepared to establish diplomatic relations with all countries that respect the freedom and independence of the Korean people and want to establish normal state relations with our country on a basis of equality, and we have worked toward this end.

In the past years our country has newly established dip[illegible] matic relations with a number of countries including the [illegible] public of Cuba, the Republic of Guinea and the Rep[illegible] Mali. The state relations between our country and [illegible] and African countries such as India, Indonesia, Bur[illegible] ed Arab Republic and Iraq are also steadily d[illegible] higher level. The recent visit of a government [illegible] Democratic People's Republic of Korea to [illegible] Southeast Asia and Africa has served as an [illegible] for developing our relations with these [illegible]

We will strive, in the future as [illegible] and strengthen state relations with the [illegible] and Latin America that are fighting for [illegible] ence and social progress; we will [illegible]

diplomatic relations with an increasing number of countries.

The past period has also witnessed the expansion and development in our relations with foreign countries in the fields of economic and cultural exchanges. Our country has trade relations and cultural ties with many countries. The exchanges between our people and the peoples of many countries in the world are also becoming more active with each passing day, and our mutual friendship is growing.

The daily improving relations of friendship and co-operation between our country and the peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are beneficial to both sides and are conducive to the cause of peace. We will also endeavour in the future to expand foreign trade and develop cultural exchange and relations of friendly co-operation with more countries on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

We want to set up normal relations and develop economic and cultural exchanges with those capitalist countries which are desirous of establishing good relations with our country.

Geographically, Japan is but a short distance from our country. And it would be mutually beneficial to the peoples of Korea and Japan to normalize their relations. Despite the sincere efforts of the Government of our Republic, however, such normal relations have not yet been established between our country and Japan.

The Japanese government continues to pursue an extremely unfriendly policy towards our country. Such a policy on the part of the Japanese government is detrimental to peace and security in Asia and runs completely against the interests and desires of the Japanese people.

The Japanese government should discard its hostile attitude towards our country; it must adopt a realistic stand consistent with the interests of the Korean and Japanese peoples.

One of the principles our Party has consistently upheld in international affairs is unwavering support of the national-liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples. The Korean people, who long suffered in the past from colonial oppression by foreign imperialism and still have half of their country occu-

pied by the U.S imperialists, resolutely oppose colonialism and national oppression of every description and extend their ardent support and encouragement to the liberation struggles of all oppressed peoples.

We wholeheartedly support the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the aggressive machinations of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen and for achieving their country's reunification on a democratic basis; we support the struggle of the Laotian people for national independence and neutrality. We also actively support the struggle of the Japanese people for the complete independence, democratic development and neutrality of their country, and will further strive to strengthen friendly bonds with them

We warmly congratulate the Cuban people on their victorious defence of their revolutionary gains by heroically repulsing the armed invasion of the U.S. imperialists and their mercenaries. In the future as now, we will spare no support and encouragement to the just struggle of the Cuban people.

We extend sincere encouragement to the Algerian people who have risen up in their just war for liberation and are fighting courageously. We actively support the struggle of the Tunisian people for defending national independence, and the national-liberation struggles of the Congolese, Angolan and all other African peoples

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people will always stand firmly on the side of the peoples of all countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for freedom and national independence, continue to give active support to their liberation struggles, and will endeavour to continually strengthen our solidarity with them.

We also express firm solidarity with the working class and the working people in the capitalist countries who are fighting for their right to life, democracy and socialism; and we offer them fervent encouragement in their struggle

Comrades, the international communist movement has become the most influential political force of our times and the most important factor in social progress.

In the past years the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries have been consolidated and steeled organizationally and ideologically through socialist construction and revolutionary struggles, and their ranks have grown even more. At present the Communist and Workers' Parties are active in 87 countries in the world and embrace more than 36 million members in their ranks.

The 1960 Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties was an event of historic significance in the development of the international communist movement. The Moscow Meeting demonstrated the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement. It bore witness to the great victories of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting, which was drawn up by the collective efforts of representatives of all the fraternal parties, is a programme for joint struggle and a guide to action for the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Our Party fully supports the principles laid down in the Statement of the Moscow Meeting, which was drawn up with the participation of its representatives and will continue to uphold them resolutely in the future.

The international communist movement has been tempered in the fierce struggle against the reactionary forces of imperialism and has been consolidated in the fight against all sorts of opportunist trends within the movement.

Revisionism, a reflection of bourgeois ideology, is still the main danger to the international communist movement. The modern revisionists are scheming to emasculate the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, paralyse the revolutionary fighting spirit of the working class and undermine the socialist camp and the international communist movement from within; they are coming out as apologists for imperialism and its reactionary policies.

Dogmatism, like revisionism, is also harmful to revolutionary work and can become the main danger at particular stages in the development of individual parties. Dogmatism and fac-

tionalism prevent the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to specific conditions and isolate a Party from the masses.

Without a relentless struggle against revisionism and dogmatism, neither can the individual Communist and Workers' Parties and the international communist movement as a whole develop nor can the unity and solidarity of its ranks be ensured. Consequently the struggle for peace, national independence and socialism cannot be successfully waged.

In the future, our Party will continue to struggle forcefully on the two fronts against revisionism and dogmatism.

The source of the invincible power of the international communist movement lies, first of all, in the unity of its ranks. The unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the world communist movement are the most essential guarantee for victory in the peoples' struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The imperialists and their cat's-paws, the revisionists, are maliciously plotting to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and split the international communist movement. But this plot of theirs is futile. It is doomed to fail in the future as it has failed in the past. Frustrating the divisive machinations of the enemies, the socialist countries and all the fraternal parties are firmly guarding both the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement and are further strengthening that unity and solidarity.

The principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism constitute the basis of the mutual relations between the socialist countries and between the Communist and Workers' Parties.

All the fraternal parties, solidly united by the common ideas of Marxism-Leninism and by the common goal of their struggle, are co-operating closely, supporting and encouraging each other. At the same time, the mutual relations between the fraternal parties are based on the principles of complete equality and mutual respect.

Proceeding from Marxist-Leninist principles and the specific conditions in their countries, the Communist and Workers'

Parties shape their policies independently, collectively discuss problems of mutual concern, work out common views by means of consultation and unanimously abide by the agreements reached.

Experience clearly proves the vitality of such mutual relations formed between the fraternal parties.

In its relations with all fraternal parties, our Party has always been strictly guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. From their experience of prolonged, arduous struggle, Korean Communists are well aware of how precious the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement is for our common cause.

We consider it the sacred internationalist duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties to constantly fortify the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement; we believe that everything should be subordinated to the interests of this great unity and solidarity.

Therefore, our Party has exerted and still exerts its utmost efforts to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and fortify the solidarity of the international communist movement, holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism at all times and in all circumstances.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people will continue to strive, in the future, to strengthen unity and co-operation with the peoples of all the socialist countries and all the fraternal parties at all times, do their best to build socialism successfully in our country and to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country. In this way they will contribute to increasing the might of the socialist camp and winning the cause of the international working class.

* * *

Comrades,

Our people have travelled the path of glorious victories under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea.

Our country has changed radically, and epoch-making leaps

and bounds have been achieved in all aspects of our people's life. In this land, where incredible exploitation and oppression used to prevail, a most advanced social system has been firmly established today in which everyone works, helping each other, and lives happily. Our country has become a socialist state with an independent national economy and a brilliant national culture.

This is a great victory for the policies of our Party—the creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to Korean reality—and is the great fruition of the heroic struggle and creative labour of our people who are rallied closely around the Party.

There were innumerable difficulties on the road we have travelled and our people have gone through stern trials However, neither difficulties nor trials could halt the advance of our Party or break the will of our liberated people to build a rich and powerful country.

The enemy, who suffered a crushing defeat in the war, calculated that we would never be able to rise again on the ruins and prattled that our plan for socialist construction was a daydream that would never come true. Life has completely shattered the enemy's calculation. Our Party and people, united in strength with the same mind and purpose, have burst ahead at the speed of Chollima, breaking through all barriers, and have thus wrought the miracle—making possible what was considered impossible and turning dream into reality. Now, even our enemy cannot deny our successes

We have already laid solid foundations for a new, bigger leap in socialist construction and for the eternal prosperity and development of the country and the flourishing of the nation.

We are now confronted with the important task of decisively pushing socialist construction forward in order to further fortify the revolutionary base in the northern half of the Republic and achieve the peaceful reunification of the country. To fulfil this task, we must continue to exhibit exceptional energy and devotion and push forward still faster, overcoming all difficulties.

The magnificent programme of socialist construction set forth by our Party is inspiring all the working people to new feats in their work. The materialization of this programme will turn our country into a developed industrial state and will guarantee our people as happy and bountiful a life as others have. This will give a strong impetus to the people in south Korea in their national-salvation struggle against U.S. imperialism and will open up a decisive phase in realizing the reunification of the country.

Ours is a just cause and we will be victorious.

We have both the correct leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, tempered and seasoned in arduous revolutionary struggle, and the inexhaustible strength of our people rallied firmly around the Party. Today the entire Korean people have fully entrusted their destiny to our Party which is confidently leading them to victory.

One thousand million people of the countries of the socialist camp are behind us. And progressive mankind all over the world is on our side.

Our Party will achieve the reunification and independence of the country and realize the cause of socialism, and will contribute to the victory of socialism in the East by mobilizing all the revolutionary forces of the Korean people and by strengthening their internationalist solidarity with the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp and the working class of the whole world.

Marxism-Leninism is an ever-victorious theory lighting the path to a bright future for the people. It is the banner of our victory.

Victory and glory are inevitable as our Party and people forge ahead, holding high this banner.

Let all of us valiantly march forward towards new victories along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea!

THE DUTY OF MOTHERS IN THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

Speech at the National Meeting of Mothers
November 16, 1961

Comrades,

I have heard the report and speeches at this meeting of mothers with great interest, and am deeply moved. First of all, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, I should like to express my gratitude to you Women's Union functionaries present here and to all mothers who are devoting themselves to the education of children and the building of socialism. I also extend my warm thanks especially to Mother Li Yong Suk and Comrade Kang Gyong Rim, the heroine in the Couple of Mt. Kumgang-san, for having displayed an exceptional patriotic zeal in embodying our Party's policies in actual life and for having set a fine example in the education of children.

The Fourth Congress of our Party proposed as an important task educating and rearing the young generation along communist lines.

With a view to successfully carrying out the task set forth at the Party Congress, the Women's Union has convened this meeting of mothers, who have primary responsibility for the education of children, and has brought under discussion the problem of further enhancing their role as educators. I think the meeting is very timely.

Confident that this meeting will prove most successful, I would like to touch on a few matters.

We must know, above all, that the circumstances we are in now are fundamentally different from those in the past, and hence the duty and role of our mothers also differ from what they once were. Every mother loves her sons and daughters and wishes to get them along well in the world. Through all ages, ancient and modern, there is scarcely a mother who is utterly indifferent to the education of her children. But in the past, the mothers' hopes to bring up their children into fine personalities could not be realized.

In the exploiting society our people were exploited and oppressed by landlords and capitalists, and suppressed and humiliated by the imperialists. Since colonial slavery condemned them to hunger and poverty, oppression and maltreatment, it was utterly unthinkable for them to provide their sons and daughters with the proper education and training. In fact, even well-to-do families with a sizeable amount of money and land were not free from national oppression; they had to suffer the discrimination of the Japanese imperialist rulers against the schooling of their children. And this is without mentioning the children of the poor.

There were many prerequisites for entering a middle school. The applicant had to submit a document on his family's financial status showing there was enough money to pay his school expenses. The student was asked to make donations and attend school in nice uniforms, overcoats and leather shoes. Sending children to such a school was beyond the reach of the poor who lived from hand to mouth.

But times have changed. It is now 16 years since we were liberated from the yoke of Japanese imperialist rule. During this period our people not only carried out democratic reforms, putting an end to colonial and feudal exploitation and oppression, but also completed the socialist transformation of relations of production in town and country and firmly established a socialist system where exploitation and oppression no longer exist. In our country the source of exploitation and oppression

of man by man has been removed once and for all and everyone has come to enjoy a free, harmonious life.

After the war, through an arduous struggle, our people built new, magnificent towns and beautiful villages out of the ashes and laid a solid foundation for an independent economy. The problems of food, clothing and housing for the people have been generally solved, and everyone now lives without preoccupation. In our country today no one worries about food and clothing, nor do they find it hard to send their children to school or to receive medical care.

Our only regret is that we have not yet liberated the southern half. We feel deeply sorry for our compatriots in south Korea who are subjected to a life of misery under the yoke of U.S. imperialism. That is our only big worry. Our minds are not preoccupied with any other care; we are now just concerned about our task of creating a better life and building a richer and stronger country in the future. Now everybody wants to live better and enjoy a pleasanter and longer life, and see his children better educated and more trained.

We now have all foundations for making the country wealthier and mightier and for enriching the people's life. Our living standards are rising day by day, and step by step we are approaching the crest of socialism.

Our ideal is to build a society where everyone is well fed, well clothed and lives a long life, a society where there is no laggard nor idler and all are progressive and work devotedly, a society where all people live united in harmony as one big family. Such a society, we can say, is precisely a communist society.

In a communist society, there is such plenty that people work according to their abilities and receive according to their needs. In other words, people can have as much as they want and their life's demands are fully satisfied. Further, in a communist society people will have still closer relationships with each other and the principle of "One for all and all for one" will be fully realized.

Can we build such a society? Certainly, we can. Our people

can say so on the strength of the achievements they have made so far.

After the armistice our people started reconstructing over the debris. Things were very hard for us then. All cities and towns—from Pyongyang and other big cities down to small local cities and towns—were completely levelled. Factories, enterprises, railways, transport installations, roads, bridges and cultural establishments for which our people had shed blood and sweat over a long period, were totally destroyed. Reservoirs and irrigation facilities, too, were demolished and rural villages devastated. There were no draught animals nor farm machines; an acute shortage of manpower existed; and our rice paddies and fields were severely damaged. There was not a brick nor an ounce of cement to build houses; we could hardly even get a sheet of steel for construction.

Under these circumstances everyone was quite uncertain about how to get ourselves back on our feet. The Yankees believed it would take the north Koreans at least a hundred years to do it. They calculated that with all the material assets destroyed and large numbers of people killed in north Korea, we would be unable to rapidly rise to our feet again no matter what means we might employ.

However, only six to seven years after the war, instead of a hundred years, our people have completely rehabilitated the ruined national economy and, furthermore, have erected far more magnificent and beautiful towns and villages than those of the prewar years and have built a socialist state with an incomparably stronger modern industry and agriculture than existed in prewar days. We have built several times as many factories and enterprises, housing units and schools as we had before the war. The looks of our towns and villages have changed beyond recognition and our people's standard of living has been immeasurably improved. This is a miracle. It is a stark reality no one dare deny. Even our enemies, not to speak of our friends, admitted this.

These achievements afford a striking example which clearly proves that our people, under the correct leadership of our

Party and closely rallied around it, can display a truly inexhaustible strength in the rehabilitation and construction of the national economy, just as they did in the struggle against foreign aggressors.

Judging from the fact that our people, empty-handed, could work such a miracle in only six to seven years after the war, we can say with confidence that we are able to do anything today since we have an abundance of all material and spiritual assets.

The Fourth Congress of our Party set forth the perspective of the great tasks of the Seven-Year Plan aimed at attaining the eminence of socialism. The basic task of the Seven-Year Plan is to carry out the technical and cultural revolutions in our country. We should mechanize all branches of the national economy to raise labour productivity and free the working people from arduous labour. Agriculture should be mechanized and even local industries should all be equipped with up-to-date techniques. We should further increase the ranks of our national cadres with modern scientific and technological preparation and raise the technical and cultural levels of the working masses still higher. We should thus provide our people with a far more abundant and modern life than exists at present. Then we will have reached the crest of socialism.

This crest of socialism signifies a socialist society where our living standard will be considerably higher than it is now. When we carry out the Seven-Year Plan, our people will be far better off than they are now and our country will have taken on the entire aspect of an advanced socialist industrial state.

To fulfil the Seven-Year Plan is a less difficult task than the struggle we have waged over the past seven years.

We shall come closer to communism when we fulfil the Seven-Year Plan, reunify the country and conquer new peaks.

It is wrong, therefore, to regard communist society as something of a mystery which can only become a reality in the distant future. By working hard at it we can concretize our ideal of communist construction in the not-too-distant future.

What, then, is the most difficult task in building a com-

munist society, which is our ideal? Is it just the construction of factories? True, we have to build many factories, but that is not so difficult. If we strive with the same spirit displayed in the hard-fought battles against past adversities, we can successfully complete all construction works in a short space of time, including the building of factories, roads, irrigation facilities and dwellings.

To create material wealth is relatively easy and it quickly yields tangible results. To realize technological reconstruction in the countryside, for example, we need only introduce mechanization, irrigation, electrification and chemicalization, which are enough to bring about immediate results. Here we can see clearly what has been done, what has not yet been done and what is to be done in the future. We can steadily develop the national economy through planning according to the laws of development of socialist economy. At any rate, the work of laying the material and technological foundations of socialism and communism can be accomplished if we push it ahead by fixing a definite time limit, say, 10 or 15 years.

What is difficult is to educate and remould people along communist lines. However great material wealth may be, we cannot say that communist society has yet been built unless people who enjoy its benefits are endowed with communist ideology.

Man's consciousness generally lags behind the transformation of the material life of society. Obsolete ideas persist in people's minds for a long time even after a change in a social system. It is 44 years now since the revolution was won in the Soviet Union. But there are still loafers who like to lead an idle life. So, sharp criticisms are being made there of those who idle away their time while others are working and take the biggest helping of the pie. We were told this when we attended the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union recently. It is needless to mention our own case since we were liberated only 15 or 16 years ago. Can any one of you here present dare say you have no obsolete ideas? All of you must have been affected by outmoded ideas to a certain extent.

But you cannot see or measure who is still influenced by noxious ideas and to what degree. Hospitals have devices that record how the heart functions but have no instrument that measures the number of evil ideas in the minds of people.

We can easily tell when worn-out implements used in feudal or capitalist society are replaced by the new machines of communist society, but we cannot tell by appearances whether a person retains feudalistic and capitalist ideologies in his mind or not. Whether or not outdated ideas remain in his mind can be judged only from his deeds, and obsolete ideology can be remoulded into the new only through persistent ideological struggles.

Nature can be rapidly and easily remoulded with the help of machines, but the remoulding of man's consciousness cannot be helped by machines or any outsiders. This question will be solved successfully only through our protracted and tireless efforts. If we start remaking man's ideology after a sufficient amount of material wealth is produced, it will be too late. Even if the work of ideological remoulding starts with the first days of the socialist revolution, it may lag behind the transformation of material life in the long run. Our Party started this work long ago and has pushed it ahead, as a mass movement, more extensively in recent years. But in our case, too, the remoulding of consciousness falls behind reality.

To enter communist society, we must see that there is no one who has backward ideas. Communism is aimed at providing an abundant life for all, not for a few people. We cannot leave a person behind because he is a laggard. Even if there are some who refuse to enter communist society, we should remould them and take them along. Remoulding all people in communist fashion is far more difficult than supplying them with enough food and clothes. But this is a task which we must and can carry out.

The survivals of [illegible] ideas [illegible] themselves in diverse forms. Let us enumerate just a few manifestations of antiquated ideas, which are [illegible].

We should combat the old [illegible] of [illegible]

loafing. It is a great mistake to think that communist society is a society where people live an idle life. There is no doubt that in communist society work will become easier, a necessity of our life and not onerous toil. Even then labour will remain a sacred duty of all people. Moreover, everyone must work with zeal until communism is built. The happy life of socialism and communism never comes of itself. All the material and spiritual wealth which makes people satisfied and happy can be attained only by their unremitting labour. The Communists strive to eliminate those idlers who exploit others and to make all people work and enjoy a happy life. A man who shuns labour cannot become a Communist.

The inclination toward work-shyness and loafing emanates from the ideology of the exploiting classes. Loafing is alien to those who lived in poverty or toiled away as farm hands or to the workers of many years' standing. Work is repugnant to such mortals as landlords, capitalists and merchants who lived in luxury by exploiting others. Since they idled away their time before, they would like to do the same now. Even hard-working people used to envy loafing and regarded labour as humiliating. When people saw a good looking boy, they would say: "The chap is lucky. He is bound to enjoy an idle life." As for a pretty girl, they used to say: "The girl is very pretty. She should be the wife of the eldest son in a rich family." By the wife of the eldest son in a rich family they meant after all that she should live an idle life. No wonder people thought that way in the old society where the idlers lorded it over them. Still lacking class consciousness, they rather envied the idlers than hated and despised them, hoping that they would somehow become lucky and live an idle life. That was why they had no pride as working people and tried to do the easiest job possible and lead an idle life if they could.

Right after liberation I found our students were much inclined to prefer law to technology. They apparently thought it far better to study law and become judges of courts or prosecutors in public procurators' offices who hold trials sitting in big chairs rather than becoming engineers in factories. All this is a

survival of Japanese imperialist ideas. In the days of Japanese imperialist rule the judges of courts and the police station chiefs led an idle life and wielded their power to appropriate many things that belonged to others. Since they had seen such practices before liberation, our students still had their sights fixed on law courses even after liberation. So we restricted their enrollment in the law course and made it incumbent upon more than 75 per cent of the university students to pursue technical courses.

There are still those among us who like to do clerical and office work at a desk and dislike to sweat in a factory or in the countryside. The inclination to loathe toilsome work and live in idleness may be found in everyone to a certain degree.

Labour is most sacred and honourable in our society. It is a principle of socialism that everybody works according to his ability, and it is an important feature of people of a new type to work as much as possible and to volunteer for the arduous and difficult job. The Chollima riders always vie with one another in performing difficult jobs and display extraordinary devotion and creativity in socialist construction, and thus they are loved and respected by all people as heroes of our times. We all must become accustomed to a love of labour, regarding it as a joyous thing.

Next, we should combat selfishness. Selfishness means seeking one's own welfare in disregard of others. Everyone may be affected by this pernicious idea to some degree. Man is not selfish by nature. Selfishness originates in private ownership; it has been the idea of the exploiting class since the start of exploitation of man by man. Self-seeking is a very noxious idea. Selfish persons do not hesitate to do harm even to the lives and property of others nor do they have any scruples about selling the country and the people for their own interests and pleasures.

Unless you overcome selfishness, you cannot be a Communist or a revolutionary. Particularly in our socialist society today selfishness is utterly incompatible with our life. It is not for the

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Unless you overcome selfishness, you cannot be a Communist or a revolutionary. Particularly in our socialist society today selfishness is utterly incompatible with our life. It is not for the

sake of the exploiters but for the good of our own and of our country and society that we are working now. In this society there is no room for selfishness that protects only one's own things while being heedless of damage done to the things owned by the state and the collective. The property of the state, after all, belongs to us, and not to anyone else. State and public property is more valuable than private since it is the common property of the entire people. Communists place state and public interests above their individual interests and fight to the end in the interests of the Party and the revolution, even at the risk of their lives.

Selfish ideology finds expression in home life, too. Some people want to divorce wives who fail to give birth to boys. It may be a matter of regret to have no son. But it cannot be a serious matter for Communists, can it? It is immoral for them to abandon their wives for such a reason.

Some backward women love only their own children and not others'. And yet they will say, "Even animals love their young." If people love their own children only and do not love others', they are no better than animals. They ought to have as much affection for the children of others as they do for their own. Only he who loves men deeply and regards others' troubles as his own can become a true Communist.

I regard Comrade Li Yong Suk very highly. It is no easy job to bring up nine children of others in the home. Selfishness is alien to her. Comrade Yong Suk is concerned only about helping all children and people to lead a happy life and making our country more prosperous. She did not discriminate between her children and others' but loved them all alike. I think she is a model to our women in that she is thoroughly imbued with genuine communist ideology and morality.

I do not mean that there will be no family nor any distinction between one's own children and others' in communist society. In communist society, too, a man will have his family and sons and daughters. But people in communist society will never love their sons and daughters exclusively. When communist society is achieved, the whole society will turn into a

family and people will love and care for all children equally whether they are their own or others'.

Selfishness, that is, seeking only individual well-being, is fundamentally contradicted to the communist idea of living together in abundance. We must base ourselves on the premise that everyone of us has selfishness, and we must persistently strive to wipe it out.

Another question is that we should have collectivist ideas. Communist society represents a harmonious and united community. Everyone must become accustomed to loving the collective and the country, and their comrades. It is incorrect to prefer a solitary life isolated from the collective, transgress the norms of a collective life and be on bad terms with comrades, thus causing troubles and creating a gloomy atmosphere for the collective. One cannot be faithful to collective life if one is hard-headed paying no attention to others' advice, or despises and disparages others with an exaggerated sense of self-importance. From old times it has been a fine custom among us Koreans to live in harmony. We should promote such beautiful, traditional moral traits and create an amicable and bright atmosphere everywhere.

The next thing we should do is to fight against dissipation and frivolity. This, too, is a remnant of the old society. An end must be put once and for all to drinking and gambling and to the practice of corrupting the morals of men and women and leading a dissipated life. To enjoy oneself in no way means to become dissolute and depraved. We should know how to amuse ourselves on a loftier and more cultured plane, and we should lead a healthy life at all times.

We should exert strenuous efforts for a long time to eliminate all survivals of obsolete ideas.

Mothers play a really great role in combating outmoded ideas.

Generally speaking, men are educated at home and school and in public life. Home education constitutes the basis of school and social education and acquires a very important significance in men's education.

A family is a cell of our society in which one's nearest kith and kin—parents, wife and children, brothers and sisters—live together. Here one is constantly educated from childhood by his closest relatives. At home we can properly conduct the kind of education that can hardly be done at school or in society.

Mother has to bear the major responsibility for home education. Her responsibility is greater than father's. Why? Because it is she who gives birth to children and brings them up. Mother is the first educator of children. She teaches them everything necessary, starting with how to walk, how to speak, how to dress and how to eat. Whether she gives them proper initial training or not is of great importance in their development. If mother gives her children proper education at home, it is very easy to educate them at school and in public organizations. Proper maternal education of children helps them study well at school and work well in society.

What is learned from mother in childhood is remembered throughout one's life. The things that remain longest in our memories are our mother's words and examples. The impressions mother gives have a great impact on the formation of man's character and habits. The mothers of the great men of all ages gave their sons a good education from childhood.

The mother of Comrade Ma Dong Hui is present here with us now. She educated her son and daughter tirelessly in the spirit of patriotism, which made them both, as well as her daughter-in-law, revolutionaries all. Comrade Ma Dong Hui was always faithful in the execution of the revolutionary tasks assigned to him. He was arrested by the Japanese imperialist police when he stepped into the Hyesan district to restore an underground organization. The enemy put him through all sorts of torture to find out the location of guerrilla headquarters. At that time, the headquarters was not far off. Comrade Ma Dong Hui was well aware that if our headquarters became known to the enemy, it would be a grave loss to the revolution. He bit off his tongue for fear he might disclose the location in delirium when he fell into a swoon under torture. A man like that is a true hero. The Japanese imperialists murdered him in cold

blood at a police station, saying there was no need to try such a die-hard Communist. The mother of Comrade Ma Dong Hui, however, did not lose heart; she buried her son and remained true to her principles for the sake of the fatherland. Only a Korean mother like that could give birth to such a heroic son.

The Communist must even be ready to lay down his life for the good of society and the people. The mother of Comrade Ma Dong Hui loved her son, but never in a selfish manner. She thought that her son was right to sacrifice his life without yielding to the enemy and that his death was a glorious one because it contributed to the revolution and the people. She treasured the fatherland, the people and the revolution even more than her son's life. If all mothers educate their children in a revolutionary way as Comrade Ma Dong Hui's mother did, the children will all grow into fine Communists.

Today there are favourable conditions for all our children to become ennobled people. There is no such thing as people of bad stock. The ruling classes in the past invented the lie of bad and good stock. Everybody is born with qualities that can make him a good man. Whether men are good or bad depends on the education or influences they receive. This is the crux of the problem and it is specifically the influence of the parents, that plays a dominant role.

We take people's origins into account not to ascertain their lineage as was the practice in the past, but rather to understand fully what influences they have received We say the son of a landlord is bad because he might follow in the footsteps of his father who exploited others, beat and insulted his tenants and acted haughtily.

We have neither landlords nor capitalists now Nor is there exploitation and oppression. Everybody is entitled to study at school and can receive a good education no matter where he works. So the children of any family can grow into decent people.

At present, our mothers are charged with the important duty of rearing their children into fine builders of communism

All mothers must be more keenly aware of their weighty responsibility and the honour of raising the future masters of communist society.

Now that conditions are generally favourable, mothers need only strive for the edification of their sons and daughters.

The edification of children requires no special methodology. It can be assured if you educate them by using many positive examples which are being made in our country now.

Men of a new type are now emerging everywhere, and all of us have heard many moving stories. I am sure all of you here present have heard the stories about the wife in Orang, about the Red medical workers who saved the boy Pang Ha Su, and about Comrades Kil Hwak Sil and Li Sin Ja.

If they are educated by these good examples, our children will surely grow into decent human beings.

In order to educate your sons and daughters properly, you mothers yourselves must become excellent Communists. You cannot simply ask your children to become good people, while you yourselves avoid work and study, and behave selfishly. In educating people, practical example is better than precept. To raise children into builders of communism, fathers and mothers themselves must become Communists.

Grandpa Om in Chaegyong-*ri* is known far and wide as a communist grandpa. This is not a story about a communist mother but it might be instructive to you. Grandpa Om is from Rajin. Before liberation, I was told, he worked as a farm hand, and lived in dire poverty, but after liberation he was given land and became well-off. When the war broke out, he sent his sons to the front, telling them they should fight the enemy to the last in defence of their fatherland. After the war, his sons came back to study at school. One of them has already graduated from the university and teaches at the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute. His son, one supposes the teacher at the institute, wrote to his father, asking him to come to live with him in Pyongyang now that he was too old to work. So, Grandpa Om came up to Pyongyang to live in his son's flat. He flung open a window of the flat and looked out over the streets where

cranes were at work here and there, new buildings were rising, and all people, not only the young people, were working with great vigour. Beholding all this, he felt it really shameful for him, a Workers' Party member, to depend on his son so soon and do nothing but eat the meals prepared by his daughter-in-law while everyone else was out working in socialist construction. So, he made up his mind to work again and went back to the co-operative in Chaegyong-*ri*. At the co-operative he worked more energetically than others and advanced many constructive suggestions as well. Sometime ago, I visited Chaegyong-*ri* and attended a meeting there. When I asked the participants whether they could fulfil the task of producing one million tons more of grain this year, an old man rose from a back seat and answered confidently that they could definitely do so and must do so without fail. I was told that he was none other than Grandpa Om.

Comrade Mun Jong Suk of Chongsan-*ri* can be cited as another model. Her husband fell in action during the Fatherland Liberation War. She had children and it was hard for her to earn a living alone. Therefore, her two brothers—one was in the Ministry of the Interior and the other the chief engineer of a factory—respectively asked her to come and live with them. But Comrade Mun Jong Suk did not go. She thought she, a member of the Workers' Party, should never allow herself to eat without working. She resolved to earn a living for herself, send her children to school, and work harder for the sake of the country. When I attended a meeting of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization, she made a very good speech. She said that in her village there were still quite a few parasite housewives who favoured an idle life, and she used the wife of the schoolmaster as an example True, her criticism was too sharp, for she compared the schoolmaster's wife to a belly worm; but it was necessary. The schoolmaster's wife who was criticized was not bad, either. She was not crestfallen by the criticism but broke with the parasitic life and began to work the next day. The criticism proved effective. I highly appreciate Comrade Mun Jong Suk for her strong will in solving all problems by

herself without others' help and for her quality of tackling everything with tenacity.

We know many other model mothers. Communist mothers are not extraordinary women. Anyone can be a communist mother or a communist father if she or he bids farewell to selfishness and does as instructed by the Party. All our mothers should become communist mothers and educate their sons and daughters to become builders of communism.

Now let me speak about the problem of looking after children. Because we lacked proper conditions, we might have failed to adequately care for our children in the past. But today there can be no pretext whatsoever.

At present, conditions are adequate for keeping children neat and tidy. If it were two or three years ago, you could well have said you had failed to take good care of your children for lack of money. But now you cannot say that. The principal cause, I think, lies in the fact that mothers are still captives of the old habits and are not fully conscious of their duty to care for their children properly.

I have been to Changsong. With the construction of the Supung Hydroelectric Power Station, the fertile lands in Changsong County were all under water except for the plots at the foot of the mountains. So, the local inhabitants eked out a scanty living. The state furnished considerable funds and took various measures for the improvement of their living conditions. The living standard of the people in Changsong County has risen considerably now. There is a stock farm that we visit frequently. It was set up as a co-operative at first, but the state reorganized it into a state stock farm in order to assist it, since its economic foundations were extremely weak. Each employee on this stock farm earns an income of 40 to 50 *won* every month. Therefore, the monthly income of a household with two to three work hands approximates 100 to 150 *won*. This is not a small income. Despite such a large income, children are not properly looked after in some households.

I visited a house there. It was tidy. I looked into the room

and found the floor and walls carefully papered and several suits of children's clothes hung on the racks. The family had four children and they were all neatly dressed. Flowers were planted in front of the house and everything around was in nice shape, too. As it was lunch time, the housewife was preparing tasty pumpkin dishes in the clean kitchen. I leafed over children's notebooks and found the letters written distinctly and various press cuttings carefully arranged for reference. I was told that the wife had no job, and her husband was the only breadwinner with monthly earnings of about 46 *won*. Despite the relatively small income and many children, they ran their household so nicely.

I visited another house which presented a contrast. It was very untidy and the way their children looked was appalling. The room was dusty all over and the floor and walls were not papered. The kitchen was in a mess and the children were undressed. In this family, too, the wife kept house and only the husband worked; their income was twice as much as that of the former. I reproved the husband a bit for keeping the house so untidy and for not taking good care of the children. But he explained that his present life was incomparably better than before. When I asked if he was a Party member, he answered he was a Party cell chairman. He might have considered his present life fairly good because he had formerly lived in utter destitution. But it is very regrettable that a man who holds the post of a Party cell chairman is so slack in the management of household affairs. He earns more income and has fewer children than others, but he is quite negligent in looking after his home and children because he is still influenced by the old vice of a desultory life.

I dropped in at a shop to see whether there were fabrics There were plenty of fabrics and the prices were not so high. Commodity prices are uniform in our country, whether in a village at the foot of Mt. Paekdu-san or in Pyongyang. About two metres of fabrics are enough to make a suit of children's clothes, they say. Even if two metres cost six *won*, the price is not so dear. They do not have to buy firewood or pay for

water in a rural village, so I can hardly understand where he spends all his 90 *won*, and why he fails to provide his children with proper clothing. This is not, after all, a matter of income but a matter of man's viewpoint of life. So I reported this fact to the Party Central Committee and emphasized the necessity of developing a more cultured family and home life and scrupulously looking after children.

Under present conditions we have the capability of caring properly for our children if only we want to. As the chairman of the Sinmi-*ri* Women's Union organization rightly said in her speech a little while ago, the real problem is that our women are not yet enlightened. If women would just be a little concerned about a neat and ordered life, then everything would be settled. But some mothers do not do what they could well do within their possibilities, nor do they consider that quite wrong. In some homes they even allow the children to go about with their hair uncombed, and they do not feel the need to provide them with caps and school knapsacks. It does not cost much to provide children with caps and school knapsacks. The problem is that there is a lack of sincerity. Only when children are reared to be tidy at home, will they keep everything spick-and-span at school and grow up into men of a new type who will live in a cultured way in the future. Mothers must understand better how important it is to their children's education to keep both the house and children neat and tidy.

State organs are also to blame, of course. I talked with the officials concerned; I cannot but admit that children are not scrupulously cared for. There are not enough clothes, shoes, socks, toothbrushes, school supplies, toys and literary works for children.

At present there are not many interesting novels and storybooks for children; juvenile films are also few in number and we have no children's theatre worth mentioning. The functionaries of state institutions have already been criticized for their defects, which are being corrected.

But still, the important thing is mothers' sincere effort to keep their children tidy. In our childhood we could hardly

afford to buy a toothbrush. But we cleaned our teeth with salt everyday. A lack of material things cannot be a good reason for allowing children to be unclean. If only mothers have a high sense of responsibility for the proper upbringing of their children, they can find solutions to any problem.

For whom on earth are we working so hard to build a new society now? Needless to say, it is for our own sake, and chiefly for the good of our generations to come. We may pick and eat fruits from the apple trees we have planted now, but it would be more correct to say that they are rather for our coming generations than for ourselves To construct splendid promenades along the Taedong-gang River is now costing us much effort. This is because we were left with so little. Despite some hardships, we, the present generation, should work hard so that we can hand on good things to future generations.

Infant mortality has dropped considerably in these years. I think it is attributable to the overall improvement of the people's living conditions, to the rapid increase in public health and medical establishments, to the heightened awakening of mothers and the efforts of the Women's Union organizations.

Mothers' efforts constitute a decisive factor in the promotion of children's health. Mothers should keep their children neat and bring them up in a hygienic way. They should have a knowledge of hygienics and know how to prevent and cure illnesses. They should thus feed their children properly, dress them appropriately for each season and always take preventive measures against illnesses. Today we disseminate hygienic knowledge through the media of newspapers, magazines, radio, etc., and impart necessary knowledge in mothers' schools. If they study earnestly in their spare time, they will become excellent mothers who know how to manage their homes and rear their children in a modern and hygienic way. From now on, we should develop an extensive campaign to take good care of children, keep houses neat and tidy and protect children from diseases.

Lastly I should like to speak briefly about the work of the Women's Union.

In view of the very great role assumed by women in socialist construction, particularly in the communist education of children, we deem it necessary to further strengthen the work of the Women's Union.

The Women's Union has made considerable progress in its work. Now, unlike the past, a large number of fine cadres have been designated to work in the organizations of the Women's Union. In the past, there were not a few women who went about dressed to kill, carrying fancy handbags. They remained isolated from the masses and greatly impeded the progress of Women's Union work. These women have been removed from their posts and the ranks of the Women's Union cadres have been built up with Party nuclei who are firm in their class position. This, I think, was a very correct measure.

Some people considered that only those intellectuals who graduated from universities or colleges in the past were qualified to become Women's Union functionaries. They were gravely mistaken. It is the labouring women in factories and rural villages that the Women's Union organizations should work with. And how can Women's Union work be conducted by the so-called enlightened women, if they are ignorant of the factory and rural life and only know how to apply make-up and hair curlers? To tell the truth, it is not so essential to have curly hair and wear pretty dresses, and neither are these things difficult to learn. Even rural women can learn these things easily once they are taught. But it is not an easy task to train those women who like to dissipate their time carrying fancy handbags into Women's Union workers, who must participate along with other working women and resolutely fight to bring the Party's policies to be carried out by women. Therefore, it is advisable to make cadres of those steadfast comrades who have been tempered in the course of practical labour in factories and the countryside. As for the comrades who took the floor yesterday, they are women who led a hard life in the past, working as hired hands for others. It is natural that such people should become core elements. Our Party is strong, and so is our country precisely because such people form the core in all domains. In the

future, too, we should constantly cement the ranks of Women's Union cadres, holding fast to the Party principle in the selection and allocation of cadres.

I am certainly not against intellectuals being appointed cadres. We must select steadfast intellectuals as cadres, and in the future everyone should become an intellectual. There is nothing extraordinary about intellectuals. Intellectuals are not always those with college diplomas. The comrades who made speeches here yesterday and today can all be called intellectuals. True intellectuals are not those who have diplomas but those who have knowledge essential for life. The intellectuals who attended college putting on square caps can probably recognize the books they used to read in those days but they are quite ignorant of what we need today. On the other hand, those intellectuals who have learned through practical work possess an accurate and rich knowledge of all subjects.

It goes without saying that those who have no formal education must study more. They can study through college correspondence courses or by themselves. In this way, all the Women's Union cadres should become new intellectuals. In the future, too, we should build solid ranks of Women's Union cadres with those who have grown up among the workers and peasants and can go deep among them in order to work efficaciously and strive with tenacity to carry out the Party's policies These comrades should be made to work tirelessly to raise their qualifications.

Another important task facing the Women's Union is to make all women communist mothers and fine communist educators for the new generation and induce them to take an active part in socialist construction. To become a communist mother and to become a socialist builder are inseparable. Idlers cannot become communist mothers. To become a communist mother, she should, first of all, participate with enthusiasm in socialist construction. Only by taking an active part in socialist construction can she keep abreast of ever-developing realities and quickly acquire communist ideology. In our country today there are more than a thousand women college graduates who

do not work but just idle away their time at home. College graduates are virtually under a legal obligation to work for more than five years. The state did not give them a college education for the purpose of having them look after children and cook meals at home. Since women college graduates do not take jobs, cadre-training institutions have even hesitated to admit women students. It goes without saying that women should be given an education. Among women there should be many with master of science degrees and with doctorates. But no woman has yet received a doctorate. This is a matter of regret. Greater numbers of fine women cadres should be trained in all the political, economic and cultural fields.

Not a few of our women think that giving birth to children and keeping house is more useful than going out into the world to do important jobs. They always tease those who get married late and gossip about those whose marriage is delayed because of studies. The Women's Union should carry out a powerful ideological struggle against these negative attitudes.

We do not mean that we are opposed to women getting married and having children. This is a natural and good thing. What is bad is the false notion women have that learning and everything else they do are for the purpose of getting married and giving birth to children. Women can and should become masters of science or receive doctorates by continuing their studies, even after they are married and have children.

Conditions should be provided to help women make steady progress in their social life after marriage. Many nurseries, kindergartens, laundries and so forth should be built to help women take part in social activity. The state is directing particular attention to the construction of such establishments. However, those establishments now under construction at state expense may not be adequate to fully satisfy the requirements of women, because vast constructive work is going on in all fields at present. Of course in the future the state will assume full responsibility for the construction of all the facilities needed for women's public activities, but it will not be in a position to cope with all this for the time being. However, women can

solve many problems for themselves by pooling their efforts, if the Women's Union makes proper arrangements.

The experience gained at Sosong-*dong* in Pyongyang, I think, can serve as a fine example. The Women's Union had better organize a concerted women's campaign to have nurseries, laundries, public dining-rooms, etc., built. In this way, adequate conditions should be provided for women to take part in social activities, and the role of the women in socialist construction should be enhanced still further.

An important question in Women's Union activities in the past was to wipe out illiteracy and eliminate the feudalistic ideas that oppressed the women. But this work no longer seems to be of major importance in our society. Today the Women's Union should actively campaign for women's participation in socialist construction and bend its efforts to provide conditions that will allow them to work well.

As pointed out in the report to the Fourth Party Congress, the work of the Women's Union is an important part of our Party work. The Party organizations at all levels including city, county and *ri* Party committees should give active guidance and assistance to strengthening the work of the Women's Union organizations.

The present meeting of mothers will be a good opportunity for further strengthening and developing the work of the Women's Union. I hope this meeting will mark a turning point in the education of children by mothers and in the work of the Women's Union.

FOR THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THE COAL INDUSTRY

Concluding Speech at a Meeting with the Party Nuclei of the Anju Coal Mine

December 23, 1961

Coal is what keeps our industry going, as we often say. Without coal, iron works and steel plants, and all other factories, trains, ships, etc., cannot be operated, much less can our chemical industry be developed. Coal serves as energy and an important raw material for all industries.

Coal plays a decisive role in power production in those countries which depend largely upon the generation of thermal power, although the case is somewhat different with our country where hydroelectric power makes up a high proportion. In the future many thermal power stations will be built in our country, too. Then, the demand for coal will increase further as our industry develops.

Coal is not only a major source of power for industry but a precious raw material for the modern chemical industry. When properly processed, anthracite furnishes us with fabrics, shoes and various other valuable daily necessities. Coal can, indeed, be called black gold.

The coal industry, similar to electric power production, should be developed ahead of all other industries. Otherwise, the factories and enterprises of these other industries will be of no use even if built in large numbers. This is clear from this year's experience alone. Because coal was not supplied in time,

country and to the well-being of its people, can you be creative and vigorous in your work and achieve brilliant exploits in socialist construction.

The personnel in the coal industry bear heavy responsibilities in the struggle for the successful execution of the Seven-Year Plan.

We should bring the annual coal output to 25 million tons by the end of the Seven-Year Plan and achieve the target of 15 million tons in the coming year.

Why should we occupy the height of 15 million tons next year? Now every big factory has boilers and every branch of the national economy uses coal. People use coal as fuel not only in cities but in the countryside except for some mountain areas. The demand for coal is growing greater with the expansion of industry and particularly with the speedy development of the chemical industry. But now we are not in a position to supply enough coal for both industrial and household use.

The key to the solution of various difficult problems arising in the development of our national economy resides in scaling the height of 15 million tons next year through the speedy development of the coal industry.

We belong to those nations with the large coal deposits in the world. In fact, it can be said that we worry about coal while sitting on it. If the functionaries in the coal industry organize their work well, we can mine as much coal as we wish.

The Anju Coal Mine is confronted with the immense task of conquering the height of one million tons next year. This task must be carried out without fail.

I. ON THE MANAGEMENT OF COAL MINES

It is important to improve radically the system and method of work in the coal mines in order to fulfil their production assignments successfully.

We have for a long time directed special attention to the improvement of the system and method of work in the Party and state bodies. The leading functions of the Party, state and economic bodies have been considerably enhanced and a great change has taken place in the method and style of work of functionaries particularly in the course of the struggle for putting the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-*ri* method into practice. However, our work still fails to keep up with the rapid progress of the economy.

I can see the same thing at the Anju Coal Mine at present. It is true that you are all making efforts to work well, upholding the Party policies, and have attained considerable success in improving the system and method of work. But there are still shortcomings in your work. They are mostly defects in guidance and organizational work, that is, defects in management. These defects are found not only here but also in the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant and other factories. Defective management can be regarded as a general phenomenon in our country's industry today.

The shortcomings in guidance do not appear because of any lack of enthusiasm for carrying out the Party policy on the part of our functionaries. They have a high enthusiasm for implementing it Our functionaries do not tend to distort the Party policy; all of them try earnestly to do their work well. The main cause of shortcomings in guidance lies in the fact that functionaries, notwithstanding their desire to work properly, lack revolutionary training and are neither proficient nor qualified in their work.

1. ON REORGANIZING THE SYSTEM OF WORK AND RAISING FUNCTIONARIES' LEVEL OF GUIDANCE

Shortcomings in your guidance are revealed, first of all, in the fact that the system of work has not been reorganized in accordance with new circumstances and that the level of guidance is not in keeping with the developing reality.

The scale of industrial production has now expanded greatly, resulting in a substantial increase in equipment, as well as in a greater number of employees. Under such changed circumstances, the system of work and the method of guidance, too, should naturally change. Some comrades, however, do not try to reorganize the system of work fundamentally but think a mere increase in staff within the old structure could make everything function properly. This is an error. The question is not a shortage of management staff but rather the defects in the system of work itself. It can be solved only when the framework of the old work system is broken up and a new system of work established.

The management structure itself must be reorganized in order to reshape the system of work. Since I mentioned this matter previously at the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, I should like to speak here only about some problems relating to the peculiarities of the coal mine.

The management structure of the coal mine, too, should be reorganized in such a way as to reinforce its general staff. However, a pit in the coal mine has the characteristics of an independent factory, so the apparatus should be larger than that of a workshop at the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant.

The system of supply must also be reorganized so that the higher unit feeds materials directly to the lower unit. But since the coal mine has many pits to direct, it will be a bit difficult to carry supplies right down to the hewing faces of the pits. Therefore, I think it preferable to establish a system under which the coal mine channels materials as far as the pits and then the latter feed directly to the workteams.

The reorganization of the work system alone is not enough to solve all the problems. No matter how the system of work may be reorganized, it will be of little value if the guidance level of functionaries fails to keep pace with it. It is quite a simple task to reshape the organizational system. The point is to raise the functionaries' guidance level.

True, the irrational organization of the management structure itself was a defect in our past work, but the greater defect

was the failure to take proper measures for elevating the guidance level of functionaries to accord with the new circumstances. The guidance of today's modern coal mine, where thousands of workers produce coal with hundreds of machines and other equipment, differs greatly from the guidance of a small, backward colliery of the past where only several dozen workers cut coal with pickaxes and chisels and hauled it out with a few handcarts. There should be a change in the level and method of leadership in keeping with the growth in the number of workers, modernized equipment and increased output.

However, the guidance level of our functionaries at present is much the same as it was in the past when outdated coal mines turned out coal with a few handcarts and pickaxes. Relatively few know how to operate a chain conveyer properly and as for coal-cutting technique, you know little more than the old methods of 10 years ago.

Ignorant of new techniques, functionaries are even afraid of approaching machines and equipment. This being the case, how can they give competent guidance to production?

To give guidance you must possess a definite ability for leadership. Unless functionaries raise their guidance and technical levels, they cannot direct large numbers of workers and technicians nor can they manage new machinery and equipment. Nevertheless, ministries, management bureaus and factories are not now taking measures to raise the guidance level of functionaries but only dictate to them peremptorily. They should not do this. Since functionaries have responsibility for a large number of pieces of equipment and workers, their guidance level must be raised accordingly.

In the army a company commander discharges more difficult and complicated duties as compared with a platoon leader, a battalion commander as compared with a company commander and a regimental or division commander as compared with a battalion commander. It is obvious that the more complicated and difficult the work of a commander becomes, the greater his leadership should be enhanced.

There is a difference in method and technique between

past guerrilla warfare and modern warfare; and even in modern warfare nuclear and chemical warfare differ from each other. Therefore the army should give commanders all necessary knowledge of nuclear and chemical weapons, anticipating that the enemy may use them. Only by so doing will they be able to discharge their missions properly in modern warfare. The case is the same with industry; the technical and guidance levels of leading functionaries must be constantly raised, parallel with the development of manufacturing techniques.

Managing a small number of workers and handicraft technology is relatively simple, similar to a squad leader discharging his duty in the army.

And leaving modern machines and a large number of workers in the charge of a man who used to direct a handicraft enterprise is like making a squad leader play the role of battalion commander in a modern war. If such a man is to be entrusted with hundreds of people and new machinery and equipment, he should be duly educated in the ability of managing many people and new technology. In other words, he must be taught how to give guidance to the producer masses and how to care for modern machinery and equipment.

What would happen if we did not develop leading functionaries but left them as they are now? We would not be able to manage our rapidly advancing industry properly nor carry on socialist construction successfully. Today chain conveyers are a matter of concern, but in the future more up-to-date machines will come into use in greater numbers. Therefore, it becomes a very important task for us to elevate the guidance and technical levels of functionaries.

In order to raise their leadership and technical levels, they can study at schools or learn while on the job, and in various other ways.

First of all, a system of educating cadres should be established beginning with the coming year: study groups should be organized respectively for management bureau chiefs, managers and pit leaders so as to establish a system of regular education for cadres. It is advisable to include the managers and chief

engineers in the bureau chief's study group, the pit leaders in the manager's study group, and the battalion and company commanders in the pit leader's study group. Lessons should be given without fail at least twice a month in the pit leader's study group, more than once a month in the manager's study group and more than once every two months in the management bureau chief's study group.

Classroom lessons will be all right but on-the-spot lessons would be preferable. Lessons should be thoroughly prepared in advance. In order to give an on-the-spot lesson the management bureau chief or the coal mine manager had better choose a battalion or a company, have it well prepared beforehand and then personally explain on the scene how its members work. He should elaborate in a systematic and concrete way all matters from beginning to end—how to report for work, in what order shifts are relieved, what and how to begin with after commencing a shift, how to repair machines when they are out of order, how to maintain equipment, etc.

After teaching what is to be done at the work site in this way, lessons should be given on how to guide sections and pits, and then how to guide all the affairs of the coal mine.

Guidance at the coal mine not only includes the guidance of production but also covers various other activities such as general affairs and technical management. Lessons should be given in detail on all matters such as how to give technical guidance, how to organize the management of equipment, the duties and role of the deputy manager for general affairs, how to plan and ensure the supply of materials and organize their transportation.

If lectures are given systematically in this way, everyone will understand, however low his level may be. When all functionaries thus become thoroughly familiar with their work and the whole situation at the coal mine, they will successfully perform their duties as leading functionaries.

It will be a good idea to organize theoretical lectures at times along with practical lectures. This will enable leading functionaries to get a fuller understanding of all the affairs of

the coal mine, both practical and theoretical. If lessons are conducted in this way for just a few years, the theoretical and practical levels of functionaries will show a marked elevation and even those without a college education will be able to manage modern technical equipment and enterprises creditably.

It may be somewhat difficult to commence such lessons immediately. Therefore full preparations must be made now so that upon completion of reorganization and personnel assignments at the coal mine next year, the programme can be started at once. The management bureau chief had better be the first to prepare a lesson plan and give a demonstration lesson. Then his subordinates will be able to learn from it and give effective lessons.

As in the army, the educational programme when formulated must provide for the most rudimentary subjects to be taught first. In the army, the education of commanders begins with lessons on the movements of individual soldiers. Then, they proceed to squad drill; and when the squad drill is over, they gradually advance to platoon, company, battalion and regimental drills.

In the coal mine, too, lessons for leading functionaries must begin with the training in the movements of a coal miner. All leading functionaries of the coal mine must know how to hold and handle an auger drill and how to set up props. Unless you know such things well, you have no claim to be a leading functionary of a coal mine. Yet there are quite a few who have never cut coal personally with an auger drill, while serving as leading functionaries at a coal mine for more than ten years. How can a person be called a leading functionary of a coal mine, when he does not know what an auger drill is and has never cut coal with it himself? In order to become cadres at the coal mine you should learn everything from the simplest to the most complicated things. Only by so doing can you give concrete guidance on everything. The Anju Coal Mine must take the lead in establishing a system of educating cadres.

2. ON PROMOTING YOUNG CADRES AND EDUCATING OLD CADRES

The next important question is that of boldly promoting young cadres.

An important principle in cadre training is to boldly promote new, young cadres while educating the cadres on the job and improving their qualifications constantly. However, today, shackled with empiricism, you do not promote young cadres or educate old ones systematically.

At present our country requires a large number of cadres in all fields. The demand for cadres will increase further with the development of the national economy. Therefore, it is very important to steadily replenish the ranks of our cadres with young people.

I was told that there are now more than 150 young technicians in the Anju Coal Mine. If you allocate them properly and organize and mobilize them well, you will be fully able to perform your jobs efficiently. But under the pretext that they are young they are not assigned to technical work or management of equipment. This is quite wrong.

If young people have worked in a coal mine for a year or two after graduating from school, they are already qualified to become good cadres. Henceforth, you must boldly promote those young cadres who have been trained at production sites.

When I say that you should upgrade young cadres I never mean that all the old ones should be ousted. While promoting young cadres, concern for old cadres must be shown so that they may study and work on a higher level.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule before, the workers though they wished to could not afford to study. But now there are conditions for them to learn as much as they wish. Cadres who could not study in the past had better study now, leaving work to young cadres. Old cadres should be sent to a Party school or an economic cadres' school for study.

Those who have worked as pit leaders or section leaders for a long time are all good comrades. They are of good social origin and have done much work in the coal mines. They defended their country from enemy aggression during the great Fatherland Liberation War at the risk of their lives and then devoted all their energies to the struggle for socialist construction in active response to the Party's call in the postwar period. And they are comrades who have fought to strengthen our Party since the early days of its founding and always remained faithful to it and have always maintained a firm determination to defend our Party at the cost of their lives. They have a wealth of labour experience and a strong Party spirit, and are lacking only in new technical know-how. If they are given the opportunity for education, they can all be excellent cadres. But these fine comrades are making no progress because they are left in their present positions without education.

It is said that some of you have served more than ten years as pit leaders. In a foreign country there is an instance of keeping a cadre in a post as a manager for scores of years. But our country's circumstances today do not allow us to keep cadres in the same posts for too long. Ours is a rapidly developing country and the demand for cadres cannot be met unless we educate them constantly and promote them steadily.

Now some comrades do not study because they are rather old, but they are wrong. The leader of Pit No. 8, I was told, is now 49 years old. He has another forty years to work for the revolution, if we are to have our longevity celebration at 90. And a person cannot do revolutionary work well if he is ignorant. One must learn more in order to continue with revolutionary work. It is good for functionaries to go to school and study for a year or two even if they are a bit old. After finishing school, they may continue to work at coal mines or may do Party work or economic work in other fields.

In order to improve the qualifications of cadres it is very important to properly organize courses for study while working. Studying while working has an advantage of closely combining theory with practice and raising your technical level without

dropping out of production. Special attention should also be directed to establishing a thorough system of working and studying.

Cadres do not fall from the sky; we must develop them. If we make serious efforts to educate them, we can develop as many good cadres as we wish.

Immediately after liberation we were very short of cadres. But we educated revolutionary cadres who had participated in the anti-Japanese armed struggle, while training a large number of young cadres, with the result that the ranks of our cadres were firmly developed in a short period of time. Thus, we were able to win the Fatherland Liberation War against the U.S. imperialist armed invasion and have also been able to achieve great successes in socialist construction today.

In the future the Party committees in the coal mines should pay special attention to the education and training of cadres so as to qualify young people as cadres and to permit old cadres to study.

3. ON THE PROPER MANAGEMENT OF EQUIPMENT

Another important factor in your work is the proper care of equipment.

Equipment is the most important means of production. It may be compared to weapons in the army. Just as the army cannot fight the enemy without weapons, so a factory cannot produce without equipment.

Therefore, equipment must always be maintained and cared for properly. Unless there is proper care of equipment, its rate of utilization cannot be increased nor production normalized.

When we visit a People's Army unit, we meet its cadres, and then, before anything else, see whether weapons are kept and looked after properly. If you see how weapons are cared for, you will know the combat readiness of the unit. Likewise, if you see how equipment is cared for at a factory, you will know

whether it functions well. And poor management of equipment in industry is a common practice in our country today.

In order to manage equipment properly it is necessary to formulate clear-cut regulations for its control and establish a strict system of regular inspection and maintenance. It is impossible to take care of equipment properly and prevent accidents without having system and order in our work. But at present you have neither definite regulations on the management of equipment nor a strict system of checking and maintaining equipment, nor adequate management personnel.

As the knowledge of how to manage equipment has not been disseminated systematically, people are not even well acquainted with the equipment in their own pits, and they fail to keep it in proper working order.

The management of equipment should be conducted as a mass movement. To this end, all people working in the pits should be familiar with the equipment there. They should know how to handle it and how to disassemble and repair it. If all comrades are thoroughly familiar with their equipment and take an active part in its care, the work cannot but proceed smoothly. The point is that accidents do occur frequently and equipment is not operated properly because there is no strict system and order in the care of equipment and this task is not conducted on a mass movement basis.

Equipment must be repaired and maintained in time. Maintenance personnel are necessary for the proper management of equipment.

When tractor companies were organized in the countryside, we also assigned maintenance personnel to them. Of course, all operators must know how to maintain their machines. But under present circumstances, as not all operators have reached this level yet, it is absolutely necessary to have maintenance personnel. This enables the operators to rest and have the equipment maintained in time.

It is necessary to establish a system whereby maintenance personnel check machines while the operators are at rest after their work. This makes it possible to discover improper func-

tioning in time and prevent accidents. The same may be said of the railways; when a train pulls into the station, the maintenance personnel examine the train by tapping it with hammers to determine if anything is wrong. And old gun cannot hit targets accurately, because its foresight, notch and backsight get out of order. Therefore, in the army, too, technicians check and repair weapons regularly.

Checkups should be made by men with relatively high technical qualifications according to clear-cut regulations.

If inspection and maintenance systems are strictly established, a spare parts' inventory maintained for over three months and equipment looked after properly, the life of the equipment will be prolonged and production normalized. Therefore, you should steadily raise your level of technical knowhow and further improve the management of equipment.

4. ON IMPROVING PLANNING

Next in importance is to improve planning and give precedence to technical preparation. It is a rule in the coal industry to keep tunnelling ahead of other work.

Nature and society have their own laws of development. The coal industry, too, has its own. We can say it is a common law in the development of the mining industry to conduct tunnelling before other work. The rapid growth of production in coal and other mines is impossible without giving priority to tunnelling.

Maintaining the tunnelling pace ahead of cutting in the coal mine means preparing the cutting faces Unless they are prepared properly, it is impossible to produce large quantities of coal. It can be said that coal production depends largely upon whether the cutting faces are well prepared or not.

To keep tunnelling ahead, planning and designing should be ably conducted in the coal mine. However, this is not the case, and system and discipline are lacking in the coal mine, so that it does tunnelling over and over again and sets up long

walls erroneously or demolishes long walls that should not be demolished, thereby creating serious obstacles in the way of production.

Tunnelling and cutting plans are to the coal mine what combat plans are to the army. Just as the army cannot win the battle without a well-prepared combat plan, so the coal mine cannot achieve good results in production without accurate tunnelling and cutting plans.

A plan should be drawn up correctly in accordance with the actual conditions. In the coal mine a design or a plan should not be developed by one or two persons based on a rule of thumb; they must be drawn up in detail with the concerted efforts of coal-cutting engineers, surveying engineers, mechanical engineers and all other technical personnel after inspecting the actual scenes of work and investigating all aspects from a technical viewpoint. The plan should always be approved by a higher body, which should closely examine whether it is properly developed. The plan should thus be realistic, scientific and dynamic. In order to improve planning, the technical departments should be provided with the necessary apparatuses and personnel, and technical forces should not be scattered but concentrated in those departments.

5. ON STRENGTHENING WORK IN THE PIT

In your activity, there are several defects in organizational work as well as in guidance.

In the first place, efforts have not been directed to strengthening the pits. This is a serious error. The pit in the coal mine represents a basic production unit, which is very large. I am told that 400,000 tons of coal will be produced in Pit No. 8 of the Anju Coal Mine next year. In scale it is as big as a coal mine. In production scale, the one million-ton capacity pit at the Sinchang Combined Coal Mine, for instance, is as big as the Anju Coal Mine. Therefore, it is of great importance to strengthen the pits in the coal mine.

It is true that there is a deficiency in the management structure of the coal mine itself. However, if the coal mine had exerted its efforts to strengthen the pits, their work would have been improved to some extent. And yet, you have allocated a small number of people to the pits without having furnished adequate supplies and have only imposed assignments upon them. Therefore, how can the pit leaders do their work properly?

The duty of a pit leader is to care properly for the equipment in his pit and skilfully perform his work with section leaders and workteam leaders. In other words, his main duty is to give active assistance to section leaders and workteam leaders in order to elevate their technical and guidance levels and, at the same time, raise the utilization rate of equipment by ensuring its proper management, including timely inspections and repairs.

At present, however, the pit leaders are only concerned with material or consumer goods supply instead of attending to their basic duty. Thus, they fail to give technical guidance or to conduct work with the section leaders and workteam leaders. They not only do not help these section and workteam leaders in their study but they do not even know them well. Some pit leaders are not aware of the qualifications of the workteam leaders and are even ignorant of exactly who the workteam leaders in their pits are. They cannot run their pits properly that way.

It is said that work in the pits is not proceeding smoothly due to a lack of cadres, but in fact this is not the only reason. A pit leader has several people to assist him, such as assistant pit leaders. But their responsibilities are not clearly defined and their forces are scattered. As there is no general staff in the pit, the work is not directed in a unified way and the technical forces in the pit fail to render effective assistance to the pit leader.

In the pit, too, there must be a chief engineer and a general staff under his leadership. The existence of the staff will make it possible to give co-ordinated guidance to the pit and

substantial assistance to the pit leader in his work. Only then, can the pit leader directly guide production; strengthen work with workteam leaders and section leaders, care for equipment properly, study the prospects of coal hewing and take appropriate measures.

It is important to enhance the role of the commanding personnel of sections and workteams while reinforcing the pit. The workteam leader must give technical guidance. However, at present, instructors come down from the top to give technical guidance to the workteam and the workteam leader only cuts coal, assuming no responsibility for technical guidance.

The workteam leaders should directly lead and supervise production and technology as a whole even if they are detached from physical labour at times. However, they should not be completely divorced from physical work. They should, as a matter of duty, take part in physical labour for at least a few days each month. Thus, they will not forget technical know-how and will learn and resolve in time the troublesome problems arising in work. In the coal mines, as in the agricultural co-operatives, it would be better to fix obligatory workdays for workteam leaders.

The section leader should personally control and command the means of transport in his section. The means of transport has a very vital significance in coal cutting. As you know well, coal cannot be cut if the conveyers stop moving. How can the section leader direct coal mining without controlling such an important means of conveyance? At present, however, the means of conveyance in the sections is under the control of the assistant pit leader. This is unreasonable. The means of conveyance, its operators and maintenance personnel in the sections should all be brought under the direct control of the section leader.

6. ON THOROUGHLY ESTABLISHING STRICT DISCIPLINE AND ORDER

Next, discipline should be further tightened in the coal mine. *Where there is no order, system and discipline, accidents* will always occur and there will be poor production results as well. The establishment of strict discipline in the coal mine is indispensable not only for the prevention of accidents but for the successful fulfilment of production assignments.

Digging earth and tunnelling into rock in the pits represents a very difficult struggle with nature. The harder the struggle, the stricter the discipline. In the coal mine, therefore, all people from leading personnel down to workers should work in an orderly manner under strict organizational discipline, and there must be a rigorous system of command and consent.

For the establishment of strict discipline in the coal mine I think it preferable to formulate internal regulations as in the army. The internal regulations in the army encompass all matters ranging from the life of soldiers to their every action. In the pits all activities should be carried out in military fashion under internal regulations.

All activities in the army except for Party meetings are conducted by order. In the army when a commander orders "Forward!" his men must go forward without fail, and when he commands "Sit down!" they must sit down come what may. This unfailing execution of the commander's orders is the military way of action.

Battalions, companies and platoons should be organized in the pit as in the army. Once you are in the pit, you must obey the orders of your commanders unconditionally; there should not be the slightest expression of liberalism. In the pit all must move in accordance with regulations, on orders from commanders.

Democracy, however, should be brought into full play

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outside the pit, although inside the commanders' orders must be obeyed unconditionally. At meetings participants should be allowed actively to express their views and also to criticize commanders for their defects.

Functionaries must not resort to bureaucratic methods on the ground that all activities are conducted in military fashion. When I say you should establish strict discipline by command, I do not mean that you are free to abuse your rights or to exercise bureaucracy. Bureaucrats are not entitled to be leadership personnel.

Only when activities in the pit are thus conducted in military fashion, will system and order be established in all work including the inspection and repair of machinery and equipment, cutting and conveyance, and only then will accidents be prevented and production increased as well.

II. ON THE WORK OF THE PARTY COMMITTEE

As the Party organizational structure has not been properly established in the coal mine, neither does Party work proceed well. Therefore, the Party organizational structure should first be reorganized. As to this problem you had better refer to what I said at the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant. Here I should like to just speak briefly about some problems of Party work.

1. ON STRENGTHENING WORK WITH WORKERS AND TECHNICIANS

Firstly, the Party organizations should perform work with young workers and technicians properly. At present the coal mine has a large number of young workers and technicians. The majority of them graduated from specialized schools, have

worked in an exemplary manner in the coal mine for more than three years and sincerely want to join our Party. The Party organizations should admit good comrades into the Party from among them.

The Party organizations seem to hesitate to admit them into the Party because of their family background and origin, but there should be absolutely no such hesitation. We should always take into consideration their actual life and ideological preparedness first. Comrades who have worked hard in the coal mine for two or three years should be regarded as belonging to the working class irrespective of what their parents may have been in the past.

We made a great study of how to build the Party in the days of the guerrilla struggle. At that time we regarded anyone with more than three years of work experience the same as a person with worker status even if he was of student origin or his parents had been wealthy.

It would be correct even at present to boldly admit to the Party ranks those comrades who have been faithful in their working life for more than three years and endeavour tirelessly to carry through the Party's policies though their family backgrounds may be somewhat problematic.

Next, the Party committee should allocate Party forces evenly to the cutting platoons and companies when activating the unit. Only by so doing can our Party penetrate more deeply among the masses, arm them with the Party ideology, unite them more firmly around itself and actively mobilize them in the execution of its policy.

Most important in Party work is the work with cadres. In accordance with the principle I advanced at the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, the structure of the Party committee should be reorganized, it should be firmly built up by replenishing Party cadres, and work with cadres be set on the right track. Thus when all cadres act dynamically to rouse other Party members to action and these latter join in leading the masses, everything will go well. If all the cadres, Party members and workers of the Anju Coal Mine, firmly rallied

around the Party Central Committee, struggle to execute the Party policy through thick and thin, there will be nothing that they cannot accomplish.

At present we have a very small number of cadres from among coal miners. Provincial Party committees and other Party organs have very few cadres who had worked in coal mines. This is the result of poor Party work in coal mines and indicates that Party functionaries, while only bustling about farm villages, have not directed great attention to coal mines, a major bulwark of the working class.

In fact, there are many good people in the coal mines who are qualified to become cadres. The coal mines can be said to be an important source of cadres for our Party. But our Party functionaries do not do their work with cadres properly at the coal mines, and they fail to select good persons who can be promoted to cadres, and on occasion when they do, they do not conduct systematic education among them. This is a serious shortcoming in Party work.

The working class is the most progressive class, more revolutionary than any other class in society. It is more selfless and courageous in revolution than any other class.

In contrast, the peasants are more selfish and conservative than the working class, for they originally possessed private property such as land, houses and cattle. True, peasants have also become socialist working people after co-operativization. But they still retain many old ideas because they lived as petty proprietors from generation to generation over thousands of years. That is why the peasantry can advance to socialism and communism only in alliance with the working class and under its leadership.

The Party organizations should further intensify the training of cadres from the working class and, particularly, direct attention to coal miners.

In the work with coal miners the Party organizations at collieries should be vitally concerned with curing them of surviving bad habits. Before, in the days of Japanese imperialism, working conditions were bad in all fields, and even worse

in collieries, mines and in the timber industry. Some workers in these fields, toiling under dangerous and difficult conditions, hated their work. When they had money, they got drunk, got into fights and gambled with toughs. That is why in the past people identified ruffians with old gold miners or lumberjacks.

Certainly, things have changed fundamentally today. Now coal miners take an active part in socialist construction and discharge their working-class duty with honour. Some of them, however, have not yet rid themselves completely of the old ways of those times. The Party organizations should intensify educational work in every way so that the coal miners may forsake those still lingering bad habits as quickly as possible and that all acquire the lofty moral traits of the working class.

2. ON ADVANCING THE TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION MOVEMENT VIGOROUSLY

The Party committee should pay profound attention to technological innovation. The past years have witnessed quite a few successes in the technical revolution in the coal industry. The mechanization level in this field, however, still lags far behind other industries. Therefore, the coal industry is confronted with the urgent task of turning the hard and difficult labour of mining into easy and civilized work by energetically advancing the technological innovation movement and elevating the level of mechanization. The coal mines in particular should bend all efforts to mechanizing work in the pits.

An extensive technological innovation movement requires that everyone be thoroughly familiar with the machinery and equipment in their respective fields and have advanced technical knowledge. At present, workers in the coal industry have less technical knowledge than those in other fields. That is why they fear machines, and when it comes to technical work, they simply get frightened and try to avoid it. With this attitude, they cannot learn technology nor can they accomplish the technical revolution. Naturally, those engaged in more

arduous and difficult labour should be more interested in technology and take the lead in technological innovation.

The Party committee should raise the technique and skills of the working people and should actively push ahead invention and technological innovation movements by thoroughly eradicating superstitions concerning technology and strengthening technological studies among coal mine workers.

3. A HAPPY AND CHEERFUL LIFE FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE

The Party committee should actively endeavour to develop the life of the working people in a cultured and hygienic way and to make it more optimistic.

Adequate and comfortable housing should be built and many nice trees and flowers planted to beautify towns and villages. Every house should be furnished with flower pots and the rooms kept neat and tidy. All conditions should thus be provided for the workers to relax at home in a cultured manner after a day's work.

It is desirable that every house has a musical instrument. At home, workers should study or play instruments instead of drinking as before. All of them had better learn to play more than one instrument. To learn a Western instrument would be good. But it would even be better to learn to play national instruments. Such instruments as *kayagum* and *yanggum* which are easily obtainable, more responsive to our mood and easy to learn will be better than a piano or a violin which as yet is not abundant in our country.

It would be really fine if family choruses, for instance, were organized by workers' families so that all members of a family can sing together. Then our life will be brighter and more cheerful and all people will become cultured and optimistic.

Today we have every condition and possibility to develop our life in a cultured manner. There are neither exploiters nor

oppressors in our society. We can enjoy as happy a life as we wish if only we make the efforts. The point is how we organize our life. Whatever favourable conditions we may have, our life cannot be bright and happy unless we turn them to good advantage. One of the most important duties of all Party organizations and functionaries is to lead the working people in making their labour and life cheerful and cultured.

Some comrades consider the fundamentals of Party work to be the receiving of applications for Party membership and the handling of organizational problems. But they are quite wrong. Party organizations should at all times be profoundly concerned with the life of the working people. If they do not show concern for the life of the working people nor lead them to develop an optimistic life, their morale will not be enhanced nor will there be good production results; the working people will feel harder and more tired, while doing the same work, and will be easily intimidated even by a slight illness.

In former days, the anti-Japanese guerrillas were never dispirited even though they were poorly clad and went hungry for days in the biting cold of raging snowstorms, even under trying circumstances when they were besieged by the enemy. When arriving at a village our guerrillas would immediately dry their shoes and come out to sing and dance. It was an important characteristic of our guerrillas that they were optimistic under whatever circumstances.

Man can feel the value of life only when he is optimistic, even if he were to live a day. A depressed and pessimistic army can neither be united nor fight well.

In the days of Japanese imperialism there were various anti-Japanese units in Manchuria. But the Japanese bandits feared us most, the Korean People's Revolutionary Army, for our guerrillas were in high revolutionary spirits and were always bold and brave in the do-or-die battles against the enemy. The guerrillas fought heroically against the enemy because political work was done well among them and because their daily life was full of revolutionary optimism.

If our Party functionaries organize the working people's

life in the same manner as the anti-Japanese guerrillas did in the past, they will all become brave and energetic, and production will also increase without any hitch. The Party organizations should positively encourage the Democratic Youth League and trade union organizations to develop mass cultural activities more vigorously among the working people. Thus, they should be induced to sing merrily while going to and from work places and sing in chorus during breaks. This will help them to relieve tensions due to fatigue and aid them in becoming more animated. This phase of activity is not proceeding satisfactorily because the Party committees do not organize cultural activities well.

The Party organizations should be greatly concerned not only with the material life of the workers but also with their cultural life and recreation. Cadres must be an example in this work as well. They should learn new songs and discover how to sing in chorus.

Next, the Party committee should look after service and supply work properly. Now this work is not performed satisfactorily in the coal mines. No matter how high the communist consciousness of the workers may be, they cannot work well if their housing conditions are bad and their life is not stable. First of all, soy and bean paste, edible oil, vegetables, bean curd, etc., should be provided regularly for workers; also, more fish should be supplied to them. Additionally, the housing problem should be solved and a sufficient quantity of drinking water provided at all times. All this is, in the final analysis, a political work.

Lastly, let me speak about preparations for next year's production.

The important task in preparing production for next year is to correct, among other things, all the shortcomings we have already noted. Once you know what defects you have, active efforts should be made to rectify them as soon as possible. When you fail to remedy defects immediately though aware of them, and retain them as ever, there can be no progress in work and greater errors may yet be committed.

First of all, wrong organizational structures should be reshaped, vacancies for cadres and workers filled and a system of work established.

What is required next is the proper maintenance of equipment and improvement in its management. Equipment should be improved; productive equipment, machines for the repair and maintenance shop and machinery and equipment for transport should be reconditioned and reinforced. This work must be *terminated by next February by manufacturing the necessary* items yourselves and securing others which cannot be obtained by yourselves from higher units.

Production must not be hindered for the sake of equipment maintenance. There is a strain on the coal supply now. Therefore, if you fail to carry out your plan, it will affect other fields as well. Therefore, the production assignments for next January and February as provided for in the plan must be fulfilled without fail, while maintenance work on all equipment should be finished and at least a three months' supply of spares secured on your own by next February through enlisting the forces of the repair and maintenance shop. In addition to spare parts, there should also be a reserve of some chain conveyers and rock drills.

In order to carry out the vast work of reorganizing the management system in a short span of time and of maintaining the equipment and reinforcing it regularly, the provincial Party committee, the ministry and the management bureau must give active assistance. The provincial Party committee chairman should fill personnel vacancies, and the chairman of the Heavy Industry Commission and the chief of the management bureau should select and allocate cadres.

In this way, next year's production assignments should be carried out without fail.

If you fail to carry out the coal production plan, we may run short of coal. The Pyongyang Textile Mill and the Madong Cement Factory are now in difficulties because they are not supplied with coal in time. All workers should be informed of this situation. When confronted with difficulties, the Party

organizations should inform the workers, discuss a way out with them and organize and mobilize all of them for the struggle. If the Party and the masses strive in concert, everything will be smoothed out. To assure the successful implementation of next year's production task for the Anju Coal Mine, the Party committee should go deeply among the masses and do better work in organizing and mobilizing them.

Today I have spoken, in the main, about shortcomings in your work. These are defects revealed in the course of your rapid advance and are very small compared with your achievements.

If you consolidate the successes already gained and promptly correct the defects which have appeared, you will attain still greater achievements in your future work.

operatives in the Sinchon area, I will not repeat them here today.

We held a meeting with the management staffs of the agricultural co-operatives in that area for several days, and here in Haeju, we are now meeting again for three consecutive days, with the management staffs of the agricultural co-operatives from the 12 city and counties.

This meeting has shown us that many shortcomings still exist in the guidance of our rural economy. The defects of our leading agricultural functionaries can be divided broadly into two categories: one, an incorrect style of work, and the other, incorrect leadership in farm work.

1. ON ACQUIRING THE COMMUNIST TRAITS OF A REVOLUTIONARY

I should like to touch first on the work style of our leading personnel. The communist work spirit required of a revolutionary has not yet been well established among the leading workers of the rural economy. Bureaucratic and formalistic work styles, irresponsibility, bombast, fame-seeking, conservatism, empiricism, etc., still exist among you to a large extent. All these are manifestations of the survivals of old ideologies left over from capitalist society. You should definitively do away with these old styles of work.

In our country today, the material and technical foundations of socialism have been further strengthened and the revolutionary spirit of the popular masses is continuing to grow higher. Therefore, there is no doubt that even greater success will be ours if our leading functionaries rectify their old styles of work promptly. You should, therefore, direct foremost efforts to acquiring the communist traits of a revolutionary.

Our Party has entrusted you with the important revolutionary task of building socialism in the countryside. Our peo-

ple suffered from feudal exploitation and oppression for hundreds of years. Later, they were subjected to the piratic plunder of Japanese imperialism for nearly half a century. As a result, our agriculture remained very backward and the peasants languished in poverty. It is a very important revolutionary task to turn our backward and needy farm villages into modern, civilized socialist villages.

In the past people said: "Agriculture is the great foundation of the country," and today they say: "Rice is socialism." All this shows how important agriculture is. Although we may possibly reconcile ourselves to other things, we can make no compromise with hunger. The most important thing, therefore, is to solve the problem of food for the people. Only when our crops are good and food is plentiful, can the whole economic life of our country improve.

At present our people are building a happy socialist society in which everybody will live in tile-roofed houses, wear silk clothes, eat rice and meat soup, and work together with adequate knowledge and techniques for the good of society and people. This is the goal set by our Party and also the long-cherished desire of our people. This task set forth by our Party is not a dream, but a realistic enterprise fully feasible through the struggle of our people.

The results scored so far by our people are eloquent proof that this revolutionary task is well within our power. We completely abolished the feudal relations of exploitation in the countryside long ago and also carried out the difficult work of reorganizing the individual peasant economy into a socialist co-operative sector of the economy. And we are now successfully carrying out the tasks of irrigation, electrification and mechanization in our rural areas. Thus the face of our countryside has changed beyond recognition.

A great change has also taken place in the life of the peasantry. It can be said that during the rule of the Japanese scoundrels our peasants had the status of hired farm hands who worked for others. But after liberation they became poor peasants who owned their land; later, as socialist construction

advanced in the countryside they became middle peasants; at present they are all rising to the level of well-to-do middle peasantry.

If we take one more step forward now, everybody will be able to live in affluence like the rich. When this takes place, our people's aspirations will be realized. Our people have now entered a new stage of struggle to attain this very ideal. In this Seven-Year Plan period, we intend to make all people live in plenty like the rich.

By the rich, however, we do not mean those who live in idleness as in the old days, but those who work and live a comfortable and plentiful life.

To give our people an affluent, comfortable life, we must increase production. To increase production, it is, indeed, necessary to work more, but is also very important to further develop our productive forces through the technical revolution. Therefore, we should irrigate, electrify, mechanize and chemicalize our agriculture during the Seven-Year Plan. Only by raising the level of productive forces in this way, is it possible to free all people from heavy labour and raise their living standards by producing more while working easily and joyfully.

As all of you know, under the old rule of the Japanese devils the life of the people was so hard that they regarded their very existence as a misfortune. Today, however, as socialism is built in our country, everybody enjoys his life and wants to live longer. Yesterday, I heard someone over the radio singing of his wish to live for a hundred years and more; that is not a feeling confined to him alone, but represents the desire of all the people.

As a matter of fact, before, a handful of landlords and capitalists lived in luxury by exploiting and plundering others. They glutted themselves like pigs. We, however, are going to build a society where all people will live well in tile-roofed houses, will wear silk and eat rice and meat soup. Those who still have the survivals of obsolete ideas want a plentiful life only for themselves. But in our country today, no one is allowed to live in affluence for himself. He who says "all for one"

and not "one for all" views everything from the old ideological standpoint. If we think in this way, we cannot solve the problem of giving abundance to all alike.

Comrades, just think of it! What a worthwhile thing it is to give our peasants—who for ages lived miserably in mud huts—cosy, modern houses, to free from heavy work our peasants who used to till paddy and dry fields by pulling *hori* ploughs tied to their shoulders, and who carried burdens on their backs till they grew bent, and to feed all of them well and give them a plentiful and long life! When we do all this, even the peasants who are politically backward will fully realize how good socialism is.

For all you comrades working in the rural economy—the leading functionaries of the provincial people's committee in charge of agriculture, workers of the county agricultural co-operative management committees, chairmen of the agricultural co-operatives, tractor drivers, workers of the irrigation administration offices, management personnel of the agricultural co-operatives and all co-operative members—what an honourable assignment is this revolutionary task entrusted to you by our Party!

Nothing is more worthwhile and honourable than to work for the good of society and people. So, to cultivate the communist traits required of a revolutionary, you must clearly understand, before anything else, how important and honourable your revolutionary task is. Thus, everyone should have a pride and a high sense of responsibility in his job and should always seethe with revolutionary enthusiasm.

Now, what do we mean by the communist traits of a revolutionary?

First, they should be expressed by a determined struggle to defend the Party's policies and carry them through to the end.

The lines and policies of our Party lay down the course we must follow to make all our people live well and make our country wealthy and powerful. The struggle for carrying out the Party's lines and policies is precisely the revolutionary

struggle. A revolutionary, therefore, should persistently and devotedly fight for the implementation of the Party's policies. This is the first and foremost quality required of a revolutionary.

Judging from your speeches at this meeting, however, it seems that you still lack will to carry through the Party's policies to the end. Those who have had a tenacious attitude in materializing the Party's intentions have scored great successes, but those lacking this spirit have failed to do their work well. Yesterday we heard about how determined Comrade Chon Pil Nyo of the Kumsong Agricultural Co-operative in Paechon County was in her struggle to shore up the lagging stockbreeding team. She made tremendous efforts to raise just one pig more and worked ceaselessly to procure sorely-needed feed. Thus, she achieved great success. To carry out the Party's policies, one must display activity as she did.

Without a strong will and indefatigable fighting spirit to implement the Party's policies, no success can be scored in any work—the work of transforming backward persons along communist lines, the work of producing what is lacking and devising new things, the work of making new inventions in science, etc. Doing things in a slipshod manner or giving up without finishing a task shows a weak revolutionary fighting spirit. This attitude can bring no success in anything. The Party's policies must be carried through to the end.

The anti-Japanese guerrillas fought a heroic struggle during 15 long years, overcoming all hardships and tribulations. However, some changed their attitudes, instead of being loyal to the revolution to the last because of their weak revolutionary will, even though they had participated in the revolutionary struggle at first. Some, after struggling for a long time, surrendered to the enemy right before the Japanese scoundrels laid down their arms. This is like a patient who, told by the doctor to take 100 doses of medicine, takes 99, with the result that the medicine fails to take effect.

There is a revolutionary song, too, that expresses the strong fighting spirit of revolutionaries in the following lines: "Let the

coward flinch and traitors sneer. We'll keep the Red Flag flying here." Only those who adhere to the line of the revolution and the policies of the Party to the last and fight to carry them out in spite of all difficulties, can become revolutionaries. There is an old adage that says there is nothing impossible for the strong-willed; this is much more true today when our revolutionaries are purposefully struggling to build a communist society.

Our Party's policies are fully feasible because they are based on a scientific analysis of actual conditions in accordance with Marxism-Leninism. Success in all work hinges upon whether or not we correctly grasp and persistently carry out the Party's policies.

In order to carry out the Party's policies creditably, it is *necessary, first of all, to understand them well. Only by making a profound study of the Party's policies can you get a clear idea* of their correctness. And only by fully grasping the intentions of the Party can you have a firm faith in the victory of the revolutionary struggle and devise the correct method of struggle.

The Party's policies elucidate Marxist-Leninist ways and means for carrying out the revolution in Korea. Our Party has set forth a series of tasks to build socialism in the rural areas of our country, strictly basing itself on Marxist-Leninist principles. Our Party has advanced the tasks of electrification, irrigation and mechanization, and set forth correct policies on how to improve the land, develop seed production, manage socialist agriculture, etc. Only by profoundly studying and correctly grasping all these agricultural policies of our Party is it possible to successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks confronting the rural economy.

In studying the Party's policies it will not do to just glance at their titles, as if one were licking the rind of a watermelon, nor to read again and again only the first chapter of a book, as is satirized in our comic stage dialogues. If you study Party policies in such a way as to merely learn words or phrases by heart, out of touch with reality, you will get nothing from it.

With this approach, you cannot get a deep understanding of the Party's intentions nor find the correct course to take. Those without a deep knowledge of the Party's policies will not only be unable to carry on their work creatively but will waver when they run up against difficulties.

When we waged the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle before, those who did not have a deep grasp of the revolution wavered whenever they encountered difficulties. Eventually, they went so far as to abandon the revolutionary ranks. But those with a clear idea of the revolution firmly believed in the inevitable downfall of Japanese imperialism. They thought that Japanese imperialism was bound to meet its doom sooner or later, and that their own struggle would be decisive in bringing about this fall. Because we firmly believed that our cause was not cnly just but would inevitably end in victory, we bravely fought it out, enduring all hardships. Thus, we who untiringly waged a struggle along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism emerged victorious in the end.

Our leading personnel in the rural economy, too, should now make a thorough study of our Party's agricultural policies which represent the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country, and should actively strive to carry them out, if they want to build socialism successfully in the countryside. Thus, the most important quality of Communists is to know the Party's policies profoundly and to make persistent endeavours to carry them out.

Second, the communist traits of our leading personnel as revolutionaries should be manifested in going among the masses, delving into reality at all times.

To know people, you should go among them; to know machines, you should go to the place where machines are; to know soil, you should dig in the ground; and to know all about mountains, you should go to them.

Just sitting at our desks, divorced from the masses and from reality, we cannot see the strength of the masses nor can we understand what is actually taking place or why. Without knowing the strength of the masses and reality, we cannot make any

calculations or spot latent reserves or organize and mobilize the masses to carry out revolutionary tasks. After all, any undertaking that is not based on contact with the masses and knowledge of reality will be subjective. Therefore, he who has a subjective attitude towards his work cannot be a revolutionary.

We should always go among the masses and consult with them; we should make a deep study of reality and work out all our calculations in detail on the spot. To make a detailed calculation means working out a concrete plan of action. In the past our forefathers used the word "calculation" for planning. You can be successful in all work only when you go among the masses, coming in touch with the realities and mapping out a detailed plan of action suited to actual conditions.

Under socialism, literature and art, too, must be realistic. Novels, dramas and songs which are based on real-life facts gleaned from sharing the life of the masses, giving a good artistic portrayal of their psychology and actual life, convey lifelike impressions and conform to the feelings of the masses. Only these works have educational value. However, the music which a composer writes by himself, sitting at his desk, without seeing reality, cannot express in the least the true feelings of the masses. The masses, therefore, will not understand what that music wants to convey, though for all I know it may please the composer himself.

In the past there were no professional composers in the anti-Japanese guerrilla units; young combatants got together and composed music collectively. But the songs by them expressed the guerrillas' sentiments and stirred up courage in the people, because the masses themselves wrote those songs and they expressed their own sentiments truthfully.

And today, works based on a deep study of reality among the masses reflect real life truthfully and have gained the hearts of the people. The drama *Red Agitator* is an example of this. The comrades who act in it all went out to the countryside and shared the farm work and life of the peasants for as long as half a year. In this way, they made energetic efforts to cor-

rectly mirror rural life in their play, studying all aspects of the peasants' life in reality, which resulted in the success of this work. The comrades who played the roles of Li Sin Ja and the workteam leader in the drama lived with the real-life heroine and hero and learned their way of speaking and acting. That is why they could act in a lifelike manner on the stage without the least artificiality.

In contrast, the play *We Are Happy* portraying Comrade Kil Hwak Sil has some shortcomings, for it is inconsistent with reality. In this play, too, most of the actors and actresses performed their parts well, since they had made a profound and detailed study of the workers in real-life situations, working with them. Yet, some performers did not learn from reality and uttered only empty words contradicting actual facts. As a result, the play was not realistic though its material was originally good.

In work situations, too, a person who only talks empty words, divorced from the masses and from reality, cannot carry out his revolutionary task.

An emperor or a king of olden times or a provincial governor, a county chief or other high-ranking officials in the years of Japanese imperialist rule, did not go among the masses, and did not need to do so. They did not need the opinions of the masses. They always imposed their own subjective views on the masses, forcing them to do whatever they wanted, regardless of the consequences. That is why we say they were not faithful servants of the people but bureaucrats who gave orders.

Bureaucracy and revolution are incompatible. The revolution we are making is for the good of the masses and radically differs from the methods of the bureaucrats in the past who acted outrageously, blinded by their own self-interest. Only when one carries on revolutionary work for the masses, can he realize his own hopes, too. Personal interests find their most thorough and concrete safeguards only in a revolution for the sake of the masses. To work for the masses, therefore, is also to work for oneself.

For our revolutionary work to really serve the masses, our leading functionaries should always go among the masses, consult with them to solve all matters, clearly explaining everything, deriving strength and wisdom from them. At the same time, they should spot the needs and problems of the masses and solve them promptly.

We should always identify ourselves with the masses in life and struggle, and base ourselves on reality, breathing the same air with them. This alone will enable us to tap the strength of the masses, acquire a deep grasp of the realities and also gain confidence for the correct performance of our revolutionary tasks. Only by going among the masses and basing ourselves on reality, is it possible to get acquainted with all problems opportunely and settle them correctly.

In mapping out the Party's policy, too, we should not do it in a subjective way but on the basis of a correct analysis of the realities and an accurate study of the thinking of the masses. Only then will the Party's policy become the masses' own and display a great vitality. The agrarian reform in our country is a good illustration of the great vitality the Party's policy has when it clearly reflects the needs of the masses and the realities. When we enforced the agrarian reform, many opposed it and the reactionaries raised a storm. Moreover, land tenure relations were very intricate. Some tenanted other people's land and rented out their own land; some tilled part of their own land and rented out the remaining part to others. Thus, it was important for us to draft an Agrarian Reform Law which would take into full account all these conditions. In order to correctly solve this complex problem, we personally went to the farm villages. We talked and consulted with the peasants, sharing their life for more than a month. Because we went among the masses and consulted with them, we were able to draw up correct solutions for all problems, deciding, for instance, that it would be right to dispose of this kind of land in this way and that kind of land in that way, and what amount of land should be confiscated As a result, we were able to actively elicit the revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasant masses to enforce the agrarian reform and

successfully carry out the complicated and difficult first democratic reform.

When it organized the agricultural co-operatives, the Party also based itself on the specific realities of our countryside and firmly relied on the strength of the masses. When we began to organize agricultural co-operatives tentatively and in a gradual way, we sincerely discussed it with the masses and mobilized their strength. By so doing, we could also successfully complete the difficult task of the agricultural co-operative movement within a short period of time.

The same is true in working out plans. Only by going among the masses, consulting with them and making a detailed study of the realities is it possible to draw up realistic and dynamic plans and successfully carry them out.

An iron rule in all our work should be to go among the masses and delve into reality. This is one of the most important traits necessary for those who work in a revolutionary way.

However, you have not gone among the masses nor have you approached realities, which is a big defect in your style of work. You give all the work to the lower units in a subjective way without going among the masses or knowing reality. This is sheer bureaucracy.

Bureaucracy and subjectivism always go hand in hand. One who works in a subjective and bureaucratic way is liable to commit errors and is bound to meet failure in his work because he is ignorant of the desires of the masses and the realities.

I know all of you make field trips now, because our Party demands that all our leading functionaries approach reality as called for by the Chongsan-*ri* method. Yet, though you go out to different places of work, you neither talk with the masses nor study their realities. You merely move about like a taskmaster without any purpose. This is not an attitude of going among the masses and delving into realities. If you do this, you cannot get yourselves acquainted with the land, machines and people nor can you mobilize the masses and solve problems

arising on the spot. Field trips, therefore, do not necessarily represent on-the-spot guidance.

Going among the masses in the true sense means consulting with them about all work, teaching them, learning from them, raising the laggards to the level of those who are advanced and organizing and mobilizing all their forces to carry out revolutionary tasks. Approaching reality in the true sense of the word means seeing personally, with your own eyes, all the means of production, such as land, farm machines, draught animals, fertilizers and seeds, making concrete calculations, laying down a correct policy to suit actual conditions and untying knotty problems right on the spot.

However, you just remain seated at your desks or, when you do go out to the work sites, you merely walk around without talking to the masses and studying reality. If you do this, you can neither map out a correct plan nor find the proper way of pushing the work ahead. One who confines himself to his office instead of going out to the scenes of work where real struggle is going on or one who merely travels without talking to the struggling masses, is a person who lacks enthusiasm to make the revolution and has no business being a leader. Even when a factory is brand-new, we immediately go out to see it, not because we do not believe in the personnel concerned but because we can get a deep understanding of everything only by seeing it directly with our own eyes and by talking with the masses. Only on this basis, can we formulate a correct policy.

Leading functionaries should always go among the masses to tap their strength and wisdom, make a concrete study of the realities, calculate everything scrupulously, and learn to turn all reserves and possibilities to account. Only then can we say that they have acquired the traits of a revolutionary capable of promoting revolutionary work.

Third, the communist traits of leading officials as revolutionaries are manifested in the fact that they are always at the head of the masses in all undertakings and set examples for them.

We live, working and studying. Those in leadership should always be a model for the masses in all aspects of work, study and life.

Unless the cadres themselves set an example for everyone else, they cannot make a strong demand upon the masses. Some county Party committee chairmen frequently find fault with the work style of their subordinates while they themselves do not follow the Chongsan-*ri* method in their work. This is not the way to educate their subordinates.

The behaviour of cadres should be like that of parents at home. If father and mother behave in an exemplary way at home, their children, too, will conduct themselves well, following their parents' example. If parents conduct themselves badly, their children will naturally follow suit. Similarly, the examples set by our leadership functionaries will greatly influence their subordinates' work.

So, it is of utmost importance for those in leadership to be models and personally set an example always and in everything. To set an example personally means to act in a model way.

In the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army the cadres used to set examples personally in everything. When fighting the enemy, the commanders always took the lead in assaults and brought up the rear in retreats. When a company retreated, the company commander ordered a platoon leader to lead the unit in some direction, and then he and the deputy company commander for political affairs took up position in the rear, beating off the pursuing enemy. This was an iron rule in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army.

The commanders of our Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army were always the first to face danger and assume difficult tasks. Revolutionary work is in itself arduous and dangerous work. The noble character of revolutionaries finds its expression precisely in this self-sacrificing and courageous struggle in the face of danger. Only those who personally set an example in difficult and dangerous work can become excellent commanders trusted by the masses.

In military training, too, the commanders of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army set an example by firing first and letting the men shoot later. The commanders could thus furnish an example because of their good marksmanship acquired by working harder than the ordinary guerrillas.

In an agricultural co-operative, too, our management cadres should take the lead in all work. When transplanting rice-seedlings, the chairman of the management board should be the first to go into the paddyfield to see if it is good for bedding them out and should personally plant them. Only then will the masses readily answer his call, "Let's all go out to work. The time has come to plant rice-seedlings." Only when a functionary works in this way can we call him a revolutionary loyal to the people, and not a bureaucrat.

Some leading functionaries try to make revolution in word only without setting an example themselves. You should carry on revolution by actual deeds, not by words. Old as we are now, we endeavour to set an example personally; but if young people drag behind the rest, how can they make revolution? The young should have a stronger spirit to set an example before anyone else.

Leading officials should take initiative in setting an example both in study and in learning techniques. Some comrades urge only their subordinates to study while they themselves do not do so. This is not correct.

Leading functionaries should also be a model in their daily life. Those who lead the masses should be ahead of others and set examples for them in the economization of materials, in hygienic and cultural work and in the struggle to establish a sound way of life.

Some comrades criticize others for drinking while they themselves continue to drink. If they do this, their subordinates will not pay attention to them. To criticize others for their immorality and idleness, one must lead a steady life himself.

When we say that our leading functionaries should be ahead of the masses in labour, we do not mean that they should work the same way the masses do. The management person-

nel of an agricultural co-operative must do the work of management and guidance well; they should not be mere co-operative members. At present, the number of man-days to be put in obligatorily by the management staffs of the agricultural co-operatives have been set at a proper rate.

Some management staffs of the agricultural co-operatives, however, do not participate in obligatory labour as prescribed. Management personnel should not make visits merely to give guidance while avoiding obligatory labour. Management staffs should participate in work both to set an example for the co-operative members and to personally experience the heavy work of the peasants and acquaint themselves with their hardships. Only by participating in this work will the management staffs keenly feel the need of freeing the peasants from heavy labour as soon as possible, and, accordingly, make more positive efforts for the technical revolution.

Only when our leading functionaries set an example in all aspects of labour, study and life in this way, will they earn the great confidence of the masses and be able to mobilize them to successfully carry out revolutionary tasks.

Fourth, the communist traits of a revolutionary should be manifested in an indomitable fighting spirit, struggling courageously without yielding to any difficulties, until victory is definitely won.

We will encounter difficulties in the course of our revolutionary activities. If everything goes smoothly, no one will complain that the revolution is difficult, and consequently it will not be so difficult to build a communist society, the ideal of all people. But those who are engaged in the revolution must not think that their aim can be attained so easily.

Leading officials should always foresee the difficulties that may arise in their work; they should prepare themselves ideologically to surmount these difficulties and should learn to bravely cut their way through whatever obstacles they may come across. When confronted by greater difficulties, the leadership cadres should show even more courage and should lead the masses with a sky-high spirit.

When a difficult situation is encountered in battle, every combatant turns to look at the face of his commander. If the latter shows signs of confusion at this juncture, failing to act to pull the men through the difficulties, the men will lose courage and waver. But, if the commander, not wavering in the least, shows firm determination and confidence in crushing the enemy, the combatants will unite firmly and fight more valiantly.

The temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War was a grim trial for our people. But our Party did not lose confidence in victory. Even in this difficult situation, our army and people kept up a brave struggle, confident in victory, because the Party led the people without hesitation. This made it possible for our People's Army, in co-ordination with the Chinese People's Volunteers, to immediately launch a counterattack against the enemy and make another victorious advance.

In some areas, however, many people fell victim to the enemy because the leadership cadres, flustered at the enemy offensive, failed to take measures to tide over the difficulties.

At that time our Party informed the entire people beforehand, over the radio, that though we were making a temporary retreat it would not be long before we would retake the offensive. The Party also gave exhaustive and concrete orientation concerning the retreat to the local cadres. Some functionaries, however, did not follow the Party's instructions and took flight; they were later captured and killed by the enemy

When the difficulties appeared, the leadership cadres should not have run away; they should have mobilized and organized the Party-cell chairmen and other core Party members and the people in general into ranks capable of fighting the enemy. If they had formed groups of 10 or more persons in each district during the retreat and had gone to the mountains, taking with them one or two *mal* of rice, a pot and an axe each, and had fought side by side with the retreating People's Army, everything would have gone well with them. If they did not know how to fight, they should have left off fighting, going about in

the mountains and waited for the People's Army to advance again.

The revolutionaries waged guerrilla warfare for 15 to 20 long years, moving about in the mountains, but they, unable to endure this life for mere 40 days, returned home only to be caught and killed by the wretched hounds of the "peace maintenance corps." These were regrettable incidents. Of course, many comrades shouted: "Long live the Party and the Government of the Republic!" when they died, and did not forsake their revolutionary principle. However, their deaths were unjustifiable because they could have survived. Their deaths were entirely due to the lack of revolutionary traits on the part of our leadership cadres.

In the course of our revolution there will be many turns and twists. Only those who keep up a courageous struggle, stopping at nothing along the road of the complex and arduous revolution can finally emerge victorious. We never shed tears nor were driven to despair by difficulties, although we cried when comrades who had fought by our side during the prolonged anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle fell. One who shows confusion or despairs because of difficulties cannot become a revolutionary. The more difficult the situation is, the more courage you should have and the more calmly you should work out a line of struggle.

The management staff of agricultural co-operative are cadres who have great responsibility in our countryside. It is of great importance that you all acquire a revolutionary spirit to brave difficulties in order to bring about a steady rise in agricultural production and to fortify revolutionary positions in the countryside.

Whatever difficulties may crop up, the management staffs of our agricultural co-operatives must not waver but take actions to overcome them through sincere discussion with the co-operative members. There will be no insurmountable difficulties if a correct line of struggle is mapped out and the management personnel show courage and give leadership by example to the co-operative members.

Fifth, an important manifestation of the communist traits of leadership functionaries as revolutionaries is that they always check their work and review it promptly. Only those functionaries who regularly review their work can become disciplined and methodical persons and always work with a fresh spirit.

Those who are engaged in the revolution should review and sum up their work every day; they can do so either before going to bed or during meals. Have I done all the work I should have done today? What haven't I done that should have been done, and why? Did I do anything wrong in today's work? Have I committed an impropriety in speech? Have I overdone anything? This is the way one should review one's work every day, every week and every month. Thus, one should acquire the spirit of boldly rectifying all shortcomings revealed and continuously developing one's strong points.

This kind of review can be made either by oneself or collectively at a meeting.

This meeting we are now holding is also aimed, in the last analysis, at correctly finding out the strong and weak points in our work and improving this work in the future. The management staffs of agricultural co-operatives, therefore, ought to have correctly picked out the merits and shortcomings in their own work and should have discussed them at this meeting.

Quite a few comrades, however, are not aware of the strong and weak points in their own work because they have not yet established the revolutionary habit of making a day-to-day review of their work. This means that many comrades still have a poor sense of responsibility for their work and lack the revolutionary zeal to improve it. To remain true to the revolution, we must acquire the habit of analysing our work regularly.

This, in general, is the revolutionary traits in work. All of you should have a sense of honour and responsibility for your work and make sincere efforts to acquire the communist traits required of a revolutionary.

2. ON IMPROVING THE GUIDANCE OF AGRICULTURE

Now I am going to speak about the work of guiding our agriculture.

Since I have already referred to the important problems raised in relation to guiding agriculture at another meeting, I will touch only upon some of these problems comprehensively at this meeting today.

First of all, the level of planning should be raised in the provincial people's committees, the city and county agricultural co-operative management committees and the agricultural co-operatives.

Planning is still poor in the management of our rural economy. At present the rate of utilization of land and machines is low and labour is not organized rationally; these are defects resulting mainly from poor planning. That is why great emphasis was laid on raising the level of planning at the recent plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee.

A plan must correspond to reality. If we draw up plans according to our subjective desires, disregarding realities, they will not work. We should first go into the realities and acquire a concrete knowledge of land, machines, draught animals, manpower and so forth, making a detailed calculation of all possibilities and, on this basis, formulate the plan.

Only this kind of plan can be a realistic one, capable of being carried out. It is a passive attitude to calculate only the previous year's results, saying that these are our real possibilities. Our realities change constantly and our productive forces grow year after year. Therefore, it is necessary to draw up positive plans by calculating all reserves and possibilities commensurate with the developing realities and productive forces. Only then will our plan not only be realistic, but also be able to play an active role.

Another important thing is to administer the land well.

The basic means of production in agriculture is land. Land is a prerequisite for mechanization and irrigation; without it machines and water will serve no purpose, however abundant they may be.

Our land is a precious asset of our people for their livelihood, an asset inherited from their ancestors. We have no other land than our 3,000 *ri*. We must turn this land to better account by administering and improving it properly. If we make the best use of our land, the entire Korean people can lead as affluent a life as we wish.

However, there still exist many practices by which land is used ineffectively or left idle. In some areas, houses and factories are built at random on the plains. According to the data collected by the departments concerned, Yonan County wasted 57 *chongbo* of land in 122 cases and Paechon County, 73 *chongbo* in 343 cases. In Ongjin County as much as 6,800 *pyong* of fertile land has been set aside allegedly to build a rice and flour mill, but it still lies idle with no construction work going on.

It is a common practice now to let the edges of the fields lie idle.

It is a very serious matter that such a practice still exists despite the fact that the Party has long since launched the slogan, "Let us not leave even an inch of land uncultivated!" We should immediately correct this defect.

Land should be positively improved, while eliminating its wastage. The county agricultural co-operative management committees should make an analysis of soil fertility and the composition of each layer. The agricultural co-operatives should have side and cross-sectional views of each plot of land and make models of the layers of each plot so that it can be observed directly in its natural state. And they should have a table of soil analysis for each plot of land. Projected land improvement should be carried out on the basis of these scientific data.

Efficient land improvement will put an end to sterile land. We have a time-honoured maxim that there is no bad land for

a good peasant, and this should be an important principle for our peasants today. It is necessary to remove moisture from the wet land by digging ditches, and to raise the humidity of dry land by irrigating it. Slacked lime should be applied to improve highly acid soil, and sterile land should be made fertile by abundant manuring and the spreading of new soil.

In addition, the work of readjustment of the fields should be done properly. A good readjustment of fields furnishes favourable conditions for mechanization and makes it possible to utilize the land more effectively. At present we do not farm on small plots as we did in the days of private peasant economy. Since all the rural economy has been co-operativized, we can readjust the divisions between fields as much as we want to by removing unnecessary ridges between paddyfields and between dry fields, thereby increasing the utilization rate of land remarkably.

Land development work should also be undertaken in those areas which have extra manpower, machines and so forth, simultaneously with both land improvement and land readjustment. But on the Ryongyon Farm and in some other areas, land has not been reclaimed though it could be done. This is incorrect. You should develop land wherever possible, after making a concrete calculation of the specific conditions of your province, county and agricultural co-operative.

Next in importance is to conserve the land well. To conserve land it is necessary to improve our rivers properly. Because you have not done so, much valuable land is washed away during every rainy season.

Stone walls and embankments should be built and ditches properly adjusted where needed to prevent the loss of even an inch of land.

In the rural economy irrigation should be stepped up. We have by now carried out a great deal of irrigation work for agriculture, but even with that, it still represents no more than the major portion of the total. We must complete our irrigation work by pushing it ahead more actively.

The principal defect in the irrigation work of South Hwang-

hae Province in the last period was to have started too many projects. One who begins projects and does not know how to finish them cannot be called a competent functionary. By nature, a revolutionary does not spread himself thin, but organizes the work according to his capabilities and finishes one thing at a time.

Whatever you do, you should finish projects one by one. Communists should do this when they fight the enemy and when they struggle with nature.

Last year alone, however, you started as many as 189 projects without correctly reckoning your own ability. As a result, 128 projects still remain unfinished. It is said that at present the irrigation system covers 183,000 *chongbo* of rice paddies and dry fields in South Hwanghae Province as a whole, but the actual figure is no more than 122,000 *chongbo*, because you have also counted the unfinished projects. You should not disperse your resources in an attempt to complete the 128 unfinished projects at the same time, but concentrate them on a few projects and, when these are completed, finish the rest, one by one.

It is very important to manage well and to effectively use our existing irrigation facilities, as it is also important to build new ones. At present, however, a big defect is that our existing irrigation facilities are not repaired or improved properly and the river-dykes are not well protected. In some areas not only are irrigation facilities in disrepair, but even the turf that covered the river-dykes has been dug up and carted away in order, they say, to carpet the fields with new soil. This grave error would not have taken place if our leading agricultural functionaries had paid some attention to the administration of the irrigation facilities. They should pay great attention to the improvement and repair of our irrigation facilities and to a better utilization of them.

Furthermore, the work of water control should be conducted well. Water control holds a very important place in the organization of production in the rural economy. Nevertheless, you have failed to conduct water control properly. While crops

do not grow well for lack of water in one place, water is wasted in another place. It is necessary to take thoroughgoing measures against the wasting of water, to constantly explore water sources and establish the principle of using the same water more than once.

Next, the mechanization of agriculture should be stepped up more vigorously. To raise the level of agricultural mechanization, it is necessary, first of all, to increase the number of tractors and trucks. It is impossible to supply more than 200 tractors and trucks to South Hwanghae Province before the ploughing season this year, but it will be provided with more tractors and trucks in the second half of the year to ensure good farming next year.

It is of no use to simply have a large number of farm machines. What is important is to raise their operation rate and utilize them more effectively. In South Hwanghae Province the operation rate of tractors was no more than 73 per cent last year. This means that an average of 270 tractors stood idle every day in the province. This is the same as saying that the farm machine stations of three counties did no work for one year.

The operation rate of tractors should be raised radically. For this purpose, it is necessary to secure enough spare parts for *three months'* use and to establish a strict system of checking and repairing tractors in good time, in accordance with the decision of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee. In regard to the reserves of spare parts for tractors in South Hwanghae Province, I see that only 213 kinds of the 386 required have been secured, and no more than 22,000 pieces, or 3.8 per cent, of the required number of 582,000, are kept in store. The Ministry of Agriculture should rapidly take measures to solve this problem: the provincial Party committee, too, should direct its concern to this matter.

The farm-machine repair stations should improve the repair and maintenance of tractors so that ploughing can be ensured on time. Production of various kinds of trailer machines should be increased, in order to raise the utilization rate of our tractors.

Machines should be used to plant and weed; some rice fields should be harvested with the help of machines and thrashing should also be mechanized. Although it is impossible to mechanize the planting of all dry field crops this year, you should now make definite preparations for doing so next year. Only by increasing the mechanization of agriculture is it possible to relieve the peasants from heavy work and guarantee an all-round development of agricultural production by transferring the labour force released through mechanization to those branches where mechanization has not yet been introduced.

Along with up-to-date farm machines, animal-drawn farm machines and all types of medium and small farm implements should be used effectively. In our country, farming cannot be done with large-sized machines alone because intensive methods are employed in farming and, especially because there are many slopes and rice paddies. There is no other way but to use medium- and small-sized farm implements in the mountainous areas until farm machines suitable for mountain slopes are manufactured in the future. With rice-transplanting still not mechanized and with inter-cropping and mixed cropping widespread, we must use animal-drawn weeders and other medium and small farm implements. Oxcarts should also be used widely for cartage until the problem of fuel is solved completely.

It is therefore wrong to abandon oxcarts and fail to provide sufficient medium and small farm implements on the pretext that the number of tractors and trucks is increasing. It is said that in certain places oxcarts are not purchased because more trucks and tractors are being supplied This is a gross mistake. In Chaeryong County, each agricultural co-operative has only seven oxcarts but an average of 70 head of oxen. This means only one cart for every ten oxen. Sohae-*ri* in Ongjin County has 88 head of oxen, but only 33 oxcarts and 23 cultivators. The amount of farm implements secured by workteam No 6 of Obong-*ri*, Kangryong County, covered only 24 per cent of their needs in oxcarts, 29 per cent in manure-forks and 41 per cent in rakes.

The following table shows the result of an investigation of the farm implements in possession of workteam No. 15 of Sowon-*ri*, Pyoksong County:

Farm implements	Number needed	Number secured	Broken	Fit to use	Remarks
Hori ploughs	8	6	4	2	
Harrows	9	9	6	3	
Manual weeders	21	21	3	18	
Improved small hoes	25	19	18	1	
Rakes	48	39	23	16	
Hoes	28	16	12	4	
Cultivators	2	—	—	—	

These examples of a few agricultural co-operatives show that medium and small farm implements are very much neglected. This is a very serious mistake. The need for securing an adequate number of medium and small farm implements was already pointed out in strong terms in the course of our guidance of Chongsan-*ri* in 1960. However, it seems that the Chongsan-*ri* spirit has been clean forgotten today, two years later.

Without medium and small farm implements, we cannot farm. You should take into consideration more adequately the actual conditions of our country. If you think it still necessary to use draught animals and medium and small farm implements you should not rely on large farm machines alone, but should naturally see to it that medium and small ones are available.

One of the important tasks in the management of the rural economy is to create a source of manure. At present, this work has been very inadequate in our agricultural co-operatives. Good land and good machines alone are not enough to bring about high yields. True, they are necessary for good farming,

but it is also important to have abundant fertilizer, which will make even poor land yield a rich harvest. Therefore, a more active struggle should be waged to secure sources of manure.

It is necessary, above all, to make energetic endeavours to see that there is no peasant household without livestock. Therefore, we should launch a campaign for every peasant household to raise two hogs. Hog raising is very important not only for producing meat but also as a source of manure.

It is also of great importance in increasing the peasants' income. If a pig is worth 100 *won* on an average, two pigs will be worth 200 *won*. This is a big income. If fabrics cost three *won* a metre, 200 *won* is enough to buy over 60 metres.

At present, however, the efforts have been unsatisfactory in South Hwanghae Province to see that there is no peasant household without livestock. The ratio of stockless peasant households is 24 per cent in the city of Haeju, 31 per cent in Pyoksong County, 41 per cent in Kangryong County, 36 per cent in Ongjin County, 22 per cent in Taetan County, 18 per cent in Changyon County, 42 per cent in Unryul County, 46 per cent in Unchon County, 49 per cent in Anak County, 40 per cent in Paechon County, 30 per cent in Yonan County and 41 per cent in Chongdan County. Of course, these percentages in themselves do not tell the whole story. It is impossible to ascertain from these figures whether peasant families have one or two hogs each.

At any rate, the existence of a large number of farm households without domestic animals means that you still have not made earnest efforts to produce manure. Our experience shows that 20 tons of manure can be obtained a year by mixing the dung of one pig with slacked lime or soil. Therefore, each farm household can produce as much as 40 tons of organic mineral fertilizer if it raises two hogs for the whole year. This is a big figure. We should let this fact known widely among our peasants and popularize these edifying experiences. We should see to it that there are no stockless peasant households in the near future.

Furthermore, in order to secure a source of manure in the

plains, peat should be rotted and used as manure even though it is also important to use it as fuel. Straw should not be used for other purposes but should be allowed to decompose and spread over the paddyfields. For more straw to be used as manure, we should make as fewer straw sacks as possible and build more tile-roofed houses so that straw may not be used for roofs. We should solve the fuel problem in order to prevent straw from being used as fuel. For this, it would be a good idea to set up firewood and coal stations, peat and coal mining stations in the local areas. Peat mining should be further developed and firewood or coal should be supplied by the state to the areas far from the mountains.

To produce plenty of manure, grass should be mown in large quantities. A vigorous grass-mowing drive should be launched in the summer, particularly in the mountain areas. We could apply large quantities of manure in South Pyongan Province last year because much grass was cut in the summer. Yet, in the summer when the grass is long, you do not do anything with it, but when winter sets in you proceed to cut grass, so it is only natural that things do not go well.

I think we should stop collecting silt and humus soil for the time being. Their sources have been exhausted because the river beds have been scraped for three years. It would be good to allow some time for them to corrode and only then begin gathering them again.

The province and the counties should always have a correct understanding of the state of manure production and control this sector. The management board chairmen who neglect grass mowing should be criticized and a positive effort should be made to publicize the examples of co-operative members who have been active in manure production.

Last year we criticized the functionaries in South Pyongan Province for their poor work in grass mowing. After the criticism their work improved. As I always say, criticism is like getting a person to wash his own face. When a child will not wash his face, his parents should do it for him even if he is unwilling.

When we made the functionaries of South Pyongan Province wash their faces last year, we thought that those in South Hwanghae Province would also be encouraged to wash their faces, but they were not. As a result, no improvement was made in that province, while things went well in South Pyongan Province. This year we have given advice in advance, so you should willingly and energetically push ahead with the work of grass cutting.

Manure production, too, will be successful if you work as persistently as Comrades Chon Pil Nyo and Li Sin Ja. There must be activists like them in every co-operative. There is no reason why there should not be such persons among hundreds and thousands of co-operative members. If the management personnel work well with the people, they will be able to ferret out these comrades. When the example of these activists is popularized, a great increase will definitely take place in manure production, too.

Chemical fertilizer should be used more effectively while manure is turned out in large quantities. At present, our country ranks rather high among the socialist countries in the amount of chemical fertilizer it applies. But although we apply a large amount of chemical fertilizer, our results are not as high as those of other countries Now that the county agricultural co-operative management committee has been organized, soil analysis and technical guidance should be conducted properly to make effective use of chemical fertilizer.

Furthermore, it is necessary to intensify our control over the consumption of electric power in the countryside.

Still now, there is not enough stress being put on the problem of economizing electric power in the field of agriculture, though this problem is being seriously discussed in the sphere of industry. Many agricultural co-operatives are still using 20-h.p. pumping machines where 10-h.p pumps will serve the purpose. Though electric power equivalent to 10 h.p is being wasted here, no one is feeling sorry for it. This is probably because there is no person responsible for the administration and control of electric power consumption in the countryside.

You keep on asking now for more high-voltage cables while at the same time you waste much electric power. Indeed, high-voltage cables should be laid in order to step up electrification on an extensive scale in the future. But under the present conditions it is not necessary. We should launch a vigorous campaign to make effective use of the existing transformers and electric motors and economize electric power. The county agricultural co-operative management committees should make a general examination of the use of power for our irrigation facilities and for farm machines, including thrashers, and strengthen control over power expenditure.

A mass drive should be launched to produce power locally by installing small dynamos wherever there is flowing water, in accordance with the decision of last year's December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee.

To proceed, our seed improvement work should also be stepped up.

Seed improvement is of great importance in raising the per-*chongbo* yield of grain. I have also heard, during my present visit to South Hwanghae Province, that improved seeds increase per-*chongbo* output markedly. With seed improvement plus proper introduction of cold-frame rice seedlings, grain output can be raised quite easily by several per cent. In order to strengthen the seed improvement work it is necessary to choose suitable places and carry on the work of seed production correctly.

Effective labour management is of great importance in running the rural economy. Labour management is one of the important tasks of the county agricultural co-operative management committee. The agricultural co-operatives should, first of all, organize and utilize the manpower of each workteam in a rational way. Each workteam should correctly understand the objectives of work and allocate its labour force accordingly. The physical strength of people, their sex, skills, etc., should be taken into account in the allocation of manpower. Men's jobs should not be assigned to women and vice versa. More often than not men loiter about with notebooks under their arms

with the excuse of being some sort of "leader" and hard jobs are assigned to women; a resolute struggle should be waged against this practice.

At the same time, we should continue to fight against the practice whereby some agricultural co-operatives disperse their labour force instead of concentrating their strength on farming. According to reports, there are still as many as 70 to 80 working people assigned to the stockbreeding team at a certain agricultural co-operative. At this rate, there can be no good results in farming. This is what happened before. Passing through Chongdan County, when rice-transplanting was at its height, I found there was such a shortage of labour that people were overworked on one hand, while, on the other, as many as 27 persons were engaged in tile-making. While always complaining to the centre about the labour shortage, you are still misusing labour in this way. Since farming is seasonal work which cannot be postponed, a more determined struggle should be waged against the practice of dispersing our labour force.

Management personnel should be barred from transferring the rural labour force at their discretion. No one is allowed, as in the case of the state labour force, to freely transfer the manpower of the agricultural co-operatives, once it is allocated. The chairman of a co-operative has no right to transfer the manpower of the workteams as he likes. If the manpower of a workteam is divided and diverted to different work, that workteam cannot do the job assigned to it. The co-operatives, therefore, should allocate manpower to the workteams after a careful examination and, once they have been allocated, should not move them to other jobs.

The labour force of the agricultural co-operatives should not be mobilized for construction or any other work. It will be possible to carry on housing construction in the countryside with the labour force of the rural construction corps in the future. Neither should the manpower of the workteam be used for non-farming tasks. The manpower section of the county agricultural co-operative management committee should as-

sume responsibility for this matter and strengthen its control over it.

Another important thing in labour management is to establish strict labour administrative discipline at the agricultural co-operatives. It is necessary, first of all, to properly conduct the work of fixing work norms. Only then can the socialist principle of distribution be strictly observed. Each agricultural co-operative should correctly fix work norms and establish rigid discipline in putting them into practice.

Furthermore, the democratic principle of management should be thoroughly observed at the agricultural co-operatives. The management board of an agricultural co-operative should inform the co-operative members of all matters and hold discussions with them. All the co-operative members should be informed of the monthly outlay of funds and seeds, and all the problems arising in running the co-operative must be dealt with according to democratic principles of management. The county agricultural co-operative management committee should exercise control over each agricultural co-operative so that it will strictly abide by these principles.

The agricultural co-operative management board should not keep possession of any grain, except seed and fodder grain. It must not dispose of even a gramme of rice at will. A co-operative chairman is authorized to direct farming, but he has no right to dispose of rice at his discretion. The general meeting of the co-operative membership alone has the right to dispose of rice.

The peasants now produce grain and set aside what they need for provisions, and they are willing to sell the remainder to the state. However, there have been many cases of management personnel who have intervened and disposed of the grain at will, without delivering it to the state or distributing it to the co-operative members. We should wage a relentless struggle against this practice. Co-operative members should set aside grain for food and sell the remainder to the state.

At the agricultural co-operatives, an end must be put to the practice of putting grain under the heading of seed grain, not

delivering it to the state, and disposing of it illicitly. It seems advisable to establish in the future a system under which the state will select good seeds, sterilize and store them and then distribute them. The Party organizations and the leading workers in agriculture should exercise rigid control over the management boards of agricultural co-operatives to prevent them from freely disposing of grain.

The provincial people's committee and the county agricultural co-operative management committees should direct all their efforts to farming. Since the county agricultural co-operative management committees are starting their work from scratch, it is necessary for them to establish the work style of going out and giving on-the-spot guidance right from the start. Because agriculture is also a technical process, the county agricultural co-operative management committees should give technical guidance to the farm work of the co-operative and provide responsible guidance in all processes of production.

The immediate task now confronting the workers in the field of agriculture is to concentrate all forces of the co-operatives on preparations for farming, such as spreading new soil over the fields, carting out manure, selecting seeds, preparing rice-seedling beds and repairing tractors and farm machines. At the same time, all available forces in the province should be mobilized to help farm work. In the summer, government employees and local industrial workers in the province should also be mobilized for farm work.

The Party organizations and the leading workers in agriculture in South Hwanghae Province should consolidate the successes they have already made and help the backward agricultural co-operatives, thereby raising all the co-operatives to the level of the advanced ones as soon as possible. Thus, victory should be won in the movement for the creation of "100,000-ton counties," "70,000-ton counties," "50,000-ton counties," and "30,000-ton counties" in grain production.

Yonan County has been striving to become a "100,000-ton county" for three years now; it should attain this goal without

fail this year. Paechon County, too, should energetically strive to win the honour of a "100,000-ton county" this year.

Comrades, today almost all the peasants in South Hwanghae Province eat rice. Factory and office workers, however, still eat rice and corn meal—half and half—for their meals. We are going to make sure that everyone can live on rice in the next few years. Therefore, we must increase the per-*chongbo* yields in the existing rice paddies and also plant more dry land rice for next year by securing a sufficient amount of seed this year. Only when we produce more rice so that all people live on it, will we be able to say that our living standards are high.

In conclusion, I would like to express my confidence that all Party members, co-operative members, Democratic Youth League members, tractor drivers, technicians in the countryside and all the management personnel of the agricultural co-operatives in the province will successfully fulfil the tasks confronting the rural economy in South Hwanghae Province this year and contribute greatly to the development of agriculture in our country and improvement of the people's living standards by waging a devoted struggle to carry out our Party's agricultural policy.

ON IMPROVING AND STRENGTHENING ORGANIZATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE PARTY

Concluding Speech at the Third Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea
March 8, 1962

1. ON FURTHER STRENGTHENING PARTY WORK

At this plenary meeting we have had serious discussions about further strengthening Party work. We held many meetings and organized many short courses on this question.

Party work was one of the important questions dealt with at the Party Congress also. In the Fourth Party Congress document, we made an overall analysis and review of the achievements and experience in our Party work and clearly set forth the basic orientation and tasks for this work. We have accumulated a wealth of priceless experience in our Party work, which has attained a high level of development.

But we cannot rest on our laurels We are now facing vast and difficult revolutionary tasks. Further improvement and strengthening of Party work to fit this situation is an urgent problem for us. In particular, during the recent intensive guidance given by the Central Committee of the Party to the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee, we discovered a host of shortcomings still to be corrected in Party work.

Since you have made a detailed analysis of the important questions relating to Party work in the report and speeches of this plenary meeting, I should like to reemphasize only some of the essential questions.

As I have repeatedly pointed out, when we speak of Party work we mean to firmly build up and consolidate the Party, promote its steady growth and development, and correctly mobilize its organizations so that it may fully perform its militant functions as a Marxist-Leninist Party. In a word, Party work means to build up strong Party ranks and to guarantee the full exercise of the militant functions of the Party.

As Lenin and Stalin correctly defined it, a Marxist-Leninist Party is the advanced and organized detachment of the working class.

The working class vitally needs its vanguard detachment to lead and guide all the labouring classes in the fierce class struggle against the exploiting classes. Therefore, best elements of the working class, with a strong revolutionary spirit, a rich fighting experience and a high theoretical level, organize a fighting detachment to lead the class struggle and wage it more successfully. This detachment is the Party. If this vanguard detachment of the working class is to maintain its unity of thought, will and action and win the struggle against the enemy, all its members must be thoroughly organized on the basis of a single principle. This is why Lenin, when defining the organizational principles of the Party, stressed that everyone in the Party, no matter who he is, must be a member of a Party organization and must fulfil his duty as a Party member.

The Party is an organization made up of those from the frontranks of the working class. Therefore, if the Party is to be sound, each and every one of those composing it must be sound, and it is essential for all the Party members to act in accordance with the Party's organizational principles. The Party will become powerful and invincible and able to successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks confronting it when all its members become fully active in accordance with its organizational principles. Therefore we can say that the main facet of

Party work lies, above all, in leading the Party members so that they will be faithful to Party organizational life.

As you well know, a Party member must accept the Party Programme and Rules when joining a Party organization. Anyone desiring to join our Party can be admitted only after taking an oath that he will fulfil without fail, according to the Party Programme and Rules, the fighting tasks the Party organization assigns him The Party member belongs to the Party organization from the very day of admission and is required to fulfil the tasks it gives him.

The Party member's organizational life begins the moment he joins the Party organization. Organizational life in the Party means the Party members' activities in fulfilling the assignments the Party gives them It means the political life and revolutionary activities of the Party members. We always say that we should acquire the traits required of a revolutionary; and a revolutionary is not any special type. If a Party member, abiding by the Party Rules, efficiently carries out the revolutionary tasks the Party assigns, we can say he has fulfilled the duties of a revolutionary.

Our Party Rules clearly state the revolutionary tasks incumbent on the Party members. It would be a good idea for you to go through our Party Rules again and see what they say about the Party member's duties Our Party Rules define them as follows:

"a) A Party member shall actively fight for the reunification of our country and the construction of socialism and communism, and firmly defend our socialist homeland;

"b) A Party member shall profoundly study and grasp the Party's revolutionary traditions, carry them forward and develop them, firmly arm himself with our Party's ideology, rally closely around the Party Central Committee and firmly defend it, fight resolutely against factionalism, parochialism and nepotism and safeguard Party unity and solidarity;

"c) A Party member shall be boundlessly loyal to the Party, unconditionally accept and thoroughly defend the Party line and its policies and correctly carry them out...."

Besides, the Party Rules present all the standards that a Party member must invariably observe, namely, to raise his political level, improve his practical ability and arm himself with Marxist-Leninist theory, to strengthen his ties with the masses, to be an example to them, to constantly temper his Party spirit, place the interests of the Party above his personal interests, and so forth.

Thus, the Party Rules clearly set forth how and for what revolutionary tasks a Party member should fight. Therefore, if a Party member wants to know how to wage struggles, he must study the Party Rules. If he simply carries out in a scrupulous manner all the tasks stipulated in the Party Rules, he will be a fine revolutionary.

If all Party members fulfil their duties clarified in the Rules, the Party can become a most powerful and revolutionary party and make great successes in carrying out the revolutionary tasks.

Therefore, the most important thing in Party work is to lead the Party members to live their Party life in accordance with the Party Rules. There is nothing mysterious about this. Everything will run smoothly if Party members are induced to act according to the Party Rules.

A Party member develops his Party life within the Party organization. All Party members, without exception, belong to cells, the basic organizations of the Party, where they have their Party organizational life; some of them concurrently belong to Party committees and develop part of their Party organizational life there. A member of a *ri* Party committee, for example, has his organizational life in the cell or sub-cell to which he belongs and, at the same time, also receives definite assignments from the *ri* Party committee and has an organizational life there. Therefore, it is important to properly encourage the activities of the cells to which all the Party members belong and the Party committees to which some of them concurrently belong in order to guarantee a proper Party organizational life for the Party members.

We can say that inner-Party work boils down, after all, to

work with the Party members, cadres, and the Party cells and committees. When the Party cells and committees are all properly composed, when they all carry out their Party functions to the fullest and when all the Party members become fully active, the whole Party will become strong and the Party will be able to successfully play its vanguard role in the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks.

As you all know, our Party, as a party in power, shoulders all the responsibilities of the revolutionary work in our country and has its forces posted all over the country.

Our Party cells are organized everywhere—in factories, mines, farming and fishing villages, army units, schools, public health establishments, cultural institutions, and so forth. The Cabinet, ministries, people's committees, economic commissions and other state bodies have their own respective Party organizations—the Party committees and cells. Where there are the masses, there are Party members, and where there are Party members, Party organizations always exist.

It is therefore obvious that when the Party cells and Party committees satisfactorily function everywhere the Party members and the masses at every post of the revolutionary front will become fully activated and will successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks the Party assigns them.

If Party cells operate efficiently in the army units, the combat power of the army will grow and the army will become proficient in battle. If Party cells work properly in the farm villages, the farmers will be more awakened and farm work will proceed successfully. If Party cells work well in the factories, the workers will increase their production zeal and the production assignments will be fulfilled successfully. If Party cells are strengthened among the writers and artists, they will produce fine works and literature and art will advance rapidly. To put it briefly, if the Party organizations work well and the Party members are fully aroused to action, Party work will go smoothly, and if Party work proves successful, everything will go smoothly.

The Party is the General Staff of the revolution. Doing

Party work well means doing the work of the General Staff of the revolution well.

Lenin said that the Party is the highest form of organization of the working class. To carry out the revolution, the working class has people's committees and other state bodies at all levels and such working people's organizations as the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union. And the Party is the highest of all these working-class organizations and the General Staff which leads and spurs all these organizations into action.

You say: "The Party is the leading force and the General Staff of our people." In this case, the term general staff never means only the Party Central Committee. All Party organizations play the role of a general staff in their respective spheres. And the Party organizations and Party members are everywhere. Therefore, if Party work is conducted efficiently, the work of the general staff will be smooth in all fields, and all Party organizations and members will be able to play their role with credit, and all the working-class organizations and the working masses will become active. Thus everything will work out well and brilliant successes will be achieved everywhere.

Now, what do we need to do Party work well?

The work of organizing and leading Party members to fulfil their duties to the Party satisfactorily is most important. If all the members of a Party cell carry out their Party assignments well, the cell will be able to play its role splendidly; if the members of a Party committee do well in fulfilling their assignments, the committee's work will be successful.

But it is by no means easy to induce Party members to carry out their duties satisfactorily.

Although the Party is an organization of advanced elements, it is made up of different kinds of people. Some have a high revolutionary consciousness while others have a rather low one, and some are more efficient while others are less efficient. And some are hot-tempered and fast to act while others are slow. Constant work with Party members is necessary to

make these diverse elements join forces and wage a successful struggle for the common goal.

Party members should frequently get together to hold meetings and criticize one another; they should help those who are lagging behind to move forward, explain things clearly to people with less knowledge, and turn lazy people into diligent ones. Doing this all Party members should guarantee a unity of thought, will and action. A Party member should report to the Party organization on his fulfilment of the tasks it has assigned him and receive new assignments, exchange experience with others and take measures to improve his work.

Who then is to take charge of such work? The cells and committees do it. They should do their organizational work to *make sure that the Party members always receive and carry* out Party assignments, and to give them new assignments, lead and help them to fulfil the assignments.

Thus, a Party member receives Party assignments from the Party organization, reports on the result of their fulfilment, receives new assignments and fulfils them. Precisely this constitutes his organizational life.

People who are not yet well aware of all this think that Party member's organizational life is nothing more than getting together for meetings, and that aside from that there is no organizational life This is wrong. Mere discussion meetings about work do not bring the solution to all the problems relating to Party work. A Party member can be said to have fulfilled his revolutionary tasks and acquitted himself faithfully in his organizational life only when he has taken part in the discussion of affairs at meetings, received new orientations and tasks, and carried them out. Therefore, the important thing in organizational life is the correct fulfilment of Party assignments by each Party member rather than the holding of meetings.

When Party members are meeting in conferences or when they are carrying out their assignments separately after the conferences, their Party organizational life goes on and they are under the leadership and control of the Party organization. The *Party cell should supervise, guide and control every Party mem-*

ber to make sure that he carries out his assignments properly from the standpoint of the Party; a Party committee should give constant leadership to its members in their work. A Party committee at a higher level should supervise the work of subordinate committees.

The Party cell looks after the activities of each Party member; the county or the factory Party committee, the activities of the Party cells; the provincial Party committee, those of the county and factory Party committees; and the Party Central Committee, those of the provincial Party committees; the Chairman and the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee are in charge of leading the whole Party and keeping it active.

Thus, the entire Party, from the Party Central Committee down to the Party members in each cell, is constantly on the move and keeps up Party work uninterruptedly.

In the final analysis, the criteria for judging whether or not Party work is conducted well can be found in how the Party organizations have been organized and whether or not the Party organizations and members work properly and carry out their Party assignments correctly.

On the basis of these criteria we find the Party work in South Hwanghae Province is not up to the mark. There, the Party committees have not been organized well, nor do they operate satisfactorily. Some Party committees have not even met regularly and, what is worse, have not even called Party meetings or summed up the results of their work for half a year or a year. In other words, the Party organizations have not functioned properly and have failed to play their militant role.

What departments are mainly responsible for the work of building up the Party and keeping it active? They are the organizational and propaganda-agitation departments, and particularly the organizational department is responsible for it. Success in Party work depends largely on the activities of the Party committee and its chairman, and particularly on the role of the organizational department of that committee. The poor results in Party work in South Hwanghae Province are attributa-

ble to the fact that there the Party committees and their chairmen have worked badly and particularly that the organizational and propaganda-agitation departments have failed to work properly. To improve the work of the Party's organizational and propaganda-agitation departments is very important in strengthening Party work.

The organizational department should give Party members constant leadership in their Party life. Otherwise, their organizational life will become lax and bad tendencies may emerge among them. Marxist dialectics tells us that everything changes. Our work also changes ceaselessly and so does people's consciousness. A person who was good yesterday may become bad today, and one who was courageous yesterday may turn into a coward today. To consider that a person who was good in the past can in no way change today is non-Marxist thinking. You should not take such an illusory view, even of the cadres.

Party members are all conscious people, but none of them can lay claim to absolute infallibility and perfection as a human being. Whoever neglects tireless self-improvement is liable to commit errors and go off course.

We are now engaged in a face-to-face struggle with U.S. imperialism. Capitalist influences can infiltrate from the outside. The U.S. imperialists are bent on vilifying communism, always threatening and exerting pressure by shouting that they will sweep away the Communists.

We also have many evil survivals of capitalism internally. Scum such as the overthrown landlords and capitalists still exist and the poisonous ideological influence they spread still persists. Outside pressures and the remaining hostile elements on the inside may join forces to bring about vacillation and give rise to conservatism and passivity, indolence and degeneration.

The air we breathe normally permits us to live in good health. But air contains dust and lots of harmful germs. If a person neglects hygiene and fails to keep himself clean at all times he may become soiled and infected with noxious germs. By taking good care of his health and actively steeling his body by

physical training, he can preserve his health without resorting to medicine.

No Party members or cadres will "fall ill" if the organizational department constantly educates and criticizes them lest they should become slack, and guides them to live their Party life along the right lines as required by the Party Rules. Giving timely criticism to a comrade going astray is like getting a comrade to wash his grimy face. If a man becomes very dirty, he may contract a disease.

An organizational department should strengthen the Party life of Party members and untiringly train them and the cadres through the practical struggle for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks, and thereby rear them to be true revolutionary fighters who wage an unyielding struggle for the Party and the revolution without vacillation no matter which way the wind may blow.

The organizational departments of the county and factory Party committees are required to study how the cells under them have been built up and how they are functioning.

Some cells are strong while others are weak. We must make the weak cells strong and thus see to it that all the cells carry out their functions satisfactorily. In the human body, for instance, if any of the cells weaken, a boil or inflammation develops there. Likewise, the Party can be sound only when its cells are strong. Therefore, the organizational departments of the county and factory Party committees should start with the work of building up the cells.

Measures should be taken for strengthening the Party cells on the basis of a clear understanding of whether the cells are composed of those who are qualified as Party members, whether they are formed by Party members who faithfully carry out their Party assignments, how many of the Party members possess a high degree of communist consciousness and strong revolutionary spirit, and whether there are nuclei who can manage the cells.

Particularly because our Party has developed rapidly into a mass political party, some of its members are still not fully

equipped with a communist consciousness and its members are at different ideological levels. It is therefore important to foster nuclei who are qualified to manage the operation of the cells The organizational departments should place Party forces in such a way that every cell has its nuclei who can lead it forward. It should continuously strive to train such nuclei.

While improving the cells' composition, the organizational departments should strive to put the life of the cells on a sound basis.

A healthy life for a cell means that it correctly fulfils its revolutionary tasks and that it satisfactorily conducts its inner work for its own consolidation. As the Party Rules also stipulate, the Party fights for the reunification of the country and for socialist construction. That is to say, the Party is carrying out revolutionary tasks. Therefore, if the life of a cell is to be sound, it is necessary first of all for the cell to carry out its revolutionary tasks properly In order to fulfil its economic tasks, it must have frequent discussions, give the Party members assignments and sum up the results of the work at the proper time. The cell is required not only to perform tasks related to economic and cultural construction but also to those of political struggle. It must likewise wage the class struggle against the reactionary classes, educate and transform the masses, and rally the masses around the Party. It follows that the organizational departments should supervise the cells in their endeavour to fulfil their economic tasks and organize their political life.

The cells must constantly strive to temper the Party spirit of the Party members and improve their level of political consciousness and practical ability. Organizational departments must ceaselessly check on the cells' conduct of criticism, ideological struggle and political education, and give them leadership

The life of a cell cannot be regarded as sound if it confines its struggle only to doing farm work well, while remaining indifferent to the struggle against the hostile classes, to expanding and consolidating Party ranks, to opposing the infiltration of reactionary ideology and to steeling the Party spirit of its mem-

bers. On the other hand, if a cell spends all its time discussing the problem of fighting against the reactionary classes, without carrying out the tasks of socialist construction, this cannot be regarded as a sound cell life either. And if a cell has neglected political study and communist education and has done little to consolidate Party ranks, although it holds many discussions on the problem of timely transplanting cold-frame rice seedlings and weeding well or the problem of isolating the landlord class and uniting the masses, this also means that its life is unsound.

The organizational departments should see to it that the cells promptly correct shortcomings and deviations manifested in their activities in order to put them on a sound basis, and should orient all the cells to carry out their revolutionary tasks, their inner-Party work and their mass work equally well without showing a bias to any one of them.

Also, the organizational departments should always study the composition and activities of the Party committees at all levels. The organizational department of a provincial Party committee should supervise the county and factory Party committees and the organizational department of a county Party committee should supervise the *ri* Party committees and the cell committees.

When the organizational department of a provincial Party committee, for instance, studies the make-up of a factory Party committee, it should ascertain whether the committee is composed of people fully capable of carrying out the factory's revolutionary tasks. It should inquire into whether the committee has cadres for ideological and technical matters, and how many people on it have a vigorous revolutionary spirit. If the committee lacks men with sufficient Party spirit and practical ability to organize and direct the implementation of the Party's policies correctly, then the committee has been badly selected.

At the same time, the organizational department should find out whether the committees are functioning properly. It should make an overall examination to ascertain how the committees have discussed their economic work, and the Party's organizational and ideological work, how they look after the

work of the Worker-Peasant Red Guards and how they struggle against reactionaries.

The South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee neglected all matters other than farm work such as planting 50 per cent of the rice paddies with cold-frame rice seedlings and striving for the application of 50 tons of compost per *chongbo*. This indicates that the provincial Party committee failed to carry out its functions properly.

The successful fulfilment of a Party committee's functions cannot be confined to holding a few meetings. The Party committee should take all its revolutionary tasks in hand and function as the general staff of the revolution by organizing and mobilizing all the revolutionary forces under its jurisdiction—Party organizations, Party members, state bodies and working people's organizations—for the implementation of Party policies.

The organizational departments of the provincial and county Party committees should regularly check on whether the Party committees under them are properly built up and whether they fully perform the functions of the general staff of the revolution in their respective units, and, on this basis, should guide the committees toward improving their composition and functioning better.

The Organizational Leadership Department of the Party Central Committee and its Vice-Chairman for organizational affairs should check on whether the provincial and county Party committees are built up and functioning properly, and give leadership in consolidating the ranks of the entire Party and keeping them active at all times.

*As you see, an organizational department directs the organi*zational life of the Party members and the activities of the Party organizations such as Party committees and Party cells. An organizational department may be regarded as a personnel department that constantly replenishes and consolidates Party ranks and as a department that guides Party life with the aim of strengthening it. Precisely because the work of this department went amiss in South Hwanghae Province, many shortcomings were manifested in the general work of the Party.

There, instead of doing its own work, the organizational department takes upon itself the work of the general affairs department or the documents department, concerning itself with manpower mobilization, supply of materials, arrangement for meetings, compilation of statistics, and so forth.

The people's committee has its statistical, planning and supply departments. Why, then, should the organizational department of the Party committee undertake such jobs? Why should the head of the organizational department always make a report in person?

Engrossed as it was only in unnecessary matters instead of doing its regular work, the organizational department failed to build up the Party ranks properly and discover opportunely those comrades who were suffering from ideological maladies. As a result, some comrades became so seriously ill that medicine alone could no longer cure them, and they had to undergo surgery. The sick cadres and Party members were not bad people from the outset. They were good people, but they drifted into errors and degenerated because of the lack of timely education and constant leadership.

Some people may fall ill even when the organizational department exerts efforts to work with the Party members and cadres properly. We should take preventive measures so that people do not contract diseases, but it is no less important to discover sick persons at an early date.

An organizational department must diagnose people often to see whether or not they have contracted some serious diseases. It should diagnose the case with precision to ascertain whether it is a skin disease or a respiratory problem. Medicine should be prescribed and administered in accordance with the diagnosis.

If the Party committee chairman or its organizational department head is likened to the doctor who discovers infected persons among the Party members and diagnoses their disease, a propaganda department can be likened to the pharmacist who dispenses medicine for the sick.

If a person appeared who was frightened of capitalism, it

would be necessary to bring home to him that capitalism is destined to fall. We should instil the revolutionary spirit of the working class into those who have contracted such serious diseases as conservatism, passivity, mystification and empiricism. Vitamin A should be given to those who have this deficiency and Vitamin B to those who have that deficiency. The Marxist-Leninist classics should be prescribed for those who need to read them and our Party documents should be recommended to those who do not know our Party's policies, decisions and directives, and literary works should be prescribed for those who need them. All these are the remedies for sick Party members.

The propaganda department, like the organizational department, deals with inner-Party work.

The first and foremost duty of a propaganda department is to educate Party members.

The propaganda department should not only prescribe medicine for those who have already contracted diseases but also supply prophylaxis and tonics so that the Party members do not become contaminated with bad ideas, and actively fulfil their revolutionary tasks at all times.

In political education, the Party's policies are also a tonic. Party members will be immune to bad ideas and remain sound in their Party life if they are all firmly armed with the Party's policies.

Education in Party policies is necessary for all Party members, without exception. Some may think that this is not necessary for the cadres because they are all highly qualified persons. That is a serious error. As you said in your speeches yesterday, among the cadres there are also many who have low political and theoretical levels. The cadres need more education. Cadres should have a deeper understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory and Party policies and equip themselves more firmly with communist ideas.

Some comrades seem to think that propaganda work is finished when they have made an agitation speech and shown a film. That is not propaganda, but agitational work. By Party propaganda work we mean educating the Party members in

Marxist-Leninist ideology and theory and arming them firmly with Party policies. The propaganda department must make this work its cardinal task.

The education of Party members should be conducted to fit the specific conditions. Educational work should always be in keeping with Party members' level of understanding and linked with their immediate revolutionary tasks, and it should be adapted to actual conditions in the local areas. It is no use cramming complicated theories into those who have just learned what revolution is. First teach them the simple truths that are familiar to them in their everyday life and then step by step move on to difficult subjects.

In educating Party members with a low level, for instance, you should start by explaining what social classes are, help them understand why the existence of classes gives rise to the class struggle and revolution, and bring home to them that what we are now engaged in is precisely revolutionary work and class struggle. In this way we should bring everyone to understand clearly what we are now fighting for and what the result will be.

Agitational work is another important task of the propaganda department.

Agitational work is done to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses and directly mobilize them to fulfil the revolutionary tasks. Agitational work must not be conducted in a humdrum way, but should be adapted to the time, the specific conditions and to the given revolutionary tasks.

To the soldiers who are making preparations for an assault, for instance, an agitator may tell how courageously Hero Li Su Bok fought for his country and his people, smote the enemy, and guaranteed his unit's victory. This will be highly conducive to arousing the men to a heroic struggle.

But should the agitator tell those preparing for an assault about quite irrelevant matters, such as the food situation in the rear, it would be out of place and prove quite ineffective. Agitational work should be conducted in keeping with rice transplanting in the transplanting season, or harvesting in the harvest

season, and suitable for the workers in the factories or the farmers in the rural areas.

Because our propaganda and agitational work is divorced from reality, it imposes an unnecessarily heavy burden on Party members. Lots of documents are sent down which the Party members are required to read and meetings are held frequently, but these documents and meetings have proved to be of little help in improving the Party members' consciousness and arousing them directly to the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks.

I have found in South Hwanghae Province that the propaganda-agitation department there thinks that it has fulfilled all its duties by conducting a bit of agitational work among the masses while ignoring educational work among Party members and cadres. Its agitational work has not been properly done either.

The propaganda-agitation department should educate the cadres and Party members so that they can analyse matters and solve problems in a Marxist-Leninist way, and should train them to be staunch revolutionaries who unfailingly carry out in any storm and stress the tasks that the Party assigns them. This is the propaganda department's most important duty.

What, then, are the duties of the Party's economic departments such as the heavy industry, light industry, fishing industry and agricultural departments?

The economic departments should also do Party work—work with people. They should work effectively with people in their respective spheres and thereby arouse the cadres and the masses to action for the implementation of Party policies.

Work with the cadres of the economic bodies is the primary task of the Party's economic departments

The educational department should work with the principals and teachers in schools, industrial departments with the managers, chief engineers and shop managers, and agricultural department with the chairmen of agricultural co-operatives and county management committees.

The economic departments should acquaint the cadres with Party policies, supervise, lead and help them in their imple-

mentation and sum up the results of their work in a timely way. The economic departments should continually educate the cadres in Marxism-Leninism and strive to improve their style and method of work.

Today, however, functionaries of the Party's economic departments, instead of doing Party work, that is, work with people, are going around with functionaries of the economic ministries and management bureaus, behaving like taskmasters. They go to factories not to talk with the managers and chief engineers and educate them, but to join the functionaries on administrative bodies in simply urging people forward.

Economic departments of the Party Central Committee themselves are taking administrative work upon themselves, instead of directing their main efforts to work with the cadres. It seems that lower bodies are also following this pattern.

Party departments should do Party work. The organizational and propaganda departments should conduct work with the Party functionaries and the economic departments with the cadres of economic bodies. In that way, the Party and economic functionaries in all bodies will be aroused to action.

Both the Party's organizational, propaganda and economic departments should mainly do Party work, regard work with the cadres as their primary task, and devote all their efforts to keeping the Party organizations and members active. This is precisely the crux of the problem that we want to solve at this plenary meeting.

Now, the question is how to do economic work. That is, how to guarantee economic work, if all the departments of the Party are to concentrate their efforts on Party work only.

I do not mean to say the Party should not engage in economic work. The provincial, county and all other Party committees should bear full responsibility for economic work. The factory Party committees should assume responsibility for production in the factories and the Party committees in the ministries for the work of the ministries.

We are now carrying out two revolutionary tasks: reunifying the country and building socialism. As is stipulated in the

Party Rules, the Party was organized for the fulfilment of these tasks. The Party is fighting for the fulfilment of these tasks; it is enhancing its militant role to assure the fulfilment of these tasks. In a word, the Party is an organization for carrying out the revolution—a detachment fighting for the fulfilment of the revolutionary tasks.

How, then, can the Party remain aloof from the work of economic construction? I do not mean to say that a Party committee chairman should occupy himself only with the organizational department.

How, then, should the Party cope with economic work?

The Party should guide economic work, but should not take it fully upon itself. The Party should mobilize the Party organizations and Party members in the economic spheres and give them leadership, thus guaranteeing economic work in such a way as required by the Party. As I have often mentioned, Party functionaries should assume the role of helmsmen in the fulfilment of economic tasks. They should handle the tiller at the stern so that the economic workers sail along the right course charted by the Party lines.

To handle the tiller astern does not mean to tail behind the administration. The Party committee chairman should be in the vanguard when needed. In the guerrilla units the political commissars in charge of political work were in the van when attacking and were the last to leave when retreating. Party functionaries likewise should always be the first to take the brunt of any situation.

The main thing for a Party functionary is to be at the helm whether he is in the front lines or in the rear. Party functionaries should always have a good grasp of Party policies, induce Party members and Party organizations to be active and lead people in the right direction.

Now, what should the Party functionaries bear in mind, before anything else, in exercising leadership at the helm?

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method inherent to the Party. The Party way of doing things means guaranteeing work by rousing the Party members, cadres, committees and cells to action.

In the army, a commanding officer may very well just give the command, "Forward!" No explanation is necessary here.

The Party functionaries, however, should indicate the objectives, patiently and in detail, and organize the work essential for securing them, rather than shouting a command. For this reason, to be a political commander is more difficult than to be a military commander.

If a battle is planned for tomorrow, for instance, the political workers and the chief of staff must spend the whole night preparing for the combat. The chief of staff must work out a detailed combat plan and give concrete missions to all the combatants. And the political workers should conduct necessary political work so that each man may fulfil his combat missions with credit.

In South Hwanghae Province everyone is acting like a military commander and no one is guaranteeing that the work gets done. No one is doing political work or staff officer's work. There are only those who shout the command, "Forward!" Mere orders will get you nowhere if you do not do the concrete work of organizing and mobilizing.

If compost has to be carried out to the fields, the Party organization should first explain the task clearly to the people, and then should mobilize the Party members and organize the work in detail to do the job.

The Party should guarantee this work politically and organizationally. A political worker must be good at doing this. He should mobilize people ideologically through explanation and persuasion, not by orders, and organize their struggle.

All the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee did in its leadership of agriculture was to join the administration in urging people forward, instead of politically guaranteeing the work of the provincial people's committee. The provincial Party and people's committee chairmen both took the lead,

instead of one standing at the rear and the other at the head; and one ordered people to the left, and the other to the right, thus making matters even worse.

Urging people forward in an administrative way is an outdated work method. A people's committee should not use the method of shouting commands either. The people's committee should guarantee the economic work materially and technically, while the Party guarantees it politically, organizationally and on Party lines.

Even in the army doing things by simply issuing commands is not necessarily desirable. There, too, the work should be guaranteed organizationally and technically. A military commander who does nothing but shout orders cannot command our army today. All this is a holdover from the past. No leadership work is conceivable apart from the work of ensuring appropriate conditions for success. Effective leadership requires this work in all fields.

Next, Party functionaries should guard against subjectivism in leadership work. The Party functionaries should look at things objectively, which means facing reality. This means going to the lower units and grasping the actual situation concretely.

Using an administrative style of work will keep you away from reality, out of contact with the masses and lead you to subjectivism.

Some of our functionaries are apt to look at things from only one side rather than from every angle. We should also guard against this in our leadership work. If you overstep your functions and substitute the administration, you will not get a comprehensive grasp of matters.

Administrative workers are apt to see things one-sidedly. The Party, therefore, should always guide them so that they will not go astray.

There are incorrect tendencies such as going too far to the left when right deviation has been criticized, and as getting scared and not properly doing what ought to be done when criticized for mistakes in work. You should not go to the ex-

treme of denying science on the excuse of opposing conservatism.

Deviations may also appear in the guidance of economic affairs. People may exhibit tendencies to keep away from economic work because they have been warned against the practice of taking economic work upon themselves.

Since the most important revolutionary task of the people in the northern half at present is socialist construction, what else are we to do but economic work? The point is that matters should be left to those who are administratively responsible in each field and that the Party should lead them and guarantee their work lest they go astray.

The Party should adequately guarantee the activities of the administrative workers through the Party members, Party organizations and mass organizations. This is the only way to exercise an effective Party leadership over economic work.

If Party functionaries go about only in the van together with the administrative functionaries, they may all stray from the right path and fall into subjectivism. In that case, there would be no one who could put things straight. This error should always be guarded against.

If the Party goes among the masses, acquaints itself with reality, gets a comprehensive grasp of things and gives good leadership, it will not commit errors of subjectivism or deviation, the practice of compromising with wrong tendencies will be eliminated, and everything will go smoothly in accord with the Party line.

The Party committees must control and lead work in an overall way. The provincial, city, county and factory Party executive committees should always discuss all questions arising in their respective fields, give Party leadership in these matters and guarantee their solution on Party lines. Therefore, we must eliminate administrative methods of leadership and prevent deviations and subjectivism.

2. ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Now I should like to say a few words about the need for properly conducting the class struggle in the countryside.

As everyone knows, the exploiting classes have already been overthrown in our countryside and the farmers have become the owners of the land, the masters of a socialist countryside free from all forms of oppression and exploitation. But this does not mean that the class struggle in the countryside is over and that vigilance against the insidious manoeuvres of the counterrevolutionaries in the rural areas may be relaxed. Though at present there are no exploiters, those who were exploiters in the past are still around, and some of them are still watching for a chance to destroy our system. A continued relentless struggle must be waged against these hostile elements.

Before, the landed class represented the most reactionary and wicked class in the rural areas of our country. Just read the novel *Land* and you will get a clear idea of how cruelly the landlords oppressed and exploited our peasants. In this respect, there was little difference between the big and small landlords; the latter was, in fact, no less cruel than the former in sweating the farmers. When carrying out the agrarian reform, therefore, we followed the policy whereby we defined as landlords all those who had owned land exceeding five *chongbo* and leased out their land for tenancy, and confiscated their estates.

A long time has passed since the landlords were liquidated as a class in our countryside. Yet, those who had been landlords are still around, and most of them are hostile to our Party and our people to this day, impatiently biding their time to regain their old positions. We can hardly expect those whose land has been confiscated to completely change their thinking and discard

their illusion about the restoration of the old system; there is little likelihood of their discarding it in their lifetime.

During the agrarian reform we expropriated the land of some 44,000 landlords, a considerable number. We did not hang or shoot the landlords, but only deprived them of their lands and transferred them to other places.

We were able to be so lenient because with power in the hands of the people it was fully possible to carry out the agrarian reform without hanging any landlords.

We were correct in having moved the landlords from their original places of residence to other localities. By so doing, we could thoroughly preclude the possibility of some unawakened peasants being sympathetic and respectful towards the landlords or being influenced by them. It was not a mere migration; we held them under strict control so that they might not do any mischief.

The war, however, confused the issue. It is generally known that during our temporary retreat the landlords carried out reactionary activities and served as flunkeys for the U.S. devils in many places; meanwhile, a considerable number of landlords, taking advantage of the confusion prevailing at the time, sneaked in among the peasants, using false names and pretending to be good men. Needless to say, some have been liquidated, others have made off to south Korea, and others have died of old age. Nevertheless, many of them are still lurking in various parts of the northern half, mostly in the countryside. Among them, for instance, there are many who have falsified their names from Chang so-and-so to Li so-and-so, who, actually being former landlords from Hoeryong County of North Hamgyong Province, are publicly passing themselves off as poor peasants from Kapsan County in Ryanggang Province, or who, though they really have their senses about them, are pretending to be congenital idiots.

Therefore, we must straighten out this confused situation properly and know exactly where and how the landlords are living and what they are up to. The former landlords are even now the prime target of struggle in our countryside. You must

not forget even for a moment that the landlords still have a bitter grudge against our Party and our system and are constantly racking their brains to figure out how to harm us and get back their confiscated land.

During our recent visit to South Hwanghae Province, we heard about a former landlord in Roam-*ri* village, Anak County, who had been lying low playing the fool, and suddenly came to life again during our retreat, made his public appearance in fine dress wearing a soft hat and carrying a walking stick, and proceeded to Changyon County where his forfeited estate was, strutting about shouting at people to return his land. There are innumerable instances similar to this in other places, too.

Those landlords, playing the fool in the countryside, lazy in work and trying to avoid attending meetings under the pretext of illness, getting along so so, are now dreaming of the day they will again come out carrying their walking sticks.

Some landlords pretend to work in the fields with other people in the daytime, but when night falls, they secretly listen to south Korean radio in a back room, and then circulate reactionary rumours among the farmers. These hostile people lurking about may raise their heads, particularly in these days, because the enemy has stepped up his anti-communist campaign, and also because the wind of revisionism is blowing in the socialist camp.

Comrades, anyone who believes that the landlords will not turn against us is really a simpleton. They say that even now in South Hwanghae Province landlords are walking about taking their sons or young grandsons by the hand to show them the confiscated lands one by one, saying: "Even after my death, you must remain here and take back this land by any means!" Anyone who knows the truth of the class struggle will never regard this as accidental. It is obvious that as long as the expropriated landlords remain alive, neither will their ambition die; it too will remain alive, even though they have been overthrown as a class.

Especially in view of the situation where our country is still divided and the U.S. bandits are entrenched in the southern

half, it is quite inconceivable that the minds of the former landlords will undergo a transformation so easily. Of course, when the country is reunified and the U.S. bandits are all driven out, the landlords might more or less abandon their hopes. But even then, the landlords might entertain the illusion that, by some chance, "God" will come down and restore the land to them. They might even present "Him" an offering, be it no more than a bowl of water, and offer prayers in their wild dream that their days of glory will return.

All this should allow us to clearly understand how bitterly the expropriated landlords feel and how deep is the hate they harbour against us. They believe that the landlords' days of glory could return sometime because there are landlords and capitalists in south Korea and, furthermore, U.S. troops are stationed there. They are therefore watching and biding their time day and night for a chance to revolt against us. You must be fully conscious of this fact and make it known to Party members and all the farmers, and by doing so lead the entire people to sharpen their vigilance against any hostile acts by the landlords. This is important.

There are some comrades who often show more vigilance against those once affiliated with the "peace maintenance corps" than against the former landlords. They are wrong to do so. Of course, those rich peasants who joined the "peace maintenance corps" and deliberately carried out reactionary activities and vicious atrocities, are, like the landlords, the objects of our dictatorship and our struggle. But there are a considerable number of middle and poor peasants, and even former hired farmhands, who were duped or bluffed into joining the "peace maintenance corps." Considering their class origin, these people can be won over to our side. Our Party does not regard people of these strata as objects of its struggle but rather as people who must be won over again by every means of education and persuasion.

If we cannot accept those who joined the "peace maintenance corps," ignorant of what was what and scared by the sudden appearance of the U.S. scoundrels, how can we, if we

are so narrow-minded, hope to win over the masses of the people in the southern half and achieve the cause of national reunification? In south Korea, at present, there are approximately 700,000 men in active service with the puppet army alone and, if those discharged after their tour of duty are added, the figure reaches several million. Lots of them might have fought against our People's Army on the battlefields. Yet, we cannot regard all of the puppet army soldiers, who are mostly of worker and farmer origin as enemies; on the contrary, we must work actively to bring all of them to the fold of the people, that is, win them over to our side.

We must bear in mind the fact that a complete victory in the Korean revolution is yet to be won and that the task of helping the south Korean people to accomplish the south Korean revolution and of reunifying the country still remains. The decisive factor in the accomplishment of this task is for the Party to win over the broad masses and accumulate the revolutionary forces. Only when we have isolated the handful of enemies and rallied the entire people in north and south Korea firmly around our Party, shall we be prepared at any time to meet the great event of national reunification and win final victory in the revolution.

It is precisely from this point of view that we should approach all sectors of the masses, forge unity with them, and strive to draw every last one of them to the side of the revolution.

And it is essential that we should invariably judge people from a class point of view and, basing ourselves firmly on the class line of the Party, draw a strict distinction between friend and foe. The enemies can be isolated and the largest possible number of people can be won over only when those against whom we struggle and those with whom we seek unity are correctly determined on the basis of a class analysis.

Why do we regard those people of poor or middle peasant origin who were drawn into the "peace maintenance corps" and stood guard a few times as people who can be welcomed back and must be won over? It is because, even though they have

committed serious errors due to their lack of political consciousness, they are working people as regards their class origin and they have benefited greatly from the revolution. Since they are people who had originally belonged to the main masses of our Party and were merely implicated in the counterrevolution for a time under enemy influence, they should not be tarred with the same brush as the enemy, but should be freed from enemy influence, turned onto the path of the revolution and thus won back to become part of the masses on which our Party is based. This is the right thing to do.

Why, then, do we consider it necessary to struggle against the former landlords and those rich farmers who were affiliated with the "peace maintenance corps" and perpetrated heinous atrocities? It is because they are of hostile class origin, and their estates have been expropriated or they have been hard hit by the revolution. Inasmuch as they purposely committed and are still committing counterrevolutionary acts with the backing of the U.S. devils and in the future will also come out against our Party and our system whenever they get a chance, it is natural and right to wage an uncompromising struggle against them.

As has been starkly revealed in South Hwanghae Province this time, there seems to me to be a general trend among Party organizations of not directing serious attention to the class struggle in the countryside. Work with the strata that must be welcomed back has not been conducted in depth, and, what is worse, the struggle against the hostile elements has been unsatisfactory. Even those former landlords who are openly spreading vicious rumours against us have been left untouched, and even such acts of going about marking off their expropriated land with stakes in the hope of taking it back have been tolerated. We have seen such non-class phenomena as farmers treating the landlords as "influential men" of the village instead of hating them, a Party functionary repairing a landlord's house, and so on. In a certain village there have even been cases of admitting unawares a disguised hostile element into the Party ranks or appointing one to a leading post in a co-operative. This clearly

shows that local Party functionaries have a very dull political eye with regard to the class struggle, and that the Party members and the farmers have a very low level of class consciousness.

The real situation now in each *ri* of the countryside is that no practical struggle has been organized against the hostile elements, and that includes the former landlords. If they conduct propaganda against us or commit hostile acts, you must arouse the masses of farmers for the struggle to expose and shatter their manoeuvres.

When we call for this kind of struggle, another deviation may appear. Criticized for the inadequate combat against the former landlords, in some parts of South Hwanghae Province they have brought out all the old records which had been stowed away for many years and are making a sudden fuss about fighting against the landlords, insisting that they are wicked. How can we expect these comrades to be able to do Party work and lead the class struggle when we see them making such a fuss all of a sudden, having so far connived at all the mischievous doings of the landlords in their belief that even landlords might be good people? All this can be ascribed to the fact that our Party functionaries lack revolutionary training and are not firmly armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the Party line.

It is not necessary now to do away with all the landlords whom we did not hang even when we expropriated their estates. The point is that the struggle against them should be correctly organized, that the farmers should be convinced to show no sympathy or respect for them, and that, when they commit reactionary crimes, they should be exposed by the masses and handed over to a judicial body to be dealt with as anyone else who is caught red-handed. No matter what a landlord may think inwardly or what attitude he might take at any future time, we ought not to touch him so long as he faithfully abides by our laws and remains obedient now.

Those who support what we are doing, and behave themselves correctly, recognizing their past landlordism as criminal,

had better be reformed; there is no need to unnecessarily harass such persons who, for the sake of the future of their children, are refraining from doing wrong. There are some cases where the sons and daughters of former landlords grow up, are good at their studies and work with devotion, and their parents are obliged to support our state power. In view of such experience, we should wait and see about such people for the present. And as for those who repent their mistakes and come over to our side, it is advisable that they should be strictly examined, carefully educated and transformed and taken along with us.

As you see, to organize and lead the class struggle is a very complex task requiring prudence. This work cannot proceed successfully if it is conducted in an administrative, stereotyped way or if it is guided carelessly according to the subjective judgments of a few persons, as is the case in a considerable number of local Party organizations. Also, this is not a task that may be cast aside after one or two days of work; it should be carried forward continuously, firmly and consistently.

The struggle against class enemies should become our constant political struggle, an all-people struggle directed by our Party organizations. Even though we hold power, it would be wrong to decide in one's mind that a certain fellow should be put in jail and try to make short work of the matter merely by issuing an official notice, without conducting political work to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. By this method we will achieve nothing in our struggle but instead may make a mess of our work.

Comrades, you must break this habit of trying to do revolutionary work the easy way and to guide the class struggle administratively. As you have become county Party committee chairmen without undergoing revolutionary trials, you often seek to deal with matters in a facile, administrative way. This is not the work method for revolutionaries. For Communists, politics means winning over people by persuasion, organizing and mobilizing the masses. The only way to win our struggle is by doing this well. If you had ever been a chairman of a county Party committee who has recruited Party members one by one

and united the masses over a period of 20 or 30 years of arduous revolutionary activities and, on this basis, personally built up a fighting unit as large as today's county Party organization, you would never have sought to direct the class struggle in an easy, administrative way, but would, as a matter of course, have led it in a revolutionary way as mentioned above.

When the Party Central Committee gave instructions last year to absolve those who had committed evil deeds in the past of their crimes and welcome them back more boldly, the Party organizations in South Hwanghae Province granted random absolution to thousands of people a day; and, to make matters worse, they began by absolving those hostile elements who could under no circumstances be forgiven, on the allegation that those who had committed minor crimes would feel relieved if the grave offenders were forgiven first. This is also a political error ascribable to the fact that the Party organizations simply sought to deal with revolutionary work administratively.

Who we had in mind when we gave the instructions for absolution were not those hostile elements of exploiting-class origin who had committed hideous barbarities, but those whose origin was that of working people and who once committed errors but later sincerely repented and strove to follow us. These are the very people that should be forgiven, so that they stop vacillating, throw off their depressed feeling, and follow us with firmer conviction and greater zeal, and that all the people are knit together in a more cheerful atmosphere and in greater amity. And only when these people are pardoned, will they decisively free themselves from the influence of the hostile elements and will the scoundrels be further isolated.

If good people are not absolved but are treated as offenders as ever, the scoundrels will sneak round brewing mischief. The story of the film *At a Village Near the Demarcation Line* shows this clearly: A spy disguised as a workteam leader is exposed while attempting to confuse an honest relative of a man who had gone to the south by saying, "What's the use of working hard?" It is our stand to actively accept and win over

the relatives of those who the U.S. scoundrels forcibly took away or deceived into going to the south during the war. To do this, we must boldly demonstrate trust in these people and lead them to put their faith in us, while preventing bad elements from exerting any influence on them.

In proposing to forgive people who took part briefly in counterrevolutionary activities in the past, we aim to isolate the wicked hostile elements completely, prevent them from encouraging vacillations among our people, unite the masses still more firmly around our Party, and, finally, intensify the class struggle. Nevertheless, the vicious elements, before anyone else, were all pardoned in a day in South Hwanghae Province. This is little short of giving up the class struggle. This only made the bad people rejoice secretly, just as if their day of glory had arrived, while the good people, forgiven simultaneously with such fellows, gained little encouragement. Moreover, it led to the paralysis of the fighting spirit of the main masses against the hostile elements, and even aroused indignation among some families whose relatives had been murdered by the enemy. This, of course, is a phenomenon which took place in some localities in South Hwanghae Province, but I think all Party organizations ought to learn serious lessons from it.

It is the spirit of the current plenary meeting to effect a switchover of Party work from doing things administratively to the revolutionary work methods of organizing and mobilizing the Party members and masses. These methods must also be definitely employed in leading the class struggle in the countryside. Scrupulous organization and vigorous promotion of the struggle against the class enemies by arousing the Party members and all the masses to activity is the key to the successful conduct of the complex class struggle.

The landlord's true class nature must be driven home to the Party members and the farm masses; the landlords' past crimes must be exposed before their eyes; and all the masses must be convinced to hate the enemy and constantly keep a highly vigilant eye on every movement of the hostile elements. If only you see to this, the bad elements in the rural areas will find them-

selves in a bind and our enemies will be bound hand and foot.

Bent on issuing administrative commands without conducting Party work, the South Hwanghae Provincial Party Committee also failed to give effective leadership in the class struggle in the countryside. This kind of shortcoming must be corrected, first of all, in South Hwanghae Province, and all the other provincial Party organizations should also learn a lesson from this and, in the future, skilfully conduct the class struggle in the countryside strictly in accordance with the revolutionary mass line.

The class relations and the orientation of the class struggle in our country at the present time are clearly stated in the Party documents that have already been issued. In particular, the decision of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee adopted on April 1, 1960 set forth the concrete policies of isolating the handful of enemies and rallying the masses of various strata still more closely around our Party. When all Party organizations thoroughly carry through these correct policies which are in keeping with our reality, I think whatever complex problems in the class struggle will be solved quite easily.

3. ON STRENGTHENING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM

Everyone knows that the Moscow Declaration adopted at the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 pointed out that modern revisionism is the main danger to the international communist movement.

Of late, revisionism has raised its head more overtly in various fields and is having a serious disintegrating effect on the ranks of the international communist movement.

Revisionism has not been in existence for only a day or two. It has quite a long history. The entire course of the emergence

the relatives of those who the U.S. scoundrels forcibly took away or deceived into going to the south during the war. To do this, we must boldly demonstrate trust in these people and lead them to put their faith in us, while preventing bad elements from exerting any influence on them.

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and development of Marxist-Leninist ideas is a history of struggle against Right and "Left" opportunist trends of all descriptions, against revisionism and dogmatism.

Revisionism came into being after the death of Marx and Engels, that is, between the late 19th century and the early 20th century, as an opportunist trend to revise the revolutionary essence of Marxism under the cloak of Marxism.

As the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class became sharper with the advent of the imperialist stage of capitalism, the monopoly capitalists, intensifying the suppression of the revolutionary labour movement, pursued the policy of bribing the upper stratum of labour and using them as their agents with the aim of splitting the labour movement and disrupting it from within. Thus, the degenerates and renegades of the revolutionary movement, sold out to the imperialist bourgeoisie, revised Marxism to please the capitalists. Hence, their opportunism came to be called revisionism.

The opportunist, revisionist trends in Europe were represented by the Bernstein school in Germany, the Millerand school in France, the Fabian Society in Britain, and the legal Marxists, economists and Mensheviks in Russia. Later, the parties of almost all countries under the Second International, except in Russia, slid into the slough of revisionism.

Only the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin put up an uncompromising struggle against all kinds of opportunist trends and upheld the revolutionary banner of Marxism to the end. At the time, the revisionists attacked Lenin as a dogmatist because of his refusal to revise Marxism.

Lenin's chief enemy in his struggle for the creation of a revolutionary Marxist Party was economism, a Russian variety of international revisionism. From the very first day that economism emerged in Russia, Lenin conducted a relentless struggle against this revisionist trend. He thoroughly exposed the anti-Marxist essence of economism in a booklet *A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats*.

Likewise, when the Party Programme and Rules were being adopted at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-

Democratic Labour Party in 1903, Lenin had to conduct a fierce struggle against the opportunists. The opportunists came out against the insertion of clauses concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasant question and the national question in the Party Programme. But, by virtue of Lenin's determined fight, the Party Congress succeeded in crushing the opposition of the opportunist elements and in adopting the first Marxist programme of the revolutionary workers' party.

The Mensheviks, who after 1903 formed an opportunist faction within the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, degenerated into a group of Liquidationists who insisted upon the liquidation of the illegal party during the period of reaction following the failure of the first Russian revolution.

When the First World War broke out, the parties of many countries under the Second International denied the imperialist nature of the war and called upon the workers of their countries to fight in "defence of their homeland" Thus, the Second International opportunists completely surrendered to the imperialist bourgeoisie and overtly turned into social-chauvinists.

Only the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin thoroughly exposed the imperialist nature of the war, opposed the workers of all countries killing one another in the interests of the imperialists, and launched the revolutionary slogan of converting the imperialist war into civil wars. Thus, under the leadership of the great Lenin, who upheld and further carried forward the banner of revolutionary Marxism, the October Socialist Revolution triumphed in Russia

Today, the revolutionary forces throughout the world have grown incomparably strong More than one-third of the world's population is building a new life of socialism. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, a powerful anti-imperialist, national-liberation movement is under way; within the imperialist countries the working class is stepping up its struggle against the domination of monopoly capital

In these circumstances, the imperialists are becoming more and more frantic. While intensifying the plunder and suppres-

imperialist aggression forever and allowing the traitors to the nation to exploit and oppress the south Korean workers and peasants.

Let certain people renounce Marxism-Leninism and take the revisionist path, but we cannot allow ourselves to waver and compromise with imperialism. There is a revolutionary song which says: "Let cowards flinch and traitors sneer. We'll keep the Red Flag flying here." This expresses our invariable determination. We must continue with the revolution and resolutely fight against imperialism to the end.

Our task cannot be confined to the safeguarding of the revolutionary gains already attained in the northern half. We are duty bound to help our fellow countrymen in south Korea to accomplish the south Korean revolution and continue to fight until the day when socialism and communism will have been built in the whole of Korea. We can by no means rest content with the victory we have won in the northern half, nor should we relax in the least. We cannot degenerate into cowards who are afraid of shedding blood in the revolution and fear prison and the gallows.

We must not forget even for a moment that the northern half is the base of the Korean revolution. We must firmly build up a mighty political, economic and military force in this revolutionary base and, relying on this base, must bring the Korean revolution to final completion. This is the duty of the Korean Communists.

We must be prepared for the pressure that the revisionists might bring to bear upon us in many ways. No matter how they may calumniate and slander us, we will brush them aside and uphold Marxism-Leninism to the last.

We will do everything in our power to support the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples throughout the world and give active support to the revolutionary struggle of the working class in all countries against the domination of monopoly capital.

This line of ours is fundamentally opposed to revisionism. Because we are for the revolution and against imperialism, we

have no alternative but to combat revisionism which is an agent of imperialism. The choice is between two roads: whether we *firmly safeguard the banner of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism* against revisionism or degenerate into revisionists and yield to imperialism. We have no other way.

We must resolutely repudiate revisionism and continue our unyielding fight for the victory of the revolutionary cause.

Not only our Party but the Communist Parties of many Asian countries subjected to imperialist encroachment are asserting that the revolution must be continued and a resolute struggle must be waged against revisionism.

As long as imperialism exists, there will be imperialist oppression; and as long as there is imperialist oppression, the people will struggle against it and revolution will break out. Only through their struggle and revolution can the people free themselves from the yoke of imperialist oppression and exploitation. The revolution calls for the firm safeguarding of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against revisionism.

The peoples of many countries in the world are still subjected to imperialist oppression and exploitation. Therefore, more and more people will make a revolution in the future Whatever the revisionists may do in their attempt to paralyse the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and emasculate the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary movement will continue and Marxism-Leninism will remain alive and triumph without fail. Just as the fall of capitalism and the victory of socialism are inevitable, so are the ruin of revisionism and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

In the whole Party, ideological work should be conducted thoroughly to oppose revisionism. While strengthening the Marxist-Leninist education of the Party members, the revisionist viewpoints and conceptions should be explained clearly to them, so that they will unerringly be able to tell right from wrong. It is very important here to make Lenin's attitude towards revisionism and how he criticized it known to the Party members. Ideological education has thus far been remiss

in opposing revisionism. From now on, this work should be improved.

While waging the struggle against revisionism, we must fight against the Western way of life. Our struggle against the Western way of life is aimed at rejecting the American way of life, not everything Western. It can be said that revisionism is a first cousin to the Western way of life. When revisionism comes in, the Western way of life comes along with it and vice versa.

Now, concretely, what is the Western way of life? In music, for instance, it is represented by jazz, and in dance, by mambo (naked dance). When we speak of a Western lunatic or a frivolous and vain fellow, we refer to those who are infected with this Western way of life. National nihilists, flunkeyists, people who hate revolution and depraved persons readily accept the Western way of life.

We should prevent the infiltration of the Western way of life by strengthening Marxist-Leninist education, by establishing the Party ideological system, by stepping up education in the revolutionary traditions and by strengthening revolutionary order and discipline among the Party members and the working people. Party ideological work to repudiate revisionism and the Western way of life should be conducted energetically among the writers, artists and scientific workers in particular. Those who despise everything their own and worship everything foreign and those who lack the spirit of self-reliance are most susceptible to the Western way of life and revisionism.

Certain persons are denouncing self-reliance as nationalism. But how can it be nationalism? Self-reliance is the lofty revolutionary spirit of Communists. Why is it wrong to carry out revolution through one's own efforts and build socialism for oneself?

It is impossible to make a revolution by depending on other countries. Dependence will lead to mistrust of one's own strength and also prevent efforts to make the best use of the domestic resources of one's own country. Self-reliance means building socialism and accomplishing the revolution on one's

own by every means. This is the only way to be loyal to internationalism and contribute to the common cause of socialism.

We are not the people who reject foreign aid. We welcome the aid of the fraternal countries. Nobody will refuse to accept an offer of aid. But what should we do when nobody offers us aid? Even if nobody gives us aid, we must carry out the revolution and build socialism.

Comrades, formerly we had to buy grain from foreign countries every year. But, from this year on we need not do so because we had a good crop last year. What a good thing it is to harvest a good crop and lighten the burdens of our brother countries! I think this is real internationalism. How are we to interpret the mental attitude of those who do not give aid and at the same time slander self-reliance by calling it nationalism?

Even among our people there are also some who question self-reliance. Such people are found from time to time among the scientific workers. Having no faith in our own strength, these people think we cannot get along without aid from others. It is not true that we cannot live without aid. We can not only live as well as we wish even without aid, but also build socialism splendidly, and must certainly do so.

In order to instil the spirit of self-reliance in the Party members and the working people, we must continue to wage a vigorous struggle to reject flunkeyism and dogmatism and establish *Juche*, and, at the same time, must always educate them so that they will not become degenerate, but live frugally.

As for our Party's attitude towards the problem of unity in the international communist movement, we, of course, must always work for unity with the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries and for strengthening the unity of the socialist camp.

But even though we work to cement unity with the fraternal countries, we can under no circumstances accept the demand to renounce the revolution and take to revisionism. We will support the fraternal countries in whatever is right but will not follow them in whatever is wrong. This is our Party's attitude towards the problem of unity in the international communist

movement which has been raised in connection with the struggle against modern revisionism.

As regards revisionism, I think you will have an opportunity for a more profound study of it in the future. So, I will not speak of it any more today.

In conclusion, I once again emphasize that the whole Party, by strengthening its organizational and ideological work in accordance with the spirit of this plenary meeting, should strive to become a party which is militant and always dynamic, and to train our Party members to be indomitable revolutionary fighters capable of faithfully carrying out Party assignments under any difficult circumstances.

LET US RADICALLY IMPROVE THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS BY STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF THE COUNTY AND FURTHER DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

Concluding Speech at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Functionaries
August 8, 1962

For about a week you have been visiting local industry factories, livestock farms, agricultural co-operatives and educational and cultural establishments in Changsong and Sakju Counties and have seen for yourselves the life of the population in the county seats, rural villages and workers' districts. At yesterday's meeting you heard the report of the chairman of the Changsong County Party Committee and the speeches made by the comrades, the chairman of the Sakju County Party Committee, the manager of the Changsong Textile Mill and the chairman of the Kumya Agricultural Co-operative in Changsong County. I believe you have learned much from your on-the-spot inspection tour and from this joint conference.

Of course, I do not mean to say that Changsong, Sakju and Pyokdong Counties have all worked perfectly and without any shortcomings. However, in the course of your inspection, you must have seen as a vivid reality that our peasants can live well even in such remote mountain areas as Changsong, Sakju and Pyokdong.

The land under cultivation here is very limited, and extremely sterile at that. Even counties in other mountain areas of our country, for instance, the counties in North Hamgyong, Chagang and Ryanggang Provinces and such counties as Singye and Koksan in North Hwanghae Province are better off than Changsong County both in cultivated area and in land fertility. We certainly cannot say they are worse.

Therefore, the great changes that have taken place in Changsong and Pyokdong lead us to the unshakable conclusion that if they follow the Party instructions, even the inhabitants of barren areas can live as well as those in the flat areas like Mundok in South Pyongan Province, Hamju in South Hamgyong Province and Chaeryong and Sinchon in South Hwanghae Province.

As you all know, due to the correct policies of our Party big changes have also taken place in other mountainous counties of our country and the living standards of the peasants have, on the whole, reached the level of the middle peasantry. Therefore, the question that now confronts us is no longer that of relieving the poor peasants from their penury but rather, how to raise the living standards of the peasants to those of the well-to-do middle peasantry.

When can we say they have reached the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry?

As we always say, they can be said to have reached the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry when they eat rice and meat soup for their daily meals, wear good clothes and live in tile-roofed houses. This year Changsong County is expected to distribute three tons of grain and 1,500 *won* in cash to every peasant household, which means that they have reached the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry.

If the people of Changsong and Pyokdong who cultivate poor hillside land can all reach the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry, it is self-evident that those residing in other areas can fare even better.

The primary object of this joint conference is to ensure the full implementation, in all regions, of the Party's policy for

elevating the living standards of the peasants in the sterile mountain areas as a whole to the level of the well-to-do middle peasantry and for radically raising the living standards of the population in the county seats and workers' districts on the basis of the successes and experiences already gained.

The successful solution of this task depends entirely upon whether or not the functionaries of county Party committees, county people's committees and county agricultural co-operative management committees do their work well and efficiently build up the co-operatives and local industry factories in their counties.

Following the example of Changsong, Sakju and Pyokdong, the county Party committee chairmen should see to it that the living standards of the peasants in the highlands, to say nothing of the lowland dwellers, reach those of the well-to-do middle peasantry within the next two or three years.

That will be quite possible if only you organize your work correctly and work efficiently. This was made clear yesterday in the speech of the chairman of the Rangrim County Party Committee who said that the living standards of the peasants in his county, the most backward area, will be improved considerably this year.

Therefore, subsequent to this conference, we should strive to raise the peasants' living standards to those of the well-to-do middle peasantry and provide jobs for all dependants of factory and office workers in the counties to increase their average monthly income to more than 75 to 80 *won* per household, thereby improving the living standards of all people in the counties and bringing about a greater innovation in production

1. ON THE ROLE OF THE COUNTY

The role of the county is very important both in carrying out the tasks set forth at this conference and in developing the

economy and culture of the local areas in general. That is why we have asked many county cadres to participate in this conference.

The system of administrative organization in our country consists of the central authority, province, county and *ri*. The county can be regarded as the lowest unit of administrative leadership that gives first-hand guidance to the farm villages and workers' districts and is directly concerned with the life of the peasants and the inhabitants of the workers' districts.

Therefore, the development of the farm villages and workers' districts depends largely upon how the county agencies do their work. Also, the improvement of the living standards of the workers and peasants is determined greatly by whether the county does its work well or not.

The county is not only the lowest administrative setup that leads the *ri* and workers' districts but also the base that links the towns with the countryside in all fields of politics, economy and culture. It might be impossible for all peasants to visit the big cities, but, at least, they can visit their respective county seats. The peasants get acquainted with the Party's policies through the county, and it is through the county that they maintain economic ties with the towns and assimilate urban culture and customs.

The policies of the central authority and the policies of the provinces which are based on the former are all immediately passed down to the farm villages and workers' districts through the county. Indeed, the county is the lowest unit that directly organizes and leads the execution of the Party's policies; it is the political base that disseminates the Party's policies to the farm villages.

The county also serves as the base for the development of the local economy and as the supply centre for the countryside.

Local industry develops with the county as a unit and the development of agriculture is also organized and guided by the county itself. Products from the countryside reach the

all industrial products manufactured in the towns are supplied to the countryside. Furthermore, urban technical civilization spreads to the countryside through the county, thereby accelerating the technical revolution in the countryside.

The population of the rural areas and workers' districts under the county's jurisdiction will account for at least one half of the entire population even when socialist construction has made further progress and the urban population has increased. Since the farm villages are dispersed, it would hardly be possible to set up a supply centre in every rural *ri* even when a communist society is realized in the future. Even under communism, therefore, the counties in our country will still be the economic bases that link towns with the countryside, the supply centres for the countryside.

The county is also the base of the cultural revolution in the countryside. It serves as the base for eliminating the survivals of feudalism and the outmoded manners and customs in the countryside, remoulding ideological consciousness and manners and customs of the peasants and introducing advanced socialist culture into the countryside.

It is of great importance to solve the rural question in all countries, Asian countries in particular. It can be said that the solution of the peasant question is the key to the victory of revolution in the underdeveloped agrarian countries in Asia where the peasants comprise the majority of the population.

Our Party has so far correctly solved the rural question by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the realities of our country and further developing it.

In our country agricultural co-operativization was successfully completed several years ago and the task of the technical revolution in the countryside, with irrigation, electrification and mechanization as its main objectives, is also being carried out at a very rapid pace.

In the future we should carry out the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside, and thus eliminate the distinctions between town and country, put the living standards of the workers and peasants on the same level and, at the same

time, make the peasants in the plains and in mountain areas live equally well.

None of these questions can be solved successfully if the county fails to do its work properly.

Thus the county plays a very important role in all realms of socialist construction.

To strengthen the work of the county and build up the exemplary county seat is of great importance not only in hastening socialist construction but also in gradually eliminating the distinctions between town and country and building a communist society. Therefore, to build up the county properly is by no means a temporary and simple task but an important one which we should continuously work at until a communist society is built in the future.

Only when the county does its work well, will its politics, economy and culture develop rapidly and only when the county seat is built up in an exemplary way, will the rural villages follow its example. The county should develop local industry, correctly direct agriculture and build good stores, schools, hospitals and so forth. By doing this, the county should strengthen its role in every way as the lowest unit of administrative leadership and as the base that links towns with the countryside.

Local industry and agriculture have developed apace and the living standards of the working people have improved in Changsong County because the county did its work well. In Changsong they produced great quantities of foodstuffs and articles of daily use with wild fruits and wild fibre raw materials and thus increased the incomes of the factory and office workers and, at the same time, they quickly raised the living standards of the peasants by utilizing the mountains in developing animal husbandry and by increasing agricultural and sideline production to suit the natural and geographical conditions of the local area.

Because their county did its work well, the people of Changsong have enough food and clothing, they can study to their hearts' satisfaction, listen to the radio and see films. They

are also good at art circle activities, keep their houses neat and tidy, take good care of their children, and they are well-mannered, too.

Though Changsong is a remote mountainous area, there is no great difference today between the life of the people in Changsong and that of the inhabitants of cities such as Pyongyang and Sinuiju.

Under capitalism before the rural inhabitants were contemptuously called "bumpkins." Things, however, have changed in our society. Suffice it to take the Yaksu Middle School at Kanam-*ri* in Changsong County as an example.

From olden times this place has been called Kanam-*ri*—a village between rocks—because it is located between rocky hills. Kanam-*ri* was, indeed, a wild out-of-the-way place where there was nothing but hills, stones and water, and the inhabitants were real "bumpkins" in the past.

But now there is not a single "bumpkin" to be found in Kanam-*ri*. The pupils of the Yaksu Middle School are all top-honour or honour pupils; every pupil can play more than one musical instrument and is also good at physical culture. They all go to school carrying vinyl schoolbags, they wear raincoats when it rains and overcoats in the winter.

Indeed, the look of the land of Changsong and the living standards of its people have changed fundamentally today. There is no doubt that if the functionaries of the county Party committees, county people's committees, county agricultural co-operative management committees and county educational and cultural institutions work well like that, the local industry of the counties will develop and agricultural production will increase, thus enabling all the county inhabitants to lead an affluent life; and the technical and cultural revolutions will be successfully carried out, facilitating the building of socialism and communism.

The last few years have witnessed great progress in the work of our counties on the whole, but there are still many shortcomings in the work of some counties in organizing local industry and running trade networks, in selling urban goods to

the countryside and purchasing agricultural produce from the peasants, and in managing educational, cultural and public health establishments.

Take commodity circulation for example. In some counties the procurement of agricultural products from the peasants is not organized to assure promptness and effectivity, and urban goods are not supplied to the countryside as they should be. As a result, commodities pile up in some places while other places have a shortage of required goods.

And while some counties provide a sufficient amount of edible oil to their population and produce and supply tasty soy sauce, bean paste, bean curd, dairy products, soft drinks, etc., other counties do not think of gathering and processing wild fruits, which grow in plenty, leaving them all at the mercy of wolves and bears; they have even failed to supply soft drinks to their people. Moreover, the peasants raise a large number of rabbits and produce meat, which cannot be processed for the lack of factories.

This is entirely due to the failure of the counties to organize local industry and procurement work efficiently.

These counties should learn in earnest from the experiences of Changsong and Sakju Counties. Changsong and Sakju Counties have built maize-processing mills on their own and process maize for the peasants; they press oil out of the maize embryos left after the processing, and supply it to the workers and peasants. The peasants are happy enough to eat corn meal instead of whole kernels, and they are even paid for the maize embryos. This is just fine!

The Party's policy is clear. It is to make good use of the mountains in mountainous areas, turn the sea to good account in coastal areas and tap the favourable conditions and reserves of the local areas to the maximum by conducting all work such as the distribution of crop areas, mechanization, irrigation and electrification according to the actual conditions of the respective counties.

Even now, immense reserves exist in the provinces. If the county does its work well, the workers and peasants can be sup-

plied with plenty of vegetable oil, delicious soy sauce and bean paste, meat and soft drinks.

The work of sanitation and beautification is unsatisfactory in some rural villages, and the counties concerned are to blame for this.

A particularly heavy responsibility rests on the county Party committee chairman. If he does his job properly, the peasants and the residents of the workers' districts can lead a good life; otherwise, the population in the county will not live well no matter what good conditions they may be blessed with.

The matter depends on the enthusiasm of the chairman of the county Party committee. There are slow-tempered and hot-tempered men, but this does not mean anything to a Communist. Ideology is the important thing. Our functionaries still lack the will to provide an affluent life to the workers and peasants. Nothing is out of our reach if we make up our minds and set to work.

In Changsong County things go very smoothly because the county Party committee chairman leads the masses. And the masses have become interested in carrying out the Party's policies and have gained self-confidence. As a result, whatever task they may be given, the entire mass buckle down to it and carry it out unfailingly and admirably.

It is no easy task to collect 1,000 tons of wild strawberries. Comrades, go to other counties and ask the people to do it. They would probably be dumbfounded and would not even attempt it. Yet, the people of Changsong have become a powerful detachment fully capable of carrying out that sort of work. Who should do it first? The chairman of the county Party committee and the chairmen of the *ri* Party committees should take the lead.

In no other county have I found dykes properly built to prevent the land from being washed away. But here in Changsong, the chairman of the county Party committee was the first to carry out the Party's instruction. Things could not go amiss when the county Party committee chairman got up early in the morning and went out to work, earlier than others, with a *chige* on his back. Everybody worked to build the dyke.

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In this way, they erected houses and domestic animal sheds, collected strawberries and built local industry factories.

When the groundwork was laid for a foodstuff factory, I paid them a visit and told them that they had better build a dyke, for the site might be flooded in the rainy season. The very next day the county Party committee chairman got the people together and built the dyke. Several days later there was a flood but the construction site was not affected.

There is no special secret in building up a county. Solutions will be found for everything if the chairman of the county Party committee accepts the Party's policies promptly and leads the masses, setting an example for them in action.

If the chairman of the county Party committee takes an I-don't-care attitude, sleeps late and shows up after eight o'clock in the morning, he can never mobilize the masses and build up the county properly.

With this joint conference as a point of departure, we should rectify the shortcomings in our county work, increase the role of the county and develop county work on a higher level in all spheres of local industry, agriculture, commodity circulation, education, culture, public health and so on.

We have more work to do since the economic foundations of the country have been consolidated, the output of products has increased and the living standards of the people rapidly improved.

The living standards of our people are incomparably better now than in the past when they lived on gruel. As many comrades pointed out in their speeches at yesterday's session, those people who were once so poor that father and son had to share one suit are now rich enough to buy even raincoats and overcoats for their children. Today those who starved and shivered in the cold with neither shelter nor food in the past not only live in tile-roofed houses and eat their fill but want better foods and articles of daily use and more cultural materials.

Who should satisfy such great demands of the people? None other than the county Party committee, the county people's

committee and the county agricultural co-operative management committee, because it is precisely the county that explains and brings home the Party lines and policies to the masses and directly organizes their implementation.

If the brains of the chairman of the county Party committee get rusty and county work stands still, it will be impossible to secure the political, economic and cultural development of the local areas or raise the living standards of the working people.

I do not mean that there is serious mistake in the work of our counties at present The defect is that some counties are developing rapidly while others are progressing slowly. All counties should advance as swiftly as Changsong and Sakju without disparity in the rate of development.

2. ON FURTHER DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY

The necessity of developing local industry was discussed a great deal at the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, so I will briefly stress only some points.

The county should have some local industries in order to fully play its role as the supply base for the countryside.

When it has local industry, the county can not only opportunely procure and process the products turned out by the peasants and supply plenty of foodstuffs and articles of daily use to the peasants and the residents of the workers' districts but also give more incentives to the peasants for production.

If the products produced by the peasants, particularly, vegetables, meat, fruit, milk and the like are not procured quickly, the peasants will lose their incentive for production; even when these products are procured, precious farm produce will spoil if not processed rapidly. Therefore, the county should develop local industry, quickly procure and process the farm produce and sideline products turned out by the peasants, thereby not only satisfying the demands of the people for

consumer goods but also stimulating the peasants to produce.

If we fail to develop local industry and build only big factories under central authority, we will have many difficulties in transporting raw materials and supplying products.

How difficult it would be if we built foodstuff, textile, paper and other factories only in cities, and had to bring raw materials from all parts of the country, press oil and produce textiles and send them back to the consumer areas! Suppose we made soy sauce and bean paste in Pyongyang and sent them to the remote mountain areas. We would have to bring in beans, make the soy sauce and bean paste and send them back there. In sum, it would be a two-way transportation. However, if we manufacture various products with raw materials available in the provinces right on the spot and supply them to the people there, this kind of transportation will be unnecessary.

It is a very reasonable and correct policy to develop local industry close to the source of raw materials and directly linked with consumer areas.

Furthermore, without developing local industry, it would be impossible to make full use of abundant raw and other materials or other reserves and potentialities existing in the provinces. Local industry brings large profits to the state by utilizing raw materials which abound in local areas such as wild plant fibres, hemp fibres, fibres recuperated from rags and wild fruits.

In addition, medium- and small-sized local factories can be built in large numbers with a small investment and in a short space of time, and they can go into production quickly. The construction of big factories calls for a huge state investment and requires a long period of time. Needless to say, those industries which need big equipment and advanced techniques and require large investments, such as the iron and chemical industries, should be managed under the central authority but those which require simple equipment should be developed on a local basis.

It stands to reason that large-scale central industries and medium- and small-scale local industries are developed simultaneously for the advancement of light industry.

Local industry is also very important in the general development of all areas of the country.

Our country remained agrarian for a long time, so a great part of the population lived in the countryside. With the growth of industry the ratio of the rural population is decreasing today, but we have adopted a policy of preventing excessive population concentration in the cities.

In capitalist countries the population is excessively concentrated in the cities; in no respect is this good In our country where socialism is being built in conditions under which capitalism did not develop well, there is no need to allow undesirable population concentration in the cities as in capitalist society. Factories should not be concentrated in the cities only, but built in different places according to the specific features of the provinces. What a splendid job it is to build *factories and develop industry in all parts of our country with* its beautiful mountains and rivers!

In regard to the problem of labour, there is still much extra manpower in our rural townships and workers' districts If we make effective use of this extra labour power, we will be able to run as many local industry factories as we want. This will dispense us from the construction of additional houses and hostels for the workers.

Then, what is the need of concentrating factories in the cities and taking labour power out of the countryside? Only by building many factories for the production of foodstuff, textiles, paper, etc., in each city and county, will we be able to produce plenty of goods and develop light industry with locally available raw materials and labour power without large investments, and thus allocate more state investments for the construction of power plants, iron works, railways and harbours to develop heavy industry more rapidly and push ahead with socialist construction more vigorously.

Development of local industry is very important also to strengthen the nation's defence power.

We stand face to face with the aggressors of U S imperialism, the chieftain of world reaction. We should not forget for a

moment that this wolf-like enemy is always watching for a chance to attack us.

In order to strengthen the nation's defence power, it is insufficient to reinforce the armed forces alone. To increase the country's defence potential, the proper distribution of the productive forces, taking into account the economic life of the people in wartime conditions, acquires great significance.

If factories are concentrated only in towns, it will be difficult to move them in case of emergency and they could be destroyed all at once by the enemy's air raids. However, if local industry factories are built in all parts of the country, the problems of food and clothing can be fully solved even if the centralized urban industries are destroyed by war. If each county has a soy sauce and bean paste factory, it will always have soy sauce and bean paste in reserve, and if the local factories alone produce 150 to 200 million metres of fabrics in the future, that will be sufficient to solve the problem of clothing. This will be a sizable contribution to national defence.

Therefore, the policy for extensive development of local industry set forth at the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee was really sagacious in every respect.

Guided by this policy we have built an average of 10 locally-run factories in each county in a short span of time. At present the output value of local industry accounts for more than one-half of the consumer goods produced in our country. This means that our local industry is now solidly based.

This also means that our light industry has been further developed and brought closer to the sources of raw materials and consumer areas and has been able to process farm produce and other raw materials more quickly and turn out and supply products to meet the varied requirements and needs of the inhabitants.

We have already built a foodstuff factory and a textile mill in every county. Almost every county has a farm implement factory and a paper mill. Some counties have even factories which produce furniture, earthenware and daily necessaries. The buildings of factories are also well organized.

Therefore, our demand for local industry is now fundamentally different from what it was in the past.

The task facing local industry at the time of the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee was to construct factories in every county and draw in extra local labour power to start production, thereby laying foundations for local industry; but, now, we have the task of developing local industry on a higher stage, based on the foundations already laid.

Then, what should we do to develop local industry to a higher stage, and how?

First of all, the technical revolution should be stepped up to mechanize the whole process of production and to gradually introduce automation.

With the development of local industry more raw material bases should be secured and a great deal of work expended, but some counties fail to cope with their work because of the manpower shortage.

Before, when the production capacity of local industry was small, we had to weave fabrics with treadle looms, but things have changed today.

All the processes in which handicraft methods are still employed should be mechanized through the technical revolution. All processes in local industry should be mechanized quickly even though they cannot yet be automated.

Only then, will work become easy, productivity go up and a great deal of labour power be saved. With the manpower thus saved we will have to develop local industry even more.

Mechanization is also indispensable to improve the quality of products.

Today the people's requirements have increased as never before. Immediately after the armistice, when we were short of goods people bought them without complaint although their quality was somewhat low, but now, when they go to buy a sheet of paper they want better quality, and they also want beautiful high-quality fabrics. The people are demanding goods in larger quantities and wider variety. They were satisfied with one kind of bean paste before, but now, they want different

tasty bean pastes, such as red-pepper bean paste and sesame-and-red-pepper bean paste. When we were in difficult straits, we put up with the shortage of vegetable oil, but now we want to eat more oil, and meat and milk as well.

As you see, the living standards of the people have improved and their requirements have increased so much that we should further develop local industry. We must work much harder than ever to produce more and better goods. For this there is no other way but to introduce mechanization.

It is an objective law that the more the people's living standards are improved, the greater is their demand for high-quality products. We materialists cannot be blind to such law-governed changes taking place about us. It is a major characteristic of our Party's work method to make a scientific analysis of reality and to take correct measures.

In order to meet the ever-growing needs of the people we should improve and reinforce the existing factories, build what we are lacking, and energetically step up the technical revolution to increase production and raise the quality of products.

You must not take manpower out of the countryside to build new factories. Since the mechanization of agriculture has not yet been completed, rural manpower cannot be allotted for other purposes.

Therefore, the size of factories to be constructed or enlarged should be in keeping with both the extra labour power in the county and the labour power to be saved through the mechanization of the existing factories.

In some counties there are still a large number of idle hands. As the chairman of the Sudong County Party Committee said in his speech yesterday, in coal miners' settlements and in the vicinities of ore mines and other big enterprises, not all dependants are employed in factories yet. Besides, mechanization of factories can also release much more manpower.

We still have abundant sources of manpower for the advancement of local industry. The county must actively tap its source of labour power and determine the scale of its industry based on the full calculation of its work force.

Next, the management level of local industry should be improved.

The management personnel of local industry factories have so far accumulated definite experiences in factory management.

Formerly, the functionaries of county Party committees and county people's committees had no clear idea of cost accountancy and could not calculate production cost well, but now they know how to adjust the balances, examine financial records as well as being versed in the technical processes. The technical qualifications of management personnel have been improved remarkably, but they are still far below the level required by the Party.

Therefore, our management personnel should raise their level of factory management, and the employees their technical level. All functionaries of local industry factories should be enrolled in the correspondence courses given by colleges or higher technical schools like those in Changsong County, and finish them in two or three years.

The managers, Party committee chairmen and chief engineers of local industry factories must all study. In our country there is an old saying that one cannot learn everything even if he keeps studying until the end of his days. Some comrades say there is no need for them to study because they are old and have grey hair now; you must discard this sort of thinking and all study and study again ceaselessly, raising your qualifications constantly.

In developing local industry we should devote great attention to promoting modern production practices.

If fabrics are woven neatly, dried in the sun, starched and ironed, they will be much better, but some factories do not do this. And we cannot yet say that all factories are trim and tidy.

Some people, thinking only of their wretched plight in the old days, are content with their present standard of living which is much higher than that in the past. This is a serious mistake.

We cannot be satisfied with our present living standards just because they are higher than the ones we had in the past.

Among the county Party committee chairmen present here there may also be comrades who are satisfied with the factories in their counties because they never had these factories before. But you cannot make progress that way.

In some local industry factories modern production practices are still at a low level. This defect should be quickly remedied and general production culture in all local industry factories should be raised to a high level.

First of all, foodstuff factories should be spick-and-span.

The entire factory should be neat and clean and the workers should strictly observe the health rules. Facilities should also be provided to make the work easier and to ensure hygienic conditions for the workers.

Next in importance is to build a solid raw material base for local industry. Some local industry factories have still not developed their own solid raw material bases, without which production cannot be normalized or expanded.

So, in order to further develop our local industry it is important to accelerate mechanization, raise the technical and skill levels of our cadres, workers and office staff, thoroughly establish general production culture and build solid raw material bases.

Now I shall make a few remarks concerning the tasks confronting the different branches of local industry.

First, the food industry.

It is advisable not to make the county's foodstuff factory too big. The same holds true for other factories, but the size of the foodstuff factory, in particular, should be based on detailed calculations of the county's raw materials, manpower and needs.

Because every county has its own soy sauce and bean paste factory, its production should not exceed the needs of the county. I think it preferable to have moderate-size tanks capable of storing approximately 70 days' output.

Since soy sauce and bean paste are essential items in the diet of our people, they should be tasty. Just as Europeans cannot dispense with coffee and butter, so Koreans cannot go without soy sauce and bean paste. Soy sauce and bean paste

have been indispensable items in the diet of Koreans for thousands of years.

If it is well-made, soy sauce enhances the flavour of all side dishes, but if not, it spoils them. We should make tasty soy sauce and bean paste and produce plenty of red-pepper and s[illegible] bean paste.

[illegible] in abundance to s[illegible] county and the r[illegible] curd is a favour- i[illegible] huge equipment t[illegible] to use a simple motor-[illegible] Factory turns out a large amount of bean curd [illegible] equipment. It would be a good idea to set up small branch factories to ensure its supply for the workers' districts and distant areas.

It is also advisable for the foodstuff factory to have a shop to process milk as well as rabbit, goose and other types of meat.

With a view to the further development of animal husbandry and the increase of meat production, measures should be taken to guarantee meat processing. Speaking of meat-processing factories, you should not think of installing only big ones such as the Ryongsong Meat-processing Factory. Instead, you should install simple equipment and process meat It is preferable to preserve meat by boiling it in soy sauce, a favourite Korean side dish.

Cow's milk can also be processed easily. But in some areas milk produced by peasants is not purchased and processed in time and, as a result, the peasants' interest in its production is not high. If milk is procured and processed in good time, the peasants will produce more and the working people will have more dairy products.

Vegetables should also be processed. It is necessary to preserve radishes, cucumbers, garlic, stone-leeks, red-pepper leaves and the like in soy sauce and establish a constant supply of them to the working people.

A vegetable oil factory should be built in each county on a

somewhat large scale. It should press oil from beans, sesame, hempseed and maize embryos. It should also extract as much oil as possible from ricebran and use it to make laundry soap, and bean oil should be used for food.

We must struggle to extract at least 10,000 tons of oil from maize embryos next year.

If a small county like Changsong can extract 30 tons of vegetable oil a year, we can, by working well, certainly reach the target of 10,000 tons.

Each county should fix its production quota for vegetable oil—30, 40, 50 or 60 tons—according to its maize output and successfully carry out its plan. Thus, 10 grammes of vegetable oil per capita must be supplied to the population and 20 grammes to each worker.

At present some people say that vegetable oil is overstocked and does not sell, so they are not interested in producing more. These people do not know the facts. We still have a long way to go before we can start worrying about a surplus of vegetable oil.

Soft drink factories should also be built so that the working people can get soft drinks everywhere.

You should not only make strong wine from fruit as some counties do, but also produce and supply large quantities of syrup, fruit juice and different kinds of soft drinks. Wine should be made from fruit instead of grain.

It is of importance in all foodstuff factories to turn out well-made and hygienic products by strengthening educational work among the employees. Foodstuffs should be produced by hand as little as possible. Equipment should be reconditioned so that wine or fruit juice may be bottled automatically, not manually, thereby ensuring a high degree of cleanliness and hygienic conditions.

In some places they cook and sell fried vegetables, meat and the like when they are told to process foodstuffs; this is not food processing and is very dangerous from the sanitary point of view. It is preferable to cook and sell things such as fried vegetables and meat at restaurants. Foodstuff factories should

manufacture products that will not spoil even when stored for a long time. Thus, the products of foodstuff factories should be such that everybody can eat them at all times with a sense of security.

To this end, good personnel with an exceptionally strong sense of responsibility should be allocated to the foodstuff factories and be well taught the rules of hygiene.

In order to increase soft drink production each of the foodstuff factories should create a raw material base comprising 50 to 100 *chongbo* of land, in accordance with the decision of the Pukchong meeting. The factory should thus produce a large amount of apricots, strawberries, plums, *aengdu* (prunus tomentosa) and other fruits on its own so that it will not lack raw materials.

In our country, fruit trees can grow everywhere. Apricots, peaches, apples, pears, *aengdu*, strawberries, etc., all grow well. In places like Changsong, from now on they should not only make use of wild fruits but plant plenty of such fruit trees and process the produced fruit in a big way.

Our country abounds in fruits which grow well, but the demands of the working people are not yet fully satisfied, because we do not plant new fruit trees with a will or take good care of those we have. In Sunan and Chungsan, for instance, many apple trees have been planted but they are not weeded well and are neglected. Chestnuts are found everywhere in our country but there are only a few places where they are tended properly. This is the same as wasting the enormous resources of our country.

We should not just plant fruit trees but should take good care of them. Existing fruit trees should be tended carefully so that various kinds of fruits are turned out abundantly in all local areas, according to the season.

Now, I should like to speak about the textile industry

Every county has a textile mill, so it is important to equip and reinforce them well.

In particular, the level of mechanization should be raised in the textile mills. Each mill should twist thin yarn and weave

good fabrics by increasing the number of weaving machines and installing twisting machines.

Since it is difficult to provide spinning machines to every textile mill, I think it preferable to build a spinning mill, with the local industry management bureau as a unit, and have it spin and distribute yarn to the textile mills.

The spinning mill should not be separate from the textile mill but should be placed under the control of the same manager. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that the spinning mill should be built at the textile mill in the area where the management bureau is located. It may be better to set up a spinning mill at the textile factory in the workers' district and run it with local extra manpower. A large-size textile mill may have its own spinning shop; in small counties such as Changsong, Sakju and Pyokdong, it would be good to set up a common spinning mill for several counties.

Locally-run textile mills should have a yearly production capacity from 400,000 to 500,000 metres per county, and from 1 to 2 million metres for big counties. Thus, the annual textile output of locally-run factories should be from 150 to 200 million metres, at least, by the end of the Seven-Year Plan.

We are planning to maintain the level of 250 million metres of fabrics next year and occupy the height of 300 million metres in 1964. Then, the local industry factories will have to turn out 100 million metres of fabrics.

Therefore, the question of securing raw materials is a very important one.

Local industry factories should take more than 50 to 60 per cent of the raw materials they use from their own areas. Therefore, special attention should be directed to building solid raw material bases. Next year at least 300 to 400 *chongbo* of hemp should be planted in each county, thereby bringing 50,000 to 60,000 *chongbo* of land under hemp cultivation nationally.

But hemp should not be sown in farm land. Fibre crops such as hemp and castor bean should be planted extensively along the roadsides, at the edges of fields, around houses and in the yards of offices and enterprises. As I saw during my visit, the

compound of the Changsong Foodstuff Factory is too wide. It will do well to plant fibre crops there, leaving only a passage wide enough for a vehicle to go through.

An important task before the textile mills is to improve the quality of fabrics.

Yarn should be spun thinner and twisted to produce better textiles. Then, raw materials will not be wasted and the cloth will be attractive. The yarn spun from wild plant fibre and fibre recuperated from rags, cloth scraps and the like should be twisted as finely as possible to weave materials for overcoats and winter clothes. Flax and hemp should be used in manufacturing good fabrics for summer clothes. High-quality fabrics must be woven with state-supplied fibre, and it would be a good idea to produce silk fabrics and rainbow-patterned fabrics with rayon yarn.

Qualitative improvement of fabrics requires proper processing and treatment, including bleaching and dyeing at spinning mills. It would be difficult to provide every county with dyeing facilities. It is preferable, therefore, that the management bureau has the facilities under its control and distributes dyed yarn.

Also it would be good to build a clothing factory next to each local textile mill. Large counties may set up clothing factories separately. At any rate, each county should have more than one well-run garment factory. Each county should thus make and supply work clothes for its workers and peasants and school uniforms and overcoats for its pupils.

Now, a few words about the paper mills

Our annual paper output must reach 250,000 tons by the end of the Seven-Year Plan. To this end, local industry should account for 100,000 tons at least. The county paper mills alone, except those in Pyongyang and in the provincial seats, must produce 70,000 to 80,000 tons of paper.

This year the production quota of the local paper mills is 35,000 tons. You should take good care of their equipment from now and strive to bring their yearly output to something like 50,000 to 60,000 tons in the next few years.

The size of a paper mill must be established according to the raw material and manpower conditions in the different counties on the basis of the proper calculation of those conditions.

As for raw materials, straw should be used where it is abundant and plenty of ground pulp should be utilized in the mountain areas.

In our country every county has trees or straw. Since we can make 100 tons of paper out of 300 tons of straw, we can, therefore, produce more than 300 tons of paper out of only 1,000 tons of straw.

If we use too much straw, it could cause a shortage of caustic soda, so about 70 to 80 per cent of raw materials should consist of ground pulp. Therefore, it would be logical for the areas with plenty of straw to produce straw pulp and supply it to the places with plenty of trees, like Changsong County, and receive ground pulp in return.

It is not so difficult to make grinders. The grinders now being used in Changsong and Sakju can be made quite easily. Such grinders should be made and installed in various places.

If each county develops its paper industry in this way, all provinces will be able to meet their own demands for notebooks, wallpaper, floor paper, packing paper and so on.

In addition, filter, carbon, cigarette and other special kinds of paper should be made in some cities such as Pyongyang, Hamhung and Sinuiju. The Light Industry Commission should be directly concerned with this.

Each county should also have a furniture factory.

At present county furniture factories are attached to farm implement factories, and they tend to produce only farm implements and wooden frames for cold-frame rice seedlings, showing indifference to the production of furniture, such as dining tables and wardrobes. Therefore, the furniture factories should be detached from the farm implement factories, and each county should have a separate furniture factory.

Furniture factories should make wardrobes, quilt chests, small Korean-style tables for the aged to dine cross-legged and

chests favoured by housewives. And chairs, desks, writing tables, beds and the like should also be turned out.

You should make this type of furniture in the counties and supply them to the villages instead of trying to bring ready-made furniture from distant places. It would be a good idea to fix the amount of production in such a way as to satisfy the needs of the respective county. Lumber towns should make a lot of semi-finished articles and send them to other localities where they can be assembled.

Furthermore, the county should build an earthenware factory and manufacture jars, pots and crocks of different sizes and shapes, all necessary for the people's use. Pots, for instance, should come in a variety of shapes and sizes including ones to contain red-pepper bean paste and regular bean paste, with each county meeting the needs of the people. For the counties which can not build earthenware factories for lack of suitable earth, the management bureau should make proper arrangements for other counties to produce extra earthenware and send it to these counties.

Each county should also set up a maize-processing factory, a rice-cleaning mill and a factory to meet its own demands for simple articles of daily use. Furthermore, housewives' work-teams and peasants' sideline production should be organized to make straw hats, rush-mats and other local specialities as well as various grass-made articles.

Every county should begin to make preparations to fully equip, reinforce and enlarge local industry factories by May Day, 1964, so that they may attain a signal advance in production. Thus, all housewives in the townships and workers' settlements should be given jobs so as to increase the monthly income of each household of factory and office workers to something like 70 to 80 *won* or up to 100 *won*

What you must be careful about in re-equipping, expanding or newly constructing local industry factories is to push ahead with the work in a planned and organized way, on the basis of correct calculations of specific conditions and possibilities. You should not violate financial regulations by diverting funds il-

legally in a "Let's try once" manner or begin construction projects without precise calculations. The county should submit an estimate to the regional local industry management bureau after taking full account of necessary funds and materials. Then the state will supply some amount of steel, timber, cement and the like, and the factories under central authority, too, will give a defined amount of assistance to the local industry factories.

At present the province is authorized to use about 5,000 tons of cement; it is advisable to keep 2,000 tons itself and distribute the remaining 3,000 tons to the counties. Some steel and timber, too, should be distributed to each county. It is preferable to make machinery at factories under central authority. They should help local industry factories as much as possible.

When we formed the guerrilla army for the first time, we had all sorts of difficulties because we were unable to get gunpowder, not to speak of weapons. We extracted nitric acid from cow's urine to produce gunpowder and fought the Japanese imperialists. At present we have big factories, and so it is absurd to say that we cannot build local factories.

The chairmen of provincial Party committees should especially attend to their work well. If they organize their work well and work with the cadres properly, everything will go smoothly.

Proper work with cadres does not mean to replace the present county Party committee chairmen with other people. They should be educated well and fully roused to action. The chairmen of county Party committees cannot do anything when they are ignorant.

The provincial Party committee chairmen should educate the county Party committee chairmen well, taking them along on inspection tours. If they go along with county Party committee chairmen for an inspection by train, say, on Saturday and come back on Sunday, it will not interfere with their work on the following day. They should be shown, for example, a paper mill, a machine-building plant, a meat-processing factory,

the Hwanghae Iron Works, the Pyongyang Textile Mill and so on.

Some county Party committee chairmen worked at factories before, but that was a thing of the past. Only when they see the huge modern factories of today can they be enlightened. It is good to study by reading books but it is still better to learn from realities. Just as you have learned much from this week-long stay here in Changsong, so should you see and learn more, making tours of various places. If the provincial Party committee chairmen properly set county Party committee chairmen on the move and if the latter rouse the masses to action skilfully, all the problems in the local areas will be solved successfully.

3. ON THE RURAL ECONOMY

The most important of all questions we are discussing now is that of rapidly improving the living standards of the peasants in mountain areas In order to do this, there is no alternative but to produce more grain by making good use of the existing land under cultivation and to develop animal husbandry by utilizing the mountains.

Only by developing animal husbandry can we increase the cash income of the peasants and produce enough compost to raise our grain output; and only by increasing grain output can we expand our fodder sources for domestic animals and further develop animal husbandry. Therefore, in the mountainous rural areas it is particularly important to take advantage of mountains to raise a great number of grass-eating domestic animals such as sheep, goats, calves, geese and rabbits.

Each agricultural co-operative in the mountain areas should strive to breed at least 200 head of sheep. Even in flatland areas, such as Sinchon, South Hwanghae Province, there are quite a few co-operatives which have hills. These co-operatives should also raise sheep. Each co-operative should raise sheep in propor-

tion to the number of its farm households—300 head for 300 households and 500 head for 500 households.

Sheep are highly profitable domestic animals that can be bred quite easily with grass alone. Sheep like bush clover, hazel leaves and oak leaves. Cut grass and dry it, and you can chop it to feed them in the winter. One head of sheep brings an income of 150 *won* a year. Marvelous!

Sheep can also be raised well in Ryanggang Province, but they do not raise many there. This province is certainly not short of grass. After all, it lacks enthusiasm. The province and the counties have not organized the work and failed to make strenuous efforts to raise the income of the peasants.

Along with sheep, calves should also be bred in large numbers. If a calf is grazed in a valley for one summer, it grows as much as 70 kilogrammes in weight, which brings you an income of 100 *won*.

Our experiments show that it is quite possible to raise geese with grass only. We can earn 70 to 80 *won* a year from a goose by selling her eggs and raising the goslings for the market. Geese breed at a much higher rate than sheep. Each agricultural co-operative should breed enough geese so that each farm household may have a goose within two to three years.

It is also advisable to raise many rabbits and two pigs per farm household.

You should carry out farm work such as compost production and weeding ahead of schedule through proper organization of labour and save as much labour power as possible by widening the scope of mechanization. The manpower thus saved should be used to gather wild fruits, plant medicinal herbs and raise silkworms in order to increase cash income.

You should thus see to it that the average per-household income of the peasants in mountain areas amounts to three tons of grain and over 1,000 *won* in cash, thereby raising the living standards of all peasants, if possible, or 80 per cent of them at least, to those of the well-to-do middle peasantry by 1964.

Now, I would like to tell you about our immediate farm tasks and those confronting the rural economy next year.

The weather was very adverse this year. We had damages from frost, blight and insect pests; we had a severe drought followed by a long spell of rain and repeated floods We also suffered considerable losses from the recent typhoon and flood

If we had not far-sightedly carried out irrigation works, forestation and water conservation projects, we would have had a very bad crop in a year like this. Thanks to the establishment of a fine irrigation system in our country and the united struggle of all the peasants and working people, we can reap a bumper harvest again this year, overcoming all sorts of natural calamities.

We should not feel satisfied, however. We have not yet reached the 5 million-ton level. On your return to your posts after this meeting, you must take thorough measures to prevent storm and flood damages, stretching straw ropes between crops to prevent the wind from knocking them down and digging deep ditches for drainage. You must also plant and carefully cultivate vegetables and buckwheat as well as after-crop maize in the lands where crops were washed away by the flood.

Measures should also be taken as of now to harvest crops as soon as they ripen. Today our people busy themselves planting and tending crops, but once the crops are ripe, they do not take good care of them. We should correct this defect as soon as possible and pay profound attention not only to harvesting ripe crops in due time but also to thrashing them well, storing and looking after them carefully, so as not to lose even a single grain of cereal.

The task in next year's struggle is to consolidate the successes attained in grain production this year, and, on this basis, make preparations for reaching a new, higher peak in the future. We should produce 3 million tons of rice in the future so that all the people in the northern half can eat rice for their daily meals. In order to scale this new height, it is necessary to make full preparations for next year.

First of all, the area of paddyfields should be expanded We should bring approximately 30,000 *chongbo* of land under

rice cultivation next year and then turn another 30,000 *chongbo* into rice paddies by the spring of 1964, thus increasing the area of paddyfields to 600,000 *chongbo* in 1964.

We should increase the area of irrigated paddies and our irrigation facilities for dry fields. To do so, 6,000 to 7,000 water pumps should be sent to the countryside so that every tractor may have one attached to it to lift water. Water should be lifted by tractor-driven pumps in two or three stages; in this way we should irrigate even sloping fields.

Besides, to increase the level of mechanization next year more than 3,000 tractors and over 1,000 trucks should be sent to the countryside. Larger amounts of chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals and weed killers should also be supplied.

Agricultural co-operatives should produce large amounts of compost. In the flatland areas such as Sinchon and Chaeryong where the sources of grass are limited, coal should be used as fuel and, instead, rice straw should be chopped to make compost in large quantities, and peat should also be dug up actively.

We should, in this way, continue to hold fast to the production goal of 5 million tons of grain for a year or two and, at the same time, improve the percentage composition of better grains.

Furthermore, bean and other oil-bearing crops should be planted widely so we can produce more vegetable oil.

Animal husbandry should be developed to produce more meat.

Orchards should be well tended so we can produce more fruit.

Besides, beginning this year 100,000 modern dwellings should be built every year in the countryside to renew the look of our rural villages. Build houses for another 300,000 to 400,000 families, and almost all our peasants will be living in tile-roofed houses, I reckon.

Then the long-cherished desire of the Koreans, that is, to live in plenty in tile-roofed houses, eating rice and meat soup and wearing silk clothes, will become a reality.

The struggle for accomplishing this centuries-old desire of our people is a really worthwhile and honourable one. We must succeed in carrying out this honourable task before us by waging a vigorous struggle.

4. ON EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL WORK

The work of school education must be conducted properly in order to intensify the struggle against outmoded practices and to accelerate the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside.

Now we have compulsory secondary education and are making preparations for the enforcement of compulsory technical education, which has already been put into effect in many counties.

However, the counties still fail to give deep attention to the proper management of schools and to the preparatory work for the enforcement of the compulsory technical education system.

Graduates from schools will all go to work at local industry factories and agricultural co-operatives in the future. Therefore, the fulfilment of the technical and cultural revolutions in the countryside depends largely upon whether or not the pupils have been educated at school properly.

Pupils must be encouraged to study hard and keep their schools neat and clean. They should also be taught to practise good manners and make a clean personal appearance

Only in this way, can they fully play their role as educated and cultured persons of a new type when they are launched into society after their graduation from school. Those who have received good training at school will keep public establishments, dwellings, clubs and the like spick-and-span and make an effort to lead their daily life in a modern way.

The pupils of some schools now wear their clothes, caps and Young Pioneers' scarves carelessly.

All this, we can say, is the result of the lack of concern for school work on the part of the county Party committees and county people's committees.

At schools, education should be correctly linked with productive labour. The pupils should not be overworked. This would affect their studies and their physical growth. But moderate physical labour is indispensable. You should engage them in appropriate productive labour which will be useful to their education.

Pupils should learn which trees grow fast and where different kinds of trees are used while planting and tending them. Raising rabbits or sheep, they should also learn the habits of domestic animals and what they eat best.

Small plots of paddy and dry fields should be allotted to schools so that pupils cultivate them and acquire an elementary knowledge of farming—how to transplant rice-seedlings, how to plant maize and what kind of manure to apply to which land.

Deep attention should also be given to the development of the physical strength of the pupils and to their emotional education. We should also teach them technical know-how so that all of them will be able to handle simple machines.

All pupils should, in this way, be reared into versatile men of a new type, into competent builders of a new society.

The counties should build more schools and pay more attention to the students' life. Why can't you build schools when you can build 100,000 modern dwellings every year in the countryside? Schools should be built by all means even at the cost of some rural modern dwellings. All the 2.5 million students constitute our precious rising generation. The more we do for them, the better.

Next year we should produce more vinyl chloride so that all our students will have footwear, schoolbags and raincoats made of vinyl.

This year overcoats should be supplied to the pupils in all counties; spring and autumn uniforms should also be made for them next year.

Furthermore, the counties should build up hospitals and

clubs modernly and hygienically. They should set up more pediatric wards and maternity homes at the county hospitals and, particularly, beautify the county seats further. Thus, every county should be built up well in a modern and hygienic way so as to become a Model Hygienic County by August 15 next year.

5. ON STRENGTHENING PARTY WORK

First, let me tell you about strengthening the guidance the provincial Party committees give to industry and the role of the factory Party committees.

The main cause of the defects revealed in the course of this year's struggle for scaling the six heights lies in Party work.

As I have emphasized time and again, our industry has now undergone a qualitative change as compared with the past, both in scale and in the level of technical development. Today it is absolutely impossible for a minister or a management-bureau director to rely only on his personal knowledge in the management of our industry which has developed in a diversified way and grown considerably in size. Efficient management of our industry requires collective Party leadership. The provincial Party committee should take direct responsibility for industry and give it leadership, and it should rouse the factory Party committees to action and get all Party members on the move.

This question cannot be solved simply by reorganizing a ministry or appointing knowledgeable men to the post of a minister or a management-bureau director. In order to do work revolutionarily, it is necessary, after all, to rouse the Party organizations to action and to rely on the Party members and the revolutionary working class.

The Hwanghae Iron Works is located near Pyongyang, and so many cadres from the central bodies visit it. Recently, it is said, the director of the metal management bureau made a pro-

longed visit to the Hwanghae Iron Works. Nevertheless, the Hwanghae Iron Works is repeating the same errors it committed in 1959, but no one has been able to correct them.

However often he may go personally to give guidance to a factory, no individual can ever solve the problems without bringing its Party committee into action. The main reason for the poor work in the Hwanghae Iron Works lies in the defective work of the factory Party committee. If the factory Party committee had been well acquainted with the Party policies, it would not have blindly followed the wrong directives sent down from the ministry and would have saved the situation in time.

Lenin blasted to smithereens the Menshevik manoeuvrings to turn the Party of the working class into a sort of club; he made the Party a militant and organized detachment with iron discipline and developed the leadership of the Party organizations to play the role of the general staff of the revolution. It is impossible to win victory in a fierce battle against the enemy if the general staff is not sufficiently strong.

Production is also a battle. For successful production it is necessary, first of all, to efficiently build up the factory Party committee, the general staff of the factory, and strengthen its role.

The greatest advantage of the collective leadership of the Party committee lies in the fact that it can accurately perform the role of a helmsman by formulating a correct line of struggle embodying the Party policies, based on a comprehensive understanding of all conditions in the factory and in the fact that it can properly mobilize all the Party organizations, Party members, working people's organizations and all the workers of the factory to struggle for the implementation of the Party's policies.

In order to ensure the collective leadership of the Party committee satisfactorily, it is of primary importance that the Party committee itself should be made up properly. The Party committee should be composed of the core elements who resolutely defend the Party's policies, who are well-versed in the actual conditions of the major factory departments and who can

fully reflect the views of broad sections of Party members and working masses. Therefore, Party functionaries, administrative and management personnel, technicians and core workers should all be included in the Party committee.

The Party committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works is not made up properly. It is not composed of Party core activists but of shop representatives selected on an equal basis from various shops. Thus, the factory Party committee included a telephone-operator and the head of the clinic. Of course, these comrades are all good, hard-working people, but they do not play a central role in production. The provincial Party committee that approved this composition of the factory Party committee is also to blame.

The workers who directly handle the machines know production better than anyone else. When the work was not going properly at the Hwanghae Iron Works, the workers submitted their opinions. However, their leaders did not readily accept their valid opinions.

If it had been well-organized and had done its work properly, the Party committee would have accepted the reasonable opinions of the workers immediately and taken appropriate measures, and could have closely linked the revolutionary spirit of the workers with the scientific knowledge of the technicians. Also, it could have advanced its correct views to the Central Committee in time, instead of blindly following the directives of the ministry.

However, the Party committee of the Hwanghae Iron Works failed to act as helmsman nor did it successfully bring into play the creativity of the Party members and the working masses.

When I visited the Hwanghae Iron Works in 1959, I found at first that the work was too spread out, but I could not find specific defects. However, many things were brought to light in the course of rousing the Party organizations to action and from talking with the Party members and workers. The workers stressed that the cause of unsatisfactory work should be sought not outside but inside the factory, and pointed to

many grave defects—there was no one to repair open-hearth furnaces because the workers of the repair and maintenance shop had all been transferred to construction work; steel production did not go on smoothly because many furnaces were operated incorrectly when they had not enough gas and so on. We paid attention to the voices of these comrades and took corrective measures, having clearly understood the shortcomings of the Hwanghae Iron Works.

The Party committee should be built up with the workers who can speak straight from the shoulder about production problems, and an atmosphere should be created in which they can always express their views freely.

The open-hearth shop is the most central link in the Hwanghae Iron Works, but the core workers of the shop have only two representatives in the Party committee. This is too small a number. There is no doubt that if five to six comrades from the open-hearth shop had been on the Party committee, they would have put forth many opinions, which would have greatly helped the committee to play its role of helmsman.

You must not neglect your work with intellectuals on the ground that we should rely on the revolutionary spirit of the working class. What is important is that the factory Party committee should properly lead the intellectuals and workers to help each other. Intellectuals have technique and knowledge, but are inclined more or less to conservatism. Workers have a strong revolutionary spirit but they lack knowledge. The factory Party committee should go deeply among the intellectuals and workers and give guidance in such a way as to correctly combine the scientific knowledge of the intellectuals with the revolutionary spirit of the working class. It is also the duty of the general staff to perform this sort of co-ordination. The Hwanghae Iron Works Party Committee has failed to do this work satisfactorily.

In order to strengthen the leadership of the provincial Party committee in industrial production we built up its economic departments well, and during the recent guidance to the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, we took radical measures for considerably expanding the apparatuses of the factory Party com-

mittees and strengthening their leadership. Therefore, all questions would have been settled smoothly, if the provincial Party committee had roused the factory Party committee to action and if the factory Party committee, firmly adhering to the Party's policies, had properly organized the implementation of these policies, relying upon the core elements of the Party and the working class. But it worked only with some administrative cadres instead of with the Party organizations and Party members; *as a result, things went awry. The only way to mobilize* the creativity of the masses is for the Party to set forth a correct line of struggle and to set all the Party organizations on the move, strengthening the vanguard role of the Party members for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks.

The masters of the factory are the factory Party committee, all the Party members and workers. It is fundamentally wrong not to rely on the masters of the factory in work.

Working only with the manager and the chief engineer will get you nowhere. It was a great mistake that the Heavy Industry Commission called up only managers and chief engineers for a joint conference and did not summon chairmen of the factory Party committees and active workers In guiding the factory you must get the factory Party committee and the Party members of the factory on the move.

I have said that the Party committee should stay aft and play a steering role instead of taking upon itself administrative work. Then, there have appeared such detrimental practices as simply spouting empty phrases from behind without knowing anything about how production is proceeding. A resolute struggle must be waged against this tendency. What Party work can the factory Party committee do apart from production? The factory Party committee represents the highest level of pro*duction leadership at the factory. The Party committee should deal directly with the organization and mobilization of activities* related to production.

The factory Party committee must hold collective discussions on all important problems related to production, formulate correct policies and measures, acquire a detailed understanding

of the state of production affairs, lead and supervise production all the time so that the Party's policy can be fully carried out in production; it must conduct the organizational work of mobilizing the Party members and working masses for the implementation of the Party's policy. If you fail to do this and only give scoldings from behind, that is a far cry from guidance.

The Party committee should work not only with the manager and the chief engineer but also with the Party activists, and with the working masses so that they may fully carry out the Party's policy.

The manager and the chief engineer should assume the responsibility for carrying out Party committee decisions.

It is the Party committee that directs production and bears the responsibility for production. The Party committee should be responsible for all affairs of the factory. That the Party should not take upon itself administrative work means that the Party committee should not substitute the manager and the chief engineer in the technical guidance of production, but it does not mean that it should stop guiding production. The main task of the factory Party committee is to give correct guidance to production.

The department of heavy industry of the provincial Party committee should also improve its method of work. It is a difficult job for an instructor of this department to lead all the work of a given factory. Guidance to a factory can be given only through the factory Party committee. Through its instructor, the provincial Party committee should be constantly in touch with production conditions at the factory, assure that the factory Party committee is acquainted with the Party's policy and rouse it to action. The provincial Party committee should, above all, have its influence over the factory Party committee. It should properly guide the work of activating the Party organizations and working people's organizations, such as the trade unions and the Democratic Youth League organizations in the factory, and of organizing and mobilizing the Party members and the working people. That the provincial Party committee should have control of industry means, in the final anal-

ysis, that it should properly keep the factory Party committee on the move to ensure production.

If the provincial Party committee, instead of doing such work, digs out the defects of the lower units, reports them to the ministry and waits for it to solve everything, nothing will be solved.

The ministry should be responsible primarily for giving technical guidance and supplying materials. Direct guidance to production and the work of mobilizing the working masses should be conducted by the provincial Party committee through the factory Party committee.

But the Party work system has not yet been fully established in the guidance of industry. The provincial Party committee fails to rouse the factory Party committee to action properly, and the factory Party committee plays its role as the general staff for the guidance of production unsatisfactorily. Hence, what is most important in the struggle for scaling the six heights is to intensify the Party guidance of industry.

Once the Party organizations are roused to full activity, nothing is impossible. Work goes well in Changsong because the activities of the Party organizations are in full swing.

When we were here last year, we visited the Yaksu Middle School and assigned to them the task of teaching all the pupils to play a musical instrument. It was a very difficult task, and in order to carry it out, I was told, the school Party cell held a number of meetings. At the meetings they discussed the matter seriously and came to the conclusion that in order to teach the pupils to play musical instruments, the teachers themselves had to learn how to play them first, so all the teachers started learning how to play musical instruments as a Party assignment. The chief of school affairs zealously learned how to play the piano during night hours; all the teachers made great efforts to learn how to play musical instruments. Then, the teachers taught the pupils how to play them. When a Party organization works like this, there is nothing that can stop us.

When you go back to your places of work after this meeting, the provincial Party committee chairmen should, first of

all, re-examine the composition of the factory Party committees and give their main attention to increasing their fighting capacity.

During our guidance visit to the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant we laid special emphasis on strengthening the role of the factory Party committee. Many factories have still not introduced the new Taean work system. If you work as required by this system, everything will go well. The provincial Party committee chairmen must wage an energetic struggle to establish the Taean work system in all spheres in order to push ahead successfully with the struggle to reach the six heights.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few remarks on the work of the county Party committee.

The experience of Changsong County shows that success in all county work is due primarily to the proper work of the county Party committee. When the leading functionaries accept the Party's policies from the bottom of their hearts and persistently strive for their implementation with a firm will, there is nothing which is beyond their capacity. The Party organizations should thoroughly explain and bring home the Party's policies to the masses and organize and mobilize them for their implementation.

Furthermore, the leading functionaries should always stand in the van of the masses and lead them forward, setting practical examples in all work.

The Changsong County Party Committee properly explained and propagated the Party policies among the masses and actively mobilized them. As the experiences of the Changsong and Sakju County Party Committees show, all the masses can be activated when Party organizational and political work is conducted well and the leading functionaries stand in the van.

Whether the work of the county goes well or not depends entirely upon its Party committee.

If the county Party committee, as the organ of collective leadership, as the general staff of the county, disseminates the Party's policies adequately and executes organizational work

effectively, taking hold of all fronts and all spheres of county work, with the cadres marching in the lead, all problems will be solved.

The county Party committee is the lowest organ that assumes the direct responsibility for all county work, including the rural economy, and organizes, leads and implements it. The county Party committee also bears the direct responsibility for the living standards of the workers, peasants and all the other inhabitants of the county.

The county Party committee should, therefore, properly lead the county people's committee and the county agricultural co-operative management committee, steer all branches well, rally the masses around the Party and get all of them on the move.

Moreover, work should be organized and carried out in a revolutionary way. Work once started must be carried to the end, come what may, through vigorous struggle. Work should not be done in a hit-or-miss way.

Success in our work depends, in the last analysis, on whether the masses are fully roused to action or not. The county Party committee, continuously embodying the Chongsan-*ri* method in all work, should always go to the masses, hear and meet their demands, discuss with them and take them by the hand.

We have always won victories in the past, and will win more victories in the future. However, we should not be elated with the victories and successes already achieved but should march on and on. We should put an end to indolence and slackness. We should lead a frugal life and dedicate our all to the resolute struggle for the revolution.

I firmly believe that you comrades will fully carry out the tasks set forth at this meeting, and thereby bring about a radical change in the political, economic and cultural advancement of our counties.

ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Speech Delivered at the First Session of the Third Supreme People's Assembly

October 23, 1962

Comrade Deputies,

The elections of the deputies to the Third Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were held triumphantly in the midst of a great political upsurge, in the inspiring atmosphere of the labour campaign to reach this year's six main goals.

The participation of all our working people as one man in the Supreme People's Assembly elections with a great political enthusiasm showed their unyielding determination to firmly safeguard and further consolidate and develop our people's power and socialist achievements and to carry through to victory the revolutionary cause of socialism and communism in our country. The election results have shown our people's absolute support and trust in the Workers' Party and people's power; they have demonstrated the unbreakable political and moral unity of all the people based on the worker-peasant alliance.

The support and trust our people have placed in the Party and in their state power as well as the political and moral cohesion of our society are the fruits of the long, hard struggle for our country's freedom and independence and for the building

of a new life. They are also based on material foundations—the socialist system established in the northern half of the Republic and the free, happy life of our people under that system.

The Korean people fought long and valiantly for national independence and liberation, for their own sovereignty. In the grimmest period of Japanese imperialist rule the Communists and the patriotic people of Korea waged a heroic anti-Japanese armed struggle for 15 years solely for the restoration of the fatherland and the freedom of the people, braving all kinds of indescribable hardship and suffering. After liberation our people, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, took power firmly in their hands, upsetting all the machinations by the forces of foreign aggression and local reaction.

Our people's power is a sovereign power that has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of the Communists and patriotic people of Korea; it is a great achievement, won by our people through hard struggle under the leadership of our Party. Ours is a genuine people's power that serves the people devotedly and maintains close ties of kinship with them; it is the most democratic and stable power, which relies on the united strength of the workers, peasants and the rest of the people and actively draws the broad popular masses into state affairs.

Led by a Marxist-Leninist Party and having taken power firmly into their own hands, our people are invincible.

Since liberation, our people have gone through many trials and hardships in the struggle to build a new life. Our country took over a backward economy and culture from the old society; on top of this, it was reduced to ashes during the bitter three-year war. With our country split into northern and southern halves, we are building socialism and fighting for reunification, standing face to face with the U.S. imperialists, the ringleader of world reaction. Our enemies of all hues at home and abroad have never stopped plotting to cause dissension in our ranks and hold back our progress.

However, under the experienced Marxist-Leninist leader-

ship of our Party and relying on the indestructible vitality of people's power, our people have carried out great revolutionary tasks and tremendous works of construction and have created a wonderful new social system and a new life in a historically brief time span, heroically surmounting all trials and difficulties.

Their experience of life-and-death struggles has firmly convinced our people of the correctness of our Party's policies and the vitality of their own state power. In the Party's lines and policies they see the road to their future victories and, in the people's power and the socialist system they have achieved under the leadership of the Party, they see the source of their freedom and happiness.

The Chollima Movement, the great driving force of socialist construction in our country, is the most concentric expression of the surging revolutionary spirit, untiring determination to fight, and unlimited creative powers of our people who are rallied with a rock-like unity around the Party and the Government, placing their full trust in the Party, boundlessly valuing their state power and the social system, and dynamically advancing towards a brighter future.

No force can ever impair the unshakable dignity and prestige enjoyed by our Party among the masses, wrest from our people their state power and socialist achievements, or halt their great march forward toward the victory of socialism and communism.

1

Comrades,

Thanks to the correct policy of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic and to the heroic struggle of our people, our society has completely eliminated the backwardness and poverty of centuries and made a great leap

forward toward progress and civilization in the last four or five years. We have altered mountains and rivers of our country and radically transformed our socio-economic system, and have brought about tremendous changes in all aspects of our people's material and spiritual life.

An advanced socialist system free of exploitation and oppression has been firmly established in the northern half of the Republic. Life has clearly shown that our state and economic systems are the most rational and superior forms for our country's present stage of development. With the rapid progress of socialist construction, our socialist system is further consolidating and developing with each passing day, bringing ever greater advantages.

We have not only established an excellent social system but have also laid firm foundations for building up our country's economy on our own.

It was a particularly important and yet difficult task to build the foundations of an independent national economy in our country which had been a backward agrarian colony in the past. We have successfully fulfilled this task by maximum mobilization of the strength of our people and all our domestic resources on the principle of self-reliance along with the most rational use of aid from fraternal countries.

To consolidate the economic independence of the country we must first rapidly develop industry, particularly heavy industry.

In our country industrial production has grown at an unprecedentedly high tempo and we have completely eliminated our industry's colonial lopsidedness and backwardness.

In 1961 alone our industry produced many more goods than in the ten years after liberation, that is, in the whole period from 1946 to 1955. Thanks to the rapid growth of industrial output, the share of industry in the total value of industrial and agricultural output had already reached 71 per cent in 1960.

The metal and chemical industries have developed rapidly. We have consolidated the fuel and electric power bases of the country and have created our own machine-building industry.

Our heavy industry has been equipped with new technology and has further expanded; relying mainly on domestic raw materials and other natural resources for its development, it is in a position to satisfy most of our needs for the various means of production, including machines and other equipment.

Thus, the task of laying the foundations of socialist industrialization in our country has been successfully completed. We have established a solid framework for a modern heavy industry which constitutes the basis for the country's political and economic independence and is capable of equipping all branches of the national economy with modern technology.

In the field of light industry, our Party brought about great innovation in the production of consumer goods for the people with its policy of developing small- and medium-scale locally-run industries side by side with the large-scale industries under central authority.

The large-scale light industry factories have been greatly expanded, their technical equipment has been improved, and an average of more than ten local industry factories have been built in every city and county throughout the country. In addition, we now have our own stable sources of raw materials for light industry.

We have built strong production bases in light industry which now enable us to satisfy by ourselves much of our people's requirements for consumer goods and which, in the future, will be able to supply the population with a greater abundance of different types of high-quality goods.

The problem of agriculture, especially of grain production, has been one of the most difficult we have had to face in building a socialist economy in our country.

Arable land is scarce in our country and the greater part of it is hilly and poor. Our country is hit by drought almost every year and frequently suffers damage from storms and floods. Moreover, our agriculture, which had been originally very backward technically and economically, was severely devastated during the war.

However, by transforming nature through extensive irrigation, afforestation and water conservation projects and by steadily developing our farming techniques, we overcame these handicaps, successfully solved the food problem, and laid solid foundations for the rapid development of all branches of agriculture.

Grain output has shown a high yearly rate of increase. In 1961 it reached 4,830,000 tons, that is to say, 1,000,000 tons more than in the previous year. Up to two or three years ago we had to import hundreds of thousands of tons of grain annually from foreign countries, but now we have achieved self-sufficiency in food grains.

Today, irrigation canals ramify over the fields in our country and agriculture is being further equipped with new technology. Our peasants have not only been freed from exploitation and oppression, but are also being protected from natural calamities and gradually released from toilsome labour.

All these successes in the development of our national economy show the correctness of our Party's economic policy of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry and, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture. They represent a splendid victory for our Party's consistent line of building an independent national economy.

Only by ensuring the growth of heavy industry in the first place, with the machine-building industry as its core, have we been able to develop light industry and agriculture rapidly, raise the people's living standards steadily, and lay the material and technical foundations for the overall technological reconstruction of the national economy. Only by sticking firmly to the line of building an independent national economy have we been able to transform our country into a powerful socialist industrial-agricultural state in such a short time, eliminating the backwardness inherited from the old society. Furthermore, we have been able to lay our own solid economic foundations for increasing the wealth and power of the country and enriching the life of the people.

The cultural revolution is one of the important tasks in the

construction of socialism. Especially when socialism is being built in a backward country, it is necessary to step up the cultural revolution more vigorously.

Thanks to the constant concern of our Party and Government, our people have made enormous achievements in building a new, socialist culture.

In the field of education we have completely done away with the survivals of the old society and established the most advanced educational system adapted to the requirements of socialist construction.

Compulsory secondary school education has been introduced universally and a great number of secondary and higher specialized technical schools and institutions for higher education have been set up. The network of evening and correspondence courses has particularly been expanded and a large number of factory colleges and communist colleges have been established, thus enabling many working people to receive a higher education without stopping their productive activities.

In our country there are now more than 2.6 million students studying at over 8,900 schools of all levels, including 93 institutes of higher education. Of this total, as many as 209,000 are college and university students.

In addition, more than one million workers and peasants are acquiring general knowledge in the working people's schools and working people's middle schools and all the working people are learning new technology.

Indeed, all people in our country are studying and making progress; all the working people are mastering science and technology, becoming educated and cultured builders of a new society.

As a result of the rapid development of secondary and higher technical education, we have already trained a large contingent of more than 160,000 technical cadres of our nation and their ranks are steadily increasing year by year.

Had our Party and Government not made great efforts and taken far-sighted measures to rapidly develop public education, raise the general cultural and technical levels of the working

people and produce many national cadres from the period immediately following liberation, we would not have been able either to lay the foundations of an independent national economy or to ensure a high rate of socialist construction. By giving priority to education and cadre training despite all difficulties, we have created favourable conditions for administering the state and managing the economy efficiently on our own, and for developing our society at an exceptionally high rate.

In the realm of science, splendid research achievements are also constantly being registered. The scientists and technicians of our country are making great contributions to the development of the national economy and the promotion of the people's well-being by such numerous successes as the completion of vinalon research, the solution of the problem of gasifying anthracite, research on semi-conductors and the discovery of new methods for the treatment of different diseases.

Keeping pace with the times of Chollima, our literature and art have also entered the period of full bloom. Thanks to our Party's correct policy in this field and the vigorous creative activities of the writers and artists inspired by this policy, are developing rapidly in our country revolutionary literature and art which faithfully serve the popular masses.

Literature and art are enjoyed by all the people in our country, and there is very broad participation of workers, peasants and the rest of the masses in creative activity in this field. Indeed, our literature and art now belong to the popular masses and are powerful weapons inspiring them in the struggle to build a new society.

The rapid development of the socialist economy has brought about further improvement in the material and cultural life of our people.

By 1961 the real wages of factory and office workers were 2.1 times those of 1956. In the same period the peasants' income in cash and kind increased 1.6 times and their overall standard of living reached that of middle or well-to-do middle peasants in the past.

With the extensive housing construction, the dwelling con-

ditions of the working people have greatly improved. In only five years, from 1957 to 1961, we built new dwellings with a total floor space of 7.6 million square metres in urban areas and 5.8 million square metres in rural areas.

Today, our working people are free from any worry about food, clothing and housing and all of them now enjoy a secure life. This means that we have solved the most basic problems in the daily life of our people.

In addition, the working people receive enormous material and cultural benefits from the state. Having abolished tuition fees in all schools, the state provides free education and even gives scholarships to the students in institutes of higher education and specialized schools. A system of vacations with pay has been introduced for factory and office workers, and every year hundreds of thousands of working people enjoy a pleasant time in holiday homes at state expense; and everyone receives the benefits of free medical care. Numerous nurseries and kindergartens set up and run at state and public expense are creditably bringing up more than 1,000,000 children, providing the conditions for women to participate in social labour. Disabled people, old people with no one to rely on, and orphans are all guaranteed a secure life by the state.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule when we lost our country and were deprived of our sovereignty, our working people were badly-clothed and starving under double and even triple exploitation and oppression; countless people, unable to make their own living, roamed about begging.

Under the power of the people and the socialist system, however, the life of our working people has radically changed. In one half of the country we have built a new life in which the entire working population, free from exploitation and poverty, live without any worry, working and studying together, helping each other forward for the happiness of all. This is a great change in the history of our country and in the life of our people.

2

Comrades,

The historic Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea summed up the shining victories of our people in the socialist revolution and in the construction of socialism and set the impressive goals of the Seven-Year Plan.

By carrying out full-scale technical and cultural revolutions during the period of the Seven-Year Plan, we will build the solid material and technical foundations of socialism and radically raise the people's material and cultural standards.

Today, socialist construction in our country has entered a new and higher stage.

For the end of the Five-Year Plan period, our main task was to lay the foundations of socialism and to transform our backward agrarian country into an independent socialist industrial-agricultural state. To carry out this task we concentrated all efforts on completing socialist transformation in town and countryside, laying the foundations for socialist industrialization, and substantially solving the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people.

Our main task in the Seven-Year Plan period is to further accelerate socialist construction and turn our country into a socialist industrial state with a modern industry and developed agriculture. By thoroughly carrying out socialist industrialization in this period, we will equip all branches of the national economy with modern technology and reach the high level of development of the productive forces characteristic of an advanced socialist society; we should not only solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people more satisfactorily, but enable everyone to live a rich and cultured life.

If the period of the Five-Year Plan was the one in which the great tree of socialism took deep root and its trunk grew

strong, then we can call the Seven-Year Plan a period in which the tree will grow, blossom beautifully, and bear fine fruit.

When the Seven-Year Plan is fulfilled, all spheres of the new socialist life will really be in full flower.

Our industry will develop in a diversified way and will be more fully equipped with new technology. Different kinds of machines, equipment and other means of production, as well as different high-quality consumer goods, will be produced in far greater quantities. As a result of the technological modernization of agriculture, we will achieve a decisive increase in the output of all farm produce, including grain and animal products, and free the peasants from backbreaking toil.

We will build more beautiful towns and villages and all our people will live as well as other peoples.

The construction of socialism in the northern half of the Republic is in harmony with the vital interests of the people not just in the north but in the entire nation. The fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan will strengthen the revolutionary base in the northern half and make it invincible; it will open up a decisive phase in achieving the peaceful reunification of our country. By fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan we shall also lay more solid material foundations for quickly rehabilitating the south Korean economy and for radically improving the living conditions of the people there in the future.

Thus, our Seven-Year Plan is an impressive programme for the construction of socialism in the northern half of the Republic. At the same time, it is a great national programme for building a reunified, independent, rich and powerful Korea and for ensuring the future happiness of 30 million Koreans. This is why all the working people in the northern half are showing extraordinary revolutionary zeal and patriotic devotion for the fulfilment of this programme and why the entire Korean people are most interested in its realization.

As was clearly outlined by our Party and the Government of the Republic, in the first half of the Seven-Year Plan we will work hard to put flesh on the skeleton of heavy industry, use it more effectively and, on this basis, speedily develop agri-

culture and light industry and radically improve the people's living conditions. In the latter half of the Plan we will put major emphasis on radically reinforcing the material and technical foundations of socialism by expanding centres of heavy industry and improving their technological equipment while continuing to better the people's living conditions.

We have already taken a big step forward towards the fulfilment of the first half of the Seven-Year Plan. Always responding faithfully to the call of the Party, our working people showed their unlimited creativity and talents in all fields of socialist construction and successfully fulfilled the national economic plan for 1961—the first year of the Seven-Year Plan—and are performing brilliant feats of labour in their struggle to reach this year's six heights.

The national economic plan for this year has the six heights, as its main targets, a tremendous and difficult programme envisaging a high rate of growth in industrial and agricultural production.

Over two months still remain before the end of the year, but we can say with confidence that we have already won a decisive victory in the battle to conquer the six heights.

Agriculture plays a very important part in economic construction under socialism. Only when we bring in good harvests will we have enough to eat and will everything go well in the economic life of the country. The target of 5 million tons of grain is the most important of this year's six heights.

We struggled under totally adverse weather conditions to reach this height of production. This year our country was struck by a severe drought, followed by a long rainy spell that lasted more than three months and caused four big floods. In addition, we suffered damage from frost, blight, harmful insects, and typhoons. Indeed, we might say this was the year in which our agriculture suffered the nature's worst trials.

But our socialist agriculture has successfully overcome these difficulties. Not only has this year's grain output not fallen compared to last year's but we have reaped an unusual bumper harvest in the countryside.

The fact that we have harvested successive bumper crops in recent years and, moreover, have done so again in a year like this one, proves that our agricultural production is not affected by varying weather or other chance factors but, instead, like industrial production, it grows soundly and steadily according to the laws of the development of socialist economy.

This brilliant victory in agriculture represents a victory for our Party's agricultural policy—a victory of the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-*ri* method in the countryside. Above all, this clearly shows the superiority of the socialist system of co-operative economy established in our rural areas, the solid material and technical foundations of our agriculture and, in particular, the strength of the irrigation system, afforestation and water conservation facilities which have been built up by the supreme efforts of the Party, the state and the entire people. This has also been made possible because our Party, imbued with the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-*ri* method, has given precedence to political work and has actively conducted communist education among the peasants so that they display conscious enthusiasm and devotion in their work. Our victory in agriculture has also been possible because our Party has thoroughly put into practice the line of providing a material stimulus to arouse the enthusiasm of the peasants for production by correctly enforcing the socialist principle of distribution and introducing a bonus system for the workteams.

In the course of the fight for the height of 5 million tons of grain, we have strengthened the material and technical foundations of agriculture and furthered the progress of our farm technology. In the countryside our tractor stock now totals 15,000 in terms of 15 h.p. units and the level of agricultural mechanization has continued to rise. This year the area under irrigation has been expanded by 30,000 *chongbo* and the amount of chemical fertilizer applied is 13 per cent higher than last year.

Along with grain production, all other branches of agriculture such as industrial crops, stockbreeding, sericulture and fruit growing have shown a high growth rate.

Government set the impressive target of 800,000 tons of marine products this year and are working hard in this area. Boundlessly inspired by the Party's policy, all our workers in the fishing industry are working heroically to complete this gigantic task and have already achieved great results. Needless to say, there is no ground for us to get complacent because the major fishing season—November and December—still lies ahead. We are, however, firmly convinced that in view of the results already achieved and with the present progress in production and the rising spirit of the workers in the fishing industry, we shall be able to fly the flag of victory, achieving our target of 800,000 tons of marine products.

The struggle to reach the height of homes for 200,000 families is a glorious one because by reaching that target, we will improve the housing conditions of the working people and, especially, transform the appearance of our countryside by clearing away the mud huts which have been in existence for thousands of years.

Our Fourth Party Congress set the huge task of building modern houses for 600,000 families in urban as well as in rural areas during the period of the Seven-Year Plan. We set about carrying out this task this year. Such an immense project for housing construction for the working people can be undertaken only in our society where power and all the wealth of the country are in the hands of the people and strong economic foundations have been laid.

So far we have carried out housing construction on a large scale. But never before have we built as many houses as we did this year, nor built dwellings in the countryside for 100,000 families in a single year. Nonetheless, our construction workers are successfully doing this difficult job with the active assistance of the entire people. Decisive results have already been achieved in the construction of rural housing, not to speak of urban housing; now we are in the final stage of housing construction for 200,000 families. This year we will definitely build modern houses for 100,000 families in the cities and the same number in the countryside.

This year heavy industry is confronted with the weighty task of reaching the heights of 1.2 million tons of steel and 15 million tons of coal; and of giving a powerful support to reach the remaining heights. On the whole our heavy industry has substantially completed its job.

Workers and technicians in the iron and steel industry will also reach their target of 1.2 million tons of pig iron and granulated iron and will produce 1.1 million tons of steel this year. This means that steel production will fall slightly short of the target, but a 29 per cent increase in production of pig iron and granulated iron and a more than 40 per cent increase in steel over last year is a big achievement for one year.

In the coal industry thorough measures were not taken against flood damage, despite the fact that the Party has stressed their importance time and again. As a result, pits were waterlogged after heavy rains and work at the coal face and transportation were greatly hindered. We thus fell short of the coal production target by a considerable margin. We now expect that coal output will rise by some 10 per cent as against last year. However, if the personnel in this sector had carried out the Party's instructions promptly and correctly, they would certainly have been in a position to reach the height of 15 million tons of coal.

The electric-power, chemical and machine-building industries have all achieved good results and production has sharply increased. Our machine-building industry, in particular, has made an important contribution to speeding up the technological reconstruction of the national economy by supplying large quantities of equipment needed for the mechanization of agriculture and fishing as well as metallurgical, chemical and electric-power equipment, and installations for the coal and other mines and for light industry.

Heavy industry this year has witnessed the construction of many new factories and shops such as the new medium-plate rolling shop in the Songjin Steel Plant with a production capacity of 80,000 tons, the drawn-steel-pipe shop of the Kangson Steel Plant with a production capacity of 30,000 tons, the

o Smeltery nonferrous metal rolling shop with a capacity ,000 tons, the Pyongyang Electric Wire Factory with a ca- y of 12,000 tons, the Pongung Caustic Soda Factory with a acity of 50,000 tons, and the sulphuric acid shop with a ca- ity of 45,000 tons in the Munpyong Smeltery. At the same ne technical equipment has been improved, advanced produc- on methods and technical processes have been introduced ex- ensively and productive capacity has been sharply raised in all heavy industry plants.

Better equipped and strengthened in this way, our heavy industry is now more effective in serving the development of light industry and agriculture and the improvement of the peo- ple's living conditions.

This year we have waged a very intense struggle in all areas of socialist construction. This has been a proud and glorious battle for boundless prosperity in our country and the happiness of our people, and in it we have won a shining victory.

Comrades,

The tremendous successes in the first two years of the Sev- en-Year Plan open up bright prospects for the radical improve- ment of the people's living conditions in three or four years. To turn these prospects into reality, we must determinedly con- tinue the struggle in 1963 and 1964.

The basic task of the national economic plan for 1963 is simultaneously to consolidate the gains made this year in scaling the six heights, and to make preparations for even higher goals In the following year we shall also direct our efforts to th development of agriculture and light industry and, in the fie of heavy industry, we will re-equip and reinforce all our f tories and do everything in our power to develop the mi industry. At the same time, in the light of ever-increasing gressive machinations by the U.S. imperialists entrench south Korea, and the military fascist clique, the Party a Government will pay close attention to further fortifyi national defences.

The radical development of the mining industry is task for heavy industry next year. Mining is

mary process in production and, for that reason, unless we give priority to this industry we can hardly develop the other sectors of the national economy at a normal rate.

The Party and the Government, while continuing to develop the processing industry, will concentrate investments in mining during 1963 and 1964, so as to strengthen the material and technical basis of the ore and coal mines, and see to it that the growing requirements of the national economy for various kinds of ores and coal are fully satisfied.

The great historic task we are now engaged in calls for the extensive exploitation and use of our country's abundant mineral resources. In the coal industry we must definitely reach the height of 15 million tons of coal next year and continue to increase output in the future. The ore mining industry should supply enough ore to the iron and steel industry and also increase the output of various nonferrous and rare metal ores and non-metal minerals. It is particularly necessary to step up the extensive exploitation, refining and processing of nonferrous metal ores such as copper, lead, zinc and nickel and raw materials for alloys and to expand both variety and output of steel and alloys Only in this way can we fully prepare for a new upsurge in the development of heavy industry.

To develop the mining industry, we should give priority to geological prospecting. The ranks of prospecting workers and the technical equipment in this field should be further reinforced so as to expand this work and do it more thoroughly.

We must also continue to make large investments in the power industry and speed up the construction of the Kanggye Power Station, the Unbong Power Station, and the Pyongyang Thermal Power Plant, all of which are already under construction, thus guaranteeing their going into operation on schedule.

Further development of the machine-building industry is an important task throughout the whole period of the Seven-Year Plan. Within the next year or two, rapid progress is expected, particularly in the manufacture of large-scale machinery, which is still lagging behind. We should expand the large-scale machinery plants we now have, operate them at full

capacity, and build more new factories to be able to provide enough equipment for the power stations, coal mines, ore mines and other big plants. We should also improve the utilization of equipment to the utmost and organize production rationally in all the machine-building factories so that they may supply the national economy with more machinery and equipment.

Although the bases of our heavy industry have been much more consolidated in the last couple of years, they have not yet been fully equipped. Therefore, we should energetically continue to push ahead with the work of putting flesh on the skeleton of heavy industry.

All heavy industry plants should be better equipped, and a strict system of inspection and maintenance of the equipment should be established, and the necessary auxiliary equipment and other conditions must be fully guaranteed, thereby stabilizing production completely. Moreover, we must boldly and positively introduce the achievements of science and technology into production, stepping up the mechanization and automation of production processes by bringing into play all our potential resources, and the movement for technical innovation should be more widely developed.

In the field of technology we should pay particular attention to the manufacture of substitutes for those materials and raw materials not available in our country. We should do everything possible in the iron and steel industry to make wide use of ferro-coke and pellets and to raise the standard of iron ore so as to increase iron production while, at the same time, substantially reducing the consumption of coking coal. Measures should also be taken to introduce the extensive application of the oxygen-blast method in the process of manufacturing iron and steel and to put gasification of coal into practice.

The main task of light industry next year is to maintain production levels, consolidating this year's height of 250 million metres of fabric, and to provide all conditions for the production of 300 million metres in 1964. At the same time, we must improve the quality of daily necessities and foodstuffs and expand their variety, markedly increasing their output.

To accomplish this task we should, above all, strengthen the raw material bases for light industry and markedly increase the production capacity of light industry factories.

We must fully normalize the operation of the February 8 Vinalon Factory, the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill, and the Hyesan Textile Mill, and increase production in all other branches which supply raw materials to light industry. Textile mills and all other light industry factories should make rational use of floor space to install more machinery, improve their equipment, and raise the workers' technical and skill levels to boost production at a steady rate.

More than 2,000 locally-run factories in our cities and counties have enormous possibilities for a rapid increase in the production of consumer goods for the people. It is planned that in 1964 local industry alone will turn out 100 million metres of fabric and 40,000 to 50,000 tons of paper, and that within each locality, the considerable local demands for daily necessities and processed food, as well as soy sauce, bean paste and vegetable oil will be met. It will be possible to realize this plan when we have developed local industry to a higher stage by carrying through the tasks laid down at the Changsong Joint Conference of Local Party and Economic Functionaries

Dynamic acceleration of technical reconstruction is most important for the rapid development of local industry. Locally-run factories must get rid of backward artisan technology, introduce mechanization and semi-automation into all production processes, and steadily improve the workers' technical knowledge and skills

We should consolidate raw material bases for local industry so that most of the necessary raw materials can be obtained in local areas; we should pay close attention to improving factory management and promoting general production culture.

In this way all of our locally-run factories will be made attractive, modern and efficient; they will be equipped with new technology, manufacture various consumer goods mainly from local raw materials and greatly benefit the state and the people.

In agriculture next year we should concentrate our efforts

on increasing the rice output and thus improve the proportion of better grain in total production.

We are now supplying enough food for the entire population and even have a certain amount of grain in reserve. But we cannot rest content with this. We must supply not only enough but also better-quality food to the working people and thus improve their standard of living.

Our Party and Government have initiated the huge task of increasing the rice output to more than 3 million tons within the next few years so that all the people in the northern half can live on rice. This is really a splendid programme which gladdens everybody. It is one that we can surely fulfil.

To secure a higher output of grain, especially rice, it is necessary to continue projects for transforming nature.

The state will concentrate efforts on speeding up the construction of the large-scale Amnok-gang River irrigation network which will water about 90,000 *chongbo* of fields. In the future the state will undertake a big irrigation project along the Ryesong-gang River to bring under irrigation over 100,000 *chongbo* of rice paddies and dry fields in North and South Hwanghae Provinces. It is also necessary to use the existing irrigation facilities to greater advantage, carry on the construction of medium and small irrigation projects, and energetically push ahead with the reclamation of land from the sea along the west coast. Especially, the reclaimed land is yielding good results: more than 4,000 *chongbo* reclaimed last year have already given us an average of over three tons of rice per *chongbo* this year. There is no doubt that as the salinity of these paddyfields goes down, the output of crops will grow. This is very fine and we should continue this work.

Starting now, we should, by spring 1964, expand the area of paddyfields by over 60,000 *chongbo,* making a total of 600,000 *chongbo* under rice cultivation in 1964.

Along with irrigation, land conservation work must be done properly. Drawing on the experience of this year we should regularly and carefully conserve not only big rivers but also small ones and, where necessary, undertake improvement pro-

jects. We should continue to energetically do forest and water conservation work—to plant and tend forests properly, build all river embankments on solid foundations and dredge river beds—so that floods bigger than this year's will not cause us damage.

In agriculture, it is necessary to step up mechanization and chemicalization, continue to improve seed strains, and develop all sorts of new farming techniques. During 1963, the state will also supply the rural areas with many tractors, lorries, and other modern farm machinery of various types. Next year, 700,000 tons of chemical fertilizers will be applied, and the supply of different chemicals for agriculture and weed killers will increase considerably.

In this way when we plant rice on 600,000 *chongbo* of paddyfields, expand the double-cropping area, and steadily improve farming technique to increase the per-*chongbo* yield of all kinds of crops, we shall be able to continue harvesting more than 5 million tons of grain annually; of this, rice output will undoubtedly hit the 3 million-ton mark.

With the food problem being fully solved, new possibilities are opening up for the rapid development of stockbreeding.

From 1964 onwards the Party and the Government plan to set aside large quantities of grain for animal fodder. Anticipating a sharp increase in the supply of fodder grain, we should start from now to build up the foundations of our stockbreeding by securing superior breeding animals and increasing their number and by improving and expanding stalls and veterinary and anti-epizootic establishments. We should not only breed pasture animals but also pigs and ducks on a large scale to bring meat production up to 200,000 tons by 1965.

We should expand the areas planted with different types of oil-bearing plants and fibre crops such as flax, hemp and ramie so as to increase their output and further develop fruit growing and sericulture.

While developing industry and agriculture, we must push ahead with housing construction for the working people. In the future, too, our construction workers must build a greater num-

ber of modern houses which are more comfortable, attractive and functional for the working people in urban and rural areas.

By successfully carrying out all these tasks, in three to four years we should be able to radically improve the living conditions of the people and consolidate the economic foundations of the country.

There will be a new, great change in the material and cultural life of our people three to four years later. By then we shall be producing 3 million tons of rice, 200,000 tons of meat, and 300 million metres of fabric; and new modern houses for hundreds of thousands of families will have gone up in town and country. This will enable all of our people to lead a life of plenty—to live in tile-roofed houses, eat rice and meat, and wear silk clothes. This means that within our time, the long-cherished desire of the working people of our country will be accomplished. This, indeed, will be a very happy and proud thing.

Moreover, in the near future, the compulsory nine-year technical education which we have been preparing for will be introduced universally. Its enforcement will enable us to bring up the whole younger generation as competent builders of socialism and communism, with a knowledge of advanced science and technology. With the continued rapid expansion of higher education as well as the enforcement of compulsory technical education, the total number of technicians and specialists will exceed 400,000 in two or three years. Thus, shop managers and other higher cadres in all our factories and enterprises will, without exception, be qualified engineers and specialists, or assistant engineers and junior specialists.

This bright prospect is a source of great excitement for all the working people of our country, inspiring them more powerfully in their heroic labour effort. Solidly united around the Party and the Government, our working people are now marching confidently towards new victories with greater hope and courage and with the clear prospect of a bright future. Through their heroic struggle our people, under the leadership of the Party, are sure to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan triumphantly.

In order to successfully carry out the enormous tasks con-

fronting us in socialist construction, we must further enhance the role and function of the state bodies as a weapon in the construction of socialism and continue to improve the management and guidance of the national economy.

Our Party and Government have taken a series of important measures to reorganize the work of the state and economic bodies as well as to raise the level of leadership of their functionaries in keeping with new, changed conditions. With these measures they have achieved great successes and accumulated valuable experiences in this field.

In particular, there has been a great change in the work of the state and economic bodies in the course of generalizing the guidance experience gained in Chongsan-*ri*. Revolutionary methods of work have been established; leadership has been brought closer to the lower bodies and higher bodies help those below them; in addition, functionaries go deeply among the masses to educate, remould, and rally them round and solve all problems by giving full play to their enthusiasm and creativity.

In order to establish the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-*ri* method more thoroughly in the guidance and management of the national economy, we took new, radical measures this year to reorganize the structure of factory management and to establish the county co-operative farm management committees and the provincial rural economy committees.

Although it is not long since their establishment, the new systems of management in industry and agriculture are already fully showing their superiority.

The reorganization of the factory management structure made it possible both to manage factories under the collective leadership of Party committees and to decisively strengthen the leadership and supervision of Party bodies over industry and improve the Party's political work among the working class. The leading cadres of the factories are now freed from petty tasks and thus able to make much effort to give technical guidance to production and go deeper among the masses to do better work with them; all this is due to the establishment of a clear division of responsibilities and assignments among the

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In agriculture we have set up the county co-operative farm management committees, putting at their disposal agronomists and bringing under them those state enterprises serving agriculture, such as farm machine stations, local farm implement factories, and irrigation administration offices. Thus it became possible to direct agriculture more effectively—not by the administrative method, as in the past, but by the industrial method of management—and more vigorously promote the development of the productive forces of agriculture, in particular, the rural technical revolution. In addition, by radically improving and strengthening the leadership and the material and technical assistance given by the state to the co-operative farms, we have further enhanced the leading role of state ownership over co-operative ownership. This has also strengthened the production links between town and country and between industry and agriculture and has consolidated the worker-peasant alliance, enhancing the leading role of the working class in that alliance.

Specialized bodies set up for directing agriculture in the rural areas are also having a very positive influence on th work of the local people's committees. Provincial, city, an county people's committees are now able to give great atte tion to commerce, construction, education, culture and pub health and, consequently, to give better leadership to the w in these fields.

We can say with conviction that these management tems in industry and agriculture initiated by our Party excellent new forms of managing a socialist economy, which are in full harmony with the principles of Mar Leninism and the actual conditions of our country.

The question now is to improve our officials' work m and decisively promote their level of leadership on the s

of the superiority of the existing management systems. The work methods of our functionaries have not yet been completely changed to conform with the new management systems and their guidance still fails to keep pace with the high revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. These shortcomings should be eliminated as soon as possible.

We must first strengthen political work, and in this way steadily heighten the ideological consciousness of the masses and inspire them to participate voluntarily in carrying out the revolutionary tasks. We must continue to hold firm to the principle—to give priority to political work in all fields and give a vigorous communist education to the working people in combination with education in the Party's policies and, at the same time, to correctly link this with practical and administrative work as well as with the work of ensuring the material and technical conditions.

Along with this, we should bring leadership closer to the lower units and improve its methods. The important thing in leadership is to establish more thoroughly the revolutionary work method—the method of relying on the masses—and the work system of giving real assistance to the lower units.

It is the workers and peasants who are directly engaged in production and construction. They know better than anyone else the state of affairs in their work places and can suggest more new ideas. Therefore, our leading functionaries should always go deeply among the masses where they work to consult with them, listen to their opinions, use their knowledge to find solutions to problems, and mobilize them to carry out all the tasks which the revolution faces.

The precise aim of giving guidance to the lower units is to help the workers there to correct their shortcomings and get good results in their work. When going down to the lower units, leading functionaries should not dictate to the workers nor order them about but should give them practical assistance by kindly teaching them and working with them to solve their difficult problems, so that they can do their work well.

Thus fully practising the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-

ri method in all fields, we should make skilful use of the high revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and mobilize the unused reserves and potential of our national economy to the maximum.

The unlimited creativity and talent of our working people are a decisive guarantee for the success of the great programme of socialist construction.

We should expand and strengthen the Chollima Workteam Movement among the working people and educate and remould all of them in communist ideas, so as to unite them more closely around the Party and give free rein to their revolutionary zeal and creative ability. In this way we will continue to bring about innovations and rapid progress in all fields of socialist construction.

All our cadres and other working people should build up more firmly the revolutionary spirit of opposing immorality and laziness, living a modest life, never letting down their guard and valiantly surmounting every difficulty with a revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

As Communists fighting for the revolution, we must always have a spirit of self-reliance. Otherwise, we would lose confidence in our own strength and make no serious effort to develop the internal resources of our country, thus failing to accomplish the cause of the revolution.

Of course, we shall continue to need help and support from the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries and from all the progressive people of the world; that is important to guarantee our victory. But it is not a revolutionary's attitude to just seek aid from foreign countries instead of exerting himself. With this kind of attitude, we could not accomplish the revolution. The decisive factor in the victory of our revolution lies in our own strength. We must build a new society in our country and achieve the final victory of the Korean revolution mainly through our own efforts. This conforms to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and will contribute to the development of the international revolutionary movement.

In building a socialist economy, we should also be firm in our adherence to the principle of self-reliance and move towards the building of more solid foundations for an independent national economy, promoting economic and cultural co-operation with the fraternal countries on this basis.

Building an independent national economy means building a diversified economy, equipping it with up-to-date technology and creating our own solid bases of raw materials, thereby building up an all-embracing economic system in which every branch of the economy is structurally interrelated, so as to produce domestically most of the products of heavy and light industry and the agricultural produce needed to make the country wealthy and powerful and to improve the people's living conditions.

Only by building the economy in this way can we utilize all our country's natural resources in the most rational and comprehensive way, rapidly develop the productive forces, steadily raise the living standards of the people and further increase the political and economic strength of the country. And only by building an independent national economy can we meet each other's economic needs with fraternal countries, ensure more effective mutual co-operation and division of labour with them on the principles of proletarian internationalism and of complete equality and mutual benefit, and contribute to the strengthening of the power of the entire socialist camp.

Under the leadership of our Party our people have built the foundations of an independent national economy through hard-fought battles. As a result, we have not only strengthened the economic power of the country and raised our standard of living still higher, but have also been able to promote greater mutual co-operation with the fraternal countries and to considerably lighten the burdens these countries bear for our country. This is our due repayment to the peoples of the fraternal countries for their active support and assistance, and it is our important contribution to strengthening the power of the entire socialist camp.

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Under the banner of self-reliance, we shall continue to exert ourselves and mobilize our internal resources to the utmost, steadily developing our co-operation with the fraternal countries on the principles of proletarian internationalism. Thus we shall speed up the construction of socialism in our country and contribute to increasing the might of the world socialist system.

Rallied steel-strong around the Party and the Government, our people will continue the vigorous advance in the spirit of the Chollima riders—courageously surmounting any and every difficulty—and will definitely fulfil the Seven-Year Plan and reach the high peak of socialism.

3

Comrade Deputies,

The great successes achieved in the construction of socialism in the northern half of the Republic are exerting a great revolutionary influence on the people in south Korea who are under the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism. These successes are moving the balance of forces between revolution and counterrevolution in Korea more and more in favour of the former.

Inspired by the great victories achieved by their north Korean brothers in socialist construction, the south Korean people rose up in a heroic struggle and overthrew the Syngman Rhee regime that had ridden roughshod over them for 12 years, and now they maintain a determined struggle against U.S. imperialist colonial rule and the military dictatorship.

Developments in south Korea since the April Popular Uprising show that no "legal" replacement of the regime nor establishment of a terrorist dictatorship by sheer force enables the U.S. imperialists to tide over the political and economic crises in south Korea or suppress the people's struggle there

for democratic freedom, the right to live and the peaceful reunification of the country.

Despite bloody repression by the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean military regime, anti-U.S. sentiments are mounting among the broad masses of the people in south Korea, and the patriotic and democratic forces are gradually growing stronger.

In the year and a half following the seizure of power by the military fascist clique, the political and economic crises in south Korea have deepened. The economy has declined further, the people's living standards are deteriorating, and corruption and social disorder is increasing.

In south Korea all the political parties and social organizations have been dissolved, and martial law has been in force for more than a year now.

While launching an unprecedented barbarous attack on the democratic freedom of the people, the south Korean military regime is trying hard to quell the people's discontent, making a lot of talk about the "construction of a self-reliant economy," a "five-year plan for economic development," or "relief for the impoverished." But no one expects that the south Korean military regime, a mere tool of U.S imperialist colonial rule, will ever do any of these things It has already become quite evident that all this is nothing but absolute nonsense.

The economy of south Korea under U.S. imperialist occupation is in a state of irretrievable ruin.

Having seized the key branches of the economy of south Korea, the U.S. imperialists have reduced it to their military appendage and have totally destroyed the south Korean national economy.

Under the pressure of U.S. monopoly capital and comprador capital, national industry in south Korea has been completely stifled and ruined. Owing to the increasing shortage of raw materials and funds and to the growing marketing difficulties, within just one year after the setting up of the military regime, industrial production fell by 9 per cent.

South Korean agriculture has also been totally devastat-

ed. The vast peasant masses are still being harshly exploited under the feudalistic landlord system. Plunder and exploitation by the U.S. imperialists and the landlords have ruined south Korean agriculture severely. Both the total arable land and the area actually planted are steadily decreasing, and agricultural production is still based on backward, mediaeval techniques. Thus, south Korea, formerly a granary, has been converted into a region of chronic famine and has to import 4 to 5 million *sok* of U.S. surplus grain every year.

The south Korean people are living in untold misery due to economic bankruptcy on all fronts and cruel exploitation at the hands of the U.S. imperialists, the landlords, and the comprador capitalists.

Millions of working people have lost their jobs and are wandering in the streets. As no measures have been taken for their relief, they hover on the verge of starvation. Sixty per cent of all the able-bodied men in south Korea today are either unemployed or underemployed.

The people have been totally impoverished. Nevertheless, south Korea's rulers are exacting increasing taxes from the working people to cover their huge military expenditures. The tax burden on the south Korean people in 1962 increased 43 per cent since 1960. As a result of the acute inflation caused by snowballing military spending, commodity prices are steadily rising. As of July this year, commodity prices in south Korea were up by more than 20 per cent as against the end of 1960.

The U.S. imperialists have thoroughly disorganized the south Korean economy and brought unspeakable suffering to the south Korean people, transforming the whole of south Korea into a living hell where mass terror and tyranny prevail. The people's lives and property are constantly threatened by the American robbers, and our compatriots, our brothers and sisters are insulted and murdered by the aggressors. Mass starvation is sweeping south Korea, and almost every day many people starve to death.

This is the consequence of the colonial rule of U.S. im-

perialism in south Korea and of the traitorous policy of the south Korean rulers.

The only way to save the present situation in south Korea and to relieve the people there from hunger and poverty is to drive out the U.S. troops and achieve national reunification.

Unless the complete independence and reunification of the country is achieved, the Korean people will not be able to live in peace for one minute, nor will the people in south Korea be able to free themselves from their present misery. The achievement of the great work of national reunification is the unanimous desire of all Koreans, in north and south. It is the supreme national task.

Reunification of our country should be achieved independently and by peaceful means without the interference of any outside forces after driving out foreign troops.

Having turned south Korea into their colony and military base and driven south Korean society into the depths of ruin, the U.S. imperialists are constantly threatening peace in Korea by aggravating tension. They are obstructing the reunification of our country by resorting to all sorts of sinister schemes.

The occupation of south Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their aggressive policy are the root causes of all the misfortunes and sufferings of the people in south Korea; they are the main obstacle to the progress of south Korean society and the peaceful reunification of our country.

History has never seen the achievement of independence and reunification when a country is occupied by foreign aggressor troops and is suffering outside interference.

Only by driving the U.S. army of aggression out of south Korea will it be possible to deliver the south Koreans from hunger, poverty, and colonial slavery, and to realize the national desire to reunify our divided country. Those who talk about the reunification of the country while justifying the occupation of south Korea by U.S. troops are, in fact, the opponents of reunification and agents of imperialism.

There is no reason whatsoever for the U.S. imperialists to

station their troops in south Korea, nor can it be justified in any way. The U.S. army must pull out of south Korea and the Korean question must be settled by the Korean people themselves.

The U.S. imperialists are clamouring that the U.S. army must be stationed in south Korea in order to check "communist aggression from the north." But they can deceive no one with such a lie.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic are consistent in their efforts for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. We have no intention of marching south, we have no intention of solving the question of Korean reunification by force of arms.

"Communist aggression from the north" is nothing but a subterfuge of the U.S. imperialists to cover up their sinister design to continue the occupation of south Korea, extend their invasion to the whole of Korea and further their aggression in Asia. The people in south Korea should thoroughly expose and frustrate the vicious scheming of the U.S. imperialists to invade all of Korea by pitting Koreans against Koreans.

We consider that the United Nations has no right to discuss the Korean question nor has it any right to meddle in the domestic affairs of our country. The Korean question should not be discussed by foreigners in New York or Washington; it should be discussed in Pyongyang or Seoul by the Koreans themselves.

The question of Korean reunification is an internal affair of the Korean people, and it can be settled by them alone. What grounds do foreign countries have for interfering in the domestic affairs of Korea, and how can they possibly settle the internal affairs of our nation? To try to achieve the reunification of the country by relying on outside forces is an illusion and is tantamount to leaving the whole of Korea open to imperialist aggression.

The Korean people can, and must, reunify their country through their own efforts.

Reunification of our country is a complicated and dif-

ficult task that cannot be performed easily. Only through a hard and long-drawn-out struggle can we accomplish the great task of national reunification, for the U.S. imperialists, the overlords of world imperialism, have occupied south Korea and are now plotting frantically to unleash a new war, pursuing a policy of aggression against the whole of Korea and Asia.

We should carry out the independent, peaceful reunification of our country in a gradual way, through a series of intermediary steps, on the condition that foreign troops are withdrawn from south Korea.

In order to achieve the country's reunification, it is of paramount importance to eliminate the tension between north and south created by the U.S. imperialists.

The U.S. army should be withdrawn, a peace agreement should be concluded between the north and south on refraining from attack on each other and the armed forces of each be reduced to 100,000 or less. We have proposed this on a number of occasions and have done everything in our power to achieve this end.

Neither north nor south should increase their armed forces nor their armaments; instead, the armed forces should be reduced and tension eliminated so that both sides can work to build up the national economy and improve the living standards of the people.

The U.S. imperialists maintain a 700,000-strong mercenary army in south Korea, grinding the people down. This huge military force in the south has nothing to do with national defence; it is merely an instrument of U S. imperialism for carrying out a policy of aggression. It imposes an unbearably heavy burden on the people in south Korea and seriously threatens peace in Korea.

The conclusion of a peace agreement between north and south Korea and the reduction of their respective armed forces would, above all, mean relief for the people in the south from the heavy burdens of military expenditure and removal of the tension that has been artificially created between north and south, thereby creating an atmosphere of mutual trust.

The withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea, the conclusion of a peace agreement between north and south, and the reduction of their armed forces would prove to be important initial steps towards the reunification of the country.

Elimination of tension between the north and south would enable us to take a further step and enter into economic and cultural exchange and co-operation.

A burning issue in south Korea today is the rehabilitation of its devastated economy and the improvement of the miserable living conditions of the people there. The only way of solving this problem is to establish economic and cultural relations and promote exchange and co-operation between the north and south.

Under the leadership of our Party, the people in the northern half have, through a heroic struggle, laid the foundations of industrialization and built a solid basis for an independent national economy. The economic foundations we have already established in the northern half of the Republic are a sure guarantee for the independent development of the national economy of Korea as a whole.

Only when economic co-operation and exchange between north and south Korea make it possible to take advantage of the economic foundations built in north Korea, can the industry and agriculture of south Korea be rehabilitated and developed, can the millions of unemployed be given jobs, and the life of its people generally improved.

We think it is necessary to organize an economic committee composed of representatives of north and south Korea for the purpose of effectively carrying out north-south exchanges.

The south Korean authorities, contrary to the will of the Korean people, are now trying to find a way out by bringing in foreign capital. The introduction of foreign capital leads to a state of dependence and national bankruptcy. This will only result in plunging the already ruined south Korean economy deeper into the abyss of hopeless destruction and in making south Korea more and more dependent on imperialism. The

outcome of U.S. "aid" to south Korea over the 17 years since liberation is a striking proof of this.

When the north and the south combine their efforts to exploit our rich domestic resources, relying on the powerful economic foundations of north Korea, our nation will not only be able to stand on its own feet, but also build a modern, rich, powerful and independent state.

When exchange and mutual co-operation between the north and the south are put into effect, we shall be able to take another step towards epoch-making measures for the initial reunification of the country.

In order to achieve initial reunification, we consider the establishment of the Confederation already proposed by our Party and the Government of the Republic to be a reasonable step.

Our proposal of a Confederation is aimed at setting up a Supreme National Committee, composed of representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Government of the "Republic of Korea" to jointly solve matters of concern to the whole nation, while leaving intact the present socio-political systems in north and south Korea and ensuring the independence of action of the two governments.

Under the Confederation, neither north nor south shall *interfere in the internal affairs of the other, nor shall one impose* its will upon the other. North and south Korea shall act freely according to their respective political beliefs and jointly settle only those problems of common national interest on which agreement has been reached through the confederative body.

Unlike a confederation of nations with different languages, customs and cultures, the Confederation we propose would be a coming together of two temporarily divided parts of a single nation which has had the same language, customs and culture throughout its long history. Therefore, the establishment of the Confederation of north and south will make it possible for us to do tremendous work for the prosperity of the country and

the benefit of the nation—developing the national economy and culture in a co-ordinated way and jointly exploiting all domestic resources, appearing as one nation in various fields of international activity, and so forth.

The establishment of the Confederation will also promote contacts and mutual understanding, strengthen politico-economic ties between north and south and create an atmosphere of national amity, thereby initiating a very favourable phase in the achievement of the complete peaceful reunification of our country.

We can, and must, achieve the complete reunification of our country by taking these intermediary steps.

As our Party and Government have made clear time and again, in order to achieve that goal, a unified central government, representing all strata of people in north and south Korea, must be set up on the basis of free elections throughout the whole country, conducted on democratic principles.

The guarantee of freedom to travel and freedom of political activity for the people both in north and south Korea, as well as the rejection of any interference by external forces, are prerequisites for free all-Korea elections.

In south Korea the suppression of the patriotic and democratic movement of the people must be brought to an end at once, and freedom of speech, the press, association and assembly, and freedom to demonstrate and to strike must be ensured. All political parties and social organizations outlawed by the military regime must be restored and complete freedom of their activities ensured.

All political parties, social organizations and individual public figures in north and south Korea must be guaranteed freedom of activity in all parts of the country and the freedom to express their political views before the people without any restriction whatsoever.

Only when these conditions are ensured can the Korean people establish an all-Korea central government through genuinely free elections and achieve the complete peaceful reunification of the country.

This stand of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the reunification of the country reflects the interests of the whole nation and the will of the entire Korean people.

Certain persons in south Korea are dead set against independent peaceful reunification of our country, alleging that its realization would lead to the "communization" of south Korea. Whether the ideal of communism is realized in south Korea or not is a matter to be decided by the south Korean people themselves, and no one can impose it on them. No progressive ideas and social systems can be imposed from outside; they are chosen by the people themselves of their own free will. To oppose the reunification of the country on the pretext of fearing the "communization" of south Korea is to go against the entire people's earnest desire for reunification and to betray the vital interests of the whole nation.

The rulers in south Korea still persist in their old "theory of wiping out communism for reunification" and are prattling on about building up their strength to "prevail over communism."

Attempts have already been made to wipe out communism and impose the colonial system on the whole of Korea through the power of imperialism, but this goal has proved absolutely unattainable. For almost 40 years, Japanese imperialist colonial rule could not stamp out the communist movement in Korea. Syngman Rhee who had made the extermination of communism his lifetime task could not achieve his goal even though banking on the power of U.S. imperialism. Rather he was forsaken by the people and met his downfall for his crimes. Some of those die-hards in south Korea who are bent on anti-communism must learn these lessons of history. Anyone daring to follow in the wake of Syngman Rhee will surely meet the same fate as his predecessor.

The reunification of our country is not a question of conquerors and conquered, but of the restoration of national unity in an originally united nation by completely freeing itself from the yoke of imperialism.

The pipe dream of "wiping out communism" or "prevailing over communism" is not only past all hope of realization. It is also a very harmful idea aimed at preventing the reunification of the country and perpetuating a divided nation.

The stand of our Party and the Government of the Republic on the reunification of the country is irrefutable; it is the most fair and reasonable one.

Anyone who truly defends the interests of the nation and is concerned about the future of the country should fight for an improved life for the people in south Korea, today in dire straits, and for the country's peaceful reunification. This is the solemn national duty of every Korean.

In order to achieve reunification of the country it is most important to promote mutual understanding, and achieve national amity and solidarity between north and south in every way. Antagonism and enmity between the north and south and the failure to achieve national unity only benefit the U.S. imperialists. The imperialist aggressors fear our national awakening and unity more than anything else. They resort to every vile scheme to undermine national unity, sow discord and create antagonism within the nation, with the object of achieving their goal of aggression.

All the patriotic people of north and south Korea should decisively smash the U.S. imperialist policy of dividing the nation and close ranks under the banner of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation and the banner of national reunification.

We will unite and work together with anyone, regardless of his past record and political beliefs, as long as he defends the interests of the nation and works for the reunification of the homeland.

We can join hands even with those now in power in south Korea if they stop betraying the nation by conspiring with the foreign aggressors, stop repressing the people, and join in the struggle for independent peaceful reunification of the country. But if they refuse to do so and continue to fawn upon the foreign forces and tag along behind them, repressing the people's just

struggle for democracy and the right to live, and if they keep on obstructing the country's reunification to the last, it will be an indelible crime never to be erased from our nation's memory, and they will not be able to escape the stern judgment of the entire Korean people.

Unity should be achieved between the socialist forces of the northern half of the Republic and the patriotic, democratic forces of south Korea, and the whole nation should unite firmly in the fight against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the peaceful reunification of our country.

All sectors of the people in south Korea—workers, peasants, soldiers, youth and students, intellectuals and others—must rise up bravely in the save-the-nation struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors. The south Korean people must fight against the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war and determinedly reject any co-operation with the invader army. The south Korean people should put an end to the outrages committed by U.S. troops against our compatriots, our brothers and sisters, and wage a decisive struggle to force the aggressors out of our territory.

The south Korean people must fight both U.S. imperialism and the internal reactionary forces conspiring with it.

Under the banner of independent peaceful reunification, the workers and peasants and all the patriotic, democratic forces of south Korea must form a broad united front for national salvation against U.S imperialism; they must completely isolate the U.S. imperialists and the internal reactionary forces and prevent the reactionary rulers from relying on outside forces by constantly bringing pressure to bear on them.

We are living in a great era of national-liberation revolutions, when all the oppressed nations of the world are valiantly rising up to win their freedom and independence, casting aside the fetters of imperialism and colonialism. The spirit of struggle for national liberation is running high today in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In such an era, how could our wise and courageous nation, which has a long history and culture of thousands of years

and which has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions, succumb to the oppression of Yankee imperialism and tolerate colonial slavery? All of us should rise up vigorously and intensify the flames of struggle for the reunification of the nation and the complete independence of the country, fighting U.S. imperialism and its accomplices, the reactionary ruling forces.

When the whole nation is firmly united and fighting a vigorous anti-U.S. save-the-nation struggle, the U.S. imperialist aggressors will finally be driven out of south Korea and the great task of national reunification will certainly be accomplished.

4

Comrades,

Thanks to the correct foreign policy pursued by our Party and Government and to the heroic struggle of our people, the international position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been strengthened as never before.

The general international situation today is developing more and more in favour of the revolutionary cause of our people. The might of the socialist camp has grown incomparably, and the forces of peace and socialism are overwhelming the forces of war and imperialism in the international arena.

The Soviet people are pioneering the road to communism, the ideal of mankind. The Soviet Union is carrying out large-scale economic construction for laying the material and technical bases of communism, and the welfare of its working people is being further improved. The Soviet Union is leading the world in scientific and technological development and is registering ever greater achievements in this sphere. All the successes achieved by the Soviet people in building communism increase the strength of the socialist camp and inspire all the

peoples of the world who are fighting for peace, national independence and socialism.

The fraternal Chinese people are also making achievements in the construction of socialism.

In all the socialist countries of Europe and Asia, the economy is developing rapidly and the people's standard of living improving.

Today, the socialist camp is the hope and expectation of progressive mankind all over the world, it constitutes the decisive factor in the development of human history.

The strengthening and development of the socialist camp inspires the peoples of the colonies and subjected countries immensely in their struggle for liberation and further accelerates the process of the final disintegration of the imperialist colonial system.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America hundreds of millions of people have already thrown off the vile yoke of colonialism and embarked upon the road of independent development, and the flames of the national-liberation struggle are spreading and shooting higher.

The South Vietnamese people continue their heroic armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges The people of Laos have won a great victory in their battle to smash the aggressive machinations of the foreign imperialists and the internal reactionaries and to achieve national independence, and the Indonesian people have fought a successful struggle for the liberation of West Irian.

After a long-drawn-out armed struggle, the Algerian people have won their freedom and liberation and have set up an independent national state, and in all African countries still under the colonial yoke, the peoples are bravely fighting against the colonialists.

The heroic Cuban people are resolutely defending the gains of their revolution against the incessant aggressive manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists The triumph and development of the Cuban people's revolution is a tremendous revolutionary stimulus to all the Latin-American peoples who are under the

yoke of U.S. imperialism. The tide of the liberation struggle is rapidly spreading to Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and all other Latin-American countries, and their struggle is continually surging ahead.

Owing to the rapid growth of the forces of world socialism and the disintegration of the colonial system, the forces of imperialism have been decisively weakened. The internal contradictions of imperialism are being further aggravated and the conflicts among imperialist powers become more acute. The revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people led by the working class is advancing in all the capitalist countries. The imperialists are suffering heavy blows from within and from without and are being driven into a tight corner.

Capitalism has outlived its day. The time is already past when imperialism could exercise its sway over the world and perpetrate aggression and pillage at will. Ours is an age of great struggle, an age of revolutionary tempest, one in which fierce class struggle is being waged throughout the world and in which all the exploited peoples and oppressed nations on earth have come forward to fight for liberation. Imperialism is going to ruin; socialism and communism are triumphing on a world scale.

All the reactionary forces of the world, led by U.S. imperialism, are engaged in the last stages of their desperate attempt to save themselves from their doom. The U.S. imperialists are resorting to every conceivable means to unleash a new war, opposing the socialist camp and suppressing the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and the exploited peoples throughout the world.

The modern revisionists are attempting to undermine the unity of the socialist camp, defend the aggressive manoeuvres of imperialism, and paralyse the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people and are faithfully serving U.S. imperialism.

However, all the machinations of the imperialists and their puppets are of no avail. The rapid growth of the world's socialist forces and the steady upsurge of the people's revolutionary

struggle is the basic trend of our times which no force can hold back, and the complete collapse of imperialism and the final victory of socialism is inevitable.

At present the imperialists, led by U.S. imperialism, are trying to find a way out by stepping up the arms drive, increasing international tension and unleashing another world war.

The U.S. imperialists are expanding armaments on a large scale and further strengthening military bases and aggressive military blocs to attack the socialist countries. The Kennedy Administration, the executor of the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression, has embarked on the road of openly carrying out "local wars" and "special warfare" while making extensive preparations for an all-out war and nuclear war. By further increasing the military strength of the aggressive "NATO" and rearming the West German revanchists, the ruling circles in the United States and its satellite countries are creating a dangerous hotbed of war in the heart of Europe.

The U.S. imperialists are now starting a new war racket in the Caribbean. By openly proclaiming their intention to invade Cuba again, they are creating the maximum tension in this area and gravely threatening peace in the whole world.

In Asia the U.S. imperialists continue to occupy the southern half of our country and have turned it into a base for U.S. atomic weapons and rockets. The U.S. aggressors are further reinforcing both their troops stationed in south Korea and their puppet army, continuing to introduce various weapons of mass destruction into south Korea and are incessantly making provocations against the northern half of the Republic.

The U.S. imperialists are also perpetrating open acts of aggression against People's China by occupying Taiwan, an inalienable territory of the Chinese People's Republic, and instigating the Chiang Kai-shek clique. In South Viet Nam they are carrying on an undeclared full-scale war of aggression.

Especially, the U.S. imperialists have concluded an aggressive military treaty with Japan, reviving Japanese militarism to use it as a "shock brigade" in their Asian aggression.

The current situation demands that the people of the whole

world maintain the utmost vigilance against the plots of the U.S. imperialists and their followers to provoke war and that they fight more actively to defend peace.

The mighty socialist camp today stands in the forefront of the struggle for peace. The socialist countries, by the very nature of their social system, ardently wish for peace and pursue a peaceful foreign policy.

In order to realize the peaceable proposals made by the socialist countries and maintain lasting peace throughout the world, it is necessary, above all, to struggle vigorously against the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

The source of war is imperialism, and the main force of aggression and war today is U.S. imperialism. There can be no struggle for peace apart from the fight against the imperialists', particularly the U.S. imperialists', policy to commit aggression and provoke war.

Peace should not be begged; it must be won through the struggle of the popular masses. The only way for us to avert a new world war and maintain lasting world peace is by steadily increasing the might of the socialist camp, developing the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the liberation struggles of the peoples in the colonies and dependent countries, organizing and mobilizing the broad popular masses in the struggle against the imperialists' policy of aggression and war, and by bringing pressure to bear upon the imperialist warmongers, hitting them hard everywhere by firmly rallying all peace forces and combining all methods of struggle.

The occupation of south Korea by U.S. troops and the U.S. policy of aggression not only hinder the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, but also gravely threaten peace in the Far East. The Korean people will continue their resolute struggle to frustrate the manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists aimed at provoking another war in our country and to force them out of south Korea.

Japanese militarism, which is being revived by the U.S. imperialists, is now raising its head as a dangerous force of

aggression in Asia. Particularly, the Japanese militarists, through the "ROK-Japan talks" held under the active instigation of the U.S. imperialists, are not only planning economic aggression in south Korea but are also scheming to rig up the aggressive "NEATO" with south Korea as a member.

The south Korean military regime is nothing but a tool of aggression in the hands of the U.S. imperialists—a tool which has been imposed upon the south Korean people. It can in no way represent the Korean people. Therefore, the Korean people will never recognize, but categorically reject any military or economic agreement which may be concluded between the Japanese government and the south Korean militay regime. When a unified people's government is established in Korea in the future, all these political and economic issues will naturally be raised and settled anew with Japan. The Korean people strongly denounce the scheme of Japanese militarism to invade south Korea again and the criminal acts of the U.S. imperialists who are actively abetting it.

Our people resolutely denounce the U.S. imperialists for their acts of aggression in Taiwan, South Viet Nam, Japan and other parts of Asia and throughout the world, and we strongly demand the removal of U.S. military bases and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the territories of foreign countries. We will fight in strong unity with all the Asian peoples to expel the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism from every part of Asia.

We support the just stand of the Soviet Government and the Government of the German Democratic Republic on concluding a German peace treaty and normalizing the West Berlin situation.

Holding high the banner of the anti-imperialist struggle and firmly uniting with the peace-loving peoples of the whole world, the Korean people will continue to fight resolutely against the manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists to provoke war and for defending peace in Asia and the world. We will keep a sharp watch-out at all times, strengthening our defence capabilities in every way and arming the masses of the people with the revolutionary spirit. We shall thereby decisively smash

any surprise attack by the enemy, firmly safeguard the gains of socialism and solidly defend peace and the eastern outpost of socialism.

The anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries constitutes part of the revolutionary struggle of the international working class, and it is a powerful factor in the preservation of peace. The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic regard it as an important principle of their foreign policy to give active support to the struggle for national liberation.

The Korean people support in every way the struggle of the heroic Cuban people to defend their national independence and the achievements of their revolution and strongly condemn the U.S. imperialists for their aggressive intrigues against Cuba. Our people actively support the Vietnamese people in their fight against foreign aggressive forces and domestic reactionary forces, for the reunification of their country, and support the Japanese people in their struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. We warmly congratulate the peoples of Laos and Algeria on their victories in the struggle for national independence. And we actively support the peoples of all countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are struggling for freedom and liberation.

Our Party, the Government of the Republic and the entire Korean people will continue to fight determinedly against every form of colonialism and national oppression and extend their support and encouragement to the liberation struggles of all the oppressed peoples.

We also actively support and express our firm solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the working people in the capitalist countries who are fighting against exploitation and oppression by capital and for their democratic rights and socialism.

Consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp and steady development of the relations of friendship and co-operation with all the socialist countries: this is the immovable cornerstone of the foreign policy of our Republic.

The unity and cohesion of the socialist camp is the most important guarantee for frustrating the imperialist policy of aggression and for achieving peace, national independence and a victory for the cause of socialism. It is the solemn internationalist duty of the Parties, Governments and peoples of all socialist countries to strengthen their friendship and solidarity and to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp.

The relations among the socialist countries are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; these are state relations of an entirely new kind, fundamentally different from relations among the imperialist countries.

The socialist countries are firmly united by a common social system and by a common ideology and goal of struggle. They co-operate closely and support each other in the struggle against their common enemy for the common cause of socialism and communism.

The relations among the imperialist countries are relations of domination and subjection, whereby a big nation interferes in the internal affairs of a small nation, imposing its will upon the latter and demanding unilateral respect and submission. All the socialist countries, however, both big and small, are completely equal and independent and respect and support each other. Among these countries there can be no such thing as one country interfering in the internal affairs of another or imposing its will upon the other.

Outwardly the imperialist countries proclaim mutual "friendship" and "solidarity," but behind the scenes they carry on subversive activities against one another; they advocate "co-operation" and "aid," but in reality they utilize these as a means of subordinating other countries politically and economically. The socialist countries, on the other hand, maintain relations of conscious and comradely friendship and co-operation as fellow-fighters for a common cause against a common enemy. There can be no backbiting or double-dealing among these countries

These are the principles on which friendship, solidarity and co-operation among the socialist countries are based. It is

for this reason that they can never be shaken and that they display indestructible strength.

Today the imperialists and their henchmen, the revisionists, are viciously scheming to undermine the unity of the socialist camp. At the instigation of the imperialists, the revisionists are slandering the socialist countries and plotting to set them against one another and to overthrow the Parties and Governments of these countries. We must sharpen our vigilance and resolutely fight these subversive activities.

Our Party and the Government of the Republic, always firmly adhering to the Marxist-Leninist norms for mutual relations among the socialist countries, have worked persistently to strengthen friendship and co-operation with all the fraternal countries and safeguard the unity of the socialist camp. Our country has now established an unbreakable alliance with our neighbours, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, under the Treaties of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance. Friendship and co-operation between our people and the peoples of all the socialist countries are consolidating and developing still further.

The Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Republic and the Korean people will continue to make every effort to steadily promote friendship, solidarity and mutual co-operation with the peoples of all socialist countries and to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp.

Our country views it as a consistent line of its foreign policy to establish normal state relations with all countries which respect the freedom and independence of our people, especially to develop relations of friendly co-operation with the independent national states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We will continue to work actively to further cement and promote our relationship with independent national states which have already established friendly state relations with us and to develop amicable relationship with the other Asian, African and Latin-American countries with which we have not yet entered into state relations. We will also endeavour to establish state, economic, and cultural relations with those capitalist

countries desirous of having good relations with our country, and to effect trade and cultural exchange with them based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

The revolutionary struggle of the Korean people is an integral part of the struggle of peoples all over the world for peace, national independence and socialism. In the future as well, our Party, Government and people will faithfully carry out their national and international duties, by continuing resolute battles, under the uplifted revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the struggle against imperialism and for socialism and for national liberation.

Comrade Deputies,

Today we are living in an era of unprecedented prosperity in the history of our country and our nation.

Our country's economy is growing steadily, science and technology is rapidly developing and our national culture is blossoming brilliantly. Our cities and villages are growing and taking on a still newer look. The whole life of our people is happy, full of hope and joy and their material well-being and cultural level improve with each passing day. The entire people is rallied steel-strong around the Party and the Government, and the whole country is bursting with unprecedented revolutionary spirit and creative enthusiasm.

It is most important for us at present to stubbornly continue our struggle for the eternal prosperity of the country and the future happiness of the whole nation by firmly safeguarding and consolidating the indestructible unity of our Party, Government and people and by maintaining and increasing the heightened revolutionary zeal of the masses of the people.

Our Party has set forth an impressive programme for the construction of socialism in the northern half of the Republic, and all the working people have thrown themselves as one into the struggle to carry it out. By successfully fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan at all costs, the working people, under the leadership of our Party, will make the revolutionary base in the northern half impregnable and will more forcefully encourage and inspire the south Korean people in their struggle

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against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The Korean people, under the leadership of our Party, are certain to accomplish the great task of national reunification and win ultimate victory for the Korean revolution.

Our people, who are led by a Marxist-Leninist Party, hold power firmly in their own hands, and enjoy the active support and encouragement of the great socialist camp and of the progressive peoples of the whole world, will always be victorious in their just struggle.

Let all of us, united firmly around the Party and the Government, march forward courageously for a great new victory!

ON FURTHER DEVELOPING THE TAEAN WORK SYSTEM

Speech at the Enlarged Meeting of the Party Committee of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant
November 9, 1962

At this enlarged meeting of the Party committee of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, I have listened with interest to the committee chairman's report as well as to the speeches made by other comrades.

This is a meeting of victors, summing up the great results achieved over the past year in the struggle to put the Party policies into practice

You have completed this year's plan two months ahead of schedule To fulfil two months ahead of time a one-year, not a three or five-year plan, is an unprecedented achievement for the machine-building industry, which requires precision and a high technical standard.

Because of this, you now have ample time to make technical preparations and store sufficient raw materials for next year's production and have laid a sound basis for achieving even greater successes in the coming year.

Wherever a hard struggle has been undertaken, various negative aspects— such as equipment suffering considerable damage and becoming unfit for use or the factory becoming dirty—are also apt to crop up.

The equipment of this factory, however, has been much

better maintained, and the factory as a whole much better kept than before. The Party members and the workers have raised their technical level and are in high spirits; unity within the factory has been strengthened. Indeed, you have struggled hard, while at the same time keeping everything in order. In this way you have won a great victory in all fields.

This demonstrates conclusively the distinct advantages of the new system of factory management and of directing the process of production, first introduced in this factory at the end of last year.

It must be admitted that the old system of factory management, though socialist, still retained many hangovers from capitalism. Large doses of bureaucracy, departmentalism and selfishness were to be found in that system. Superiors used to shout commands at their subordinates in a bureaucratic way, instead of going down to help the lower units; there was little spirit of co-operation between workshops, and among some people there was a tendency towards selfishness of the "You mind your business, and I'll mind mine" type. Under the old system, therefore, it was not possible to fully develop the activity and creativity of the workers; people busied themselves over nothing, and no big achievements were made in production.

The Taean work system is radically different from the old; it is an advanced system possessing many features of communist industrial management. This new system fully embodies the collectivist, communist principle of life: "One for all and all for one." In this system, superiors help their subordinates, the well-informed are teaching the less-informed, all the people are helping each other as comrades, and all the workshops are co-operating closely.

When I visited this factory last year, I found that Party functionaries and administrators were not on good terms, that the chief engineer and the factory manager were complaining about each other, and that there was little unity between the workers and the intellectuals. On this visit, however, I have found that these shortcomings have been eliminated, that

everyone is working in harmony and united, and that the communist spirit of life prevails throughout the factory.

When the communist principle is strictly observed in work, bureaucracy and egoism naturally disappear. Innovations in production have been made by many comrades, and they have worked devotedly not to get higher wages, but in the interests of the state and the people. If we allow people to become mercenary, it will be impossible to realize the transition to communism. The transition to communism requires not only economic development, but also the transformation of old ideologies in men's minds. It is important above all else to encourage people to work voluntarily and consciously, that is, in a communist way.

Our work system enables people to work and live in a communist way. It unites all, without exception, and allows their devotion and creativity to develop fully, thus bringing about greater results in production.

The great power of the new work system lies in unity and co-operation and the conscious enthusiasm and creativity of the masses; it is the great power which comes into being when Party leadership penetrates deeply into the lower units.

Such power, of course, cannot arise out of a mere reorganization of the management apparatus. Other factories have also reorganized theirs, and in many of them the new apparatus has so far failed to display its full strength.

Only when combined with a corresponding work method will the management apparatus show its full strength. Repeated reorganization of the management apparatus is useless if work is conducted bureaucratically. You have been able to achieve great success because you employed the Chongsan-*ri* method in handling the new management apparatus.

Through your devoted struggle over the past year to fully apply the Chongsan-*ri* method along with the new apparatus, you have achieved great results and have clearly proved the great advantages of the new work system which embodies the communist principle of life.

You have learned from personal experience that the com-

munist method of industrial management and operation introduced by the Party is quite feasible. Moreover, you have played an honourable role as vanguard in the struggle to firmly establish the new work system, showing all the working people of our country that such a work method and system can be applied in other places.

All the members of the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee, and all members of the Cabinet of our Republic have attended this meeting. I have the pleasure of telling you that the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic are very satisfied with your achievements.

All the Party members, workers, technicians, office staff, supply service workers and teachers, to say nothing of the factory Party committee, have made great efforts, united as one, to implement the Party's policies. Even the housewives have taken an active part.

As a rule, when we try to break with the old and create the new, we come face to face with difficulties and people who vacillate. The Party committee and the entire Party membership in this factory, however, have worked consistently and struggled untiringly to implement the Party's policies, valiantly overcoming all difficulties.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I would like to express our gratitude to the members of the factory Party committee, the chairmen and members of the Party-cell committees, all the Party members, members of the Democratic Youth League, the trade union and the Women's Union, and all the workers, technicians and office staff of the factory, who have fought devotedly to carry through the Party's policies.

Let me stress once again the advantages of the new work system established in the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant, although you have already mentioned many of them in your speeches.

The first advantage of the new work system is that it fully ensures collective management and operation of the factory.

In the past, the manager had sole authority to decide mat-ers in the factory, and he was also responsible for production. 'he workers took a negligible part in the management and peration of the factory. All they had to do was to work eight ıours, do their own jobs and then go home. It was a matter f little concern to them whether production was going well in he factory or not.

By contrast, under the new system, the factory Party ommittee runs the factory as the supreme body of leadership nd all the Party members, workers and technicians participate n the management. Responsibility for production does not rest n any one individual, but on all the Party members, workers nd technicians, and above all, on the factory Party committee, he organ of collective leadership.

When the manager bears sole responsibility and the work-rs and technicians do not participate in the management of roduction, the workers are not the masters of production but imply employees obeying bureaucratic instructions and orders. 'his runs counter to the nature of the socialist system, and nakes it impossible to develop to the full the creativity and ctivity of the working masses.

It is advantageous in many ways for the Party committee o discuss important problems and manage the factory along ollective lines.

The Party committee of this factory, I am told, is composed f 35 members. If these 35 members discuss matters collective-y, many good ideas can be put forward. The committee includes 'arty cadres, management cadres, and key workers and techni-ians. It is, therefore, able to take into full consideration the eal conditions in the factory—the mentality and technical level f the Party members and workers, as well as technical prepa-ations and supplies of materials and consumer goods, etc. — efore laying down a correct line and taking the appropriate neasures.

If the Party committee gives correct collective leadership, t can mobilize all the Party members; and if all the Party nembers are mobilized, they can stimulate all working people

to action. There can be nothing more thorough than collective leadership when all the Party members and all the working people, under the guidance of the Party committee, are consciously striving to increase production and improve factory management. There is no better way of fully drawing upon the collective strength of the factory. If things are worked that way, all problems will be solved correctly and great innovations will be made in production.

Other factories have failed to make any striking achievements since the new management system was introduced. The main reason is that the Party committees there have not performed their functions satisfactorily. The Party committee at the Hwanghae Iron Works, for instance, failed to draw upon people who could play a nuclear role, and was mainly made up of people engaged in work of secondary importance. The Party committee, therefore, could not effectively fulfil its functions as an organ of collective leadership. As a result, for some time the work in the Iron Works did not go well. Today, however, by improving the work of the Party committee, they have stabilized production.

You have raised the level of qualifications of the committee members and created conditions for them to express their views fully in order to improve the work of the Party committee. This is very good.

All the achievements of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant have again clearly shown that the first and foremost task in directing production is to strengthen the work of the Party committee and improve the role of the entire Party membership as a vanguard in the factory.

We must continue to improve the role of the Party committee in the factory and of the Party-cell committees in the workshops and assign tasks to each Party member so that the entire Party membership is on the move and all the masses can be mobilized.

Another advantage of the new work system is that it is most effective for the planned management of industry.

As has been shown by the experience of the Taean Electri-

cal Machinery Plant, in order to ensure correct planning, the new system requires that discussions be held directly with the producer masses and that those personally in charge of directing production draw up the plan.

Planning is one of the most important problems in managing a socialist economy. For better planning, it is necessary to take proper account of all factors of production, such as the condition of equipment and supply of materials, the available manpower, and the technical level of the working people. Who are most familiar with all these factors? The workers who take a direct part in production.

The workers are well aware of the condition of equipment, of whether or not raw materials are being supplied without difficulty and of whether or not their fellow workers can handle machinery skilfully. Anyone who does not consult with those who are participating directly in production, but instead just sits at his desk making calculations, will not be able to form a plan to suit reality.

The present textbooks on political economy set many conditions for ensuring good planning. But they do not attach importance to the necessity of carrying out a mass line in planning. I think we ought to compile a new textbook of political economy that will accord with the mass line.

A plan drawn up without the participation of the mass of producers is a subjective plan. And to force such a plan upon the lower units is an act of bureaucracy. The state plan, the plan of a management bureau, the plan of a factory and even of a workshop must be drawn up after consultation with the producers themselves.

Some people, I have learned, allege that the workers are inclined to do only what is easy. This idea is wrong and shows a lack of faith in the revolutionary nature of the workers. The working class is the main force in the building of socialism and communism. Once the workers have a correct understanding of things, they can work out measures for the solution of all problems.

In 1957, when our Party was faced with a most difficult

situation, we talked with the workers about measures for overcoming the difficulties. We talked to them frankly about the difficult situation that had been created at home and abroad, and helped them to understand that the only way out was to accelerate economic construction, through economizing and increasing production. As a result, the workers of the Kangson Steel Plant produced 120,000 tons at their blooming mill which, according to its former rated capacity, was only able to turn out 60,000 tons. This is an example which shows that when a plan has been worked out after consultation with the masses, and the masses have accepted it as their own, it can certainly be fulfilled, however hard and heavy the efforts involved.

If we had drawn up the plan in Pyongyang without discussing it with the masses, we would have accepted the capacity of the blooming mill of the Kangson Steel Plant as only 60,000 tons and, even if we had planned a target exceeding 60,000 tons, it would not have been reached.

This year the Hwanghae Iron Works has had problems. This is due to the fact that the metal management bureau, turning a deaf ear to the proposals of the workers, has been carrying out its work in a bureaucratic manner. The production targets may have been set a little high, but the plan for this year could definitely have been carried out if the management bureau had discussed it with the workers and, according to their opinions, taken the positive steps.

We should always strictly abide by the principle of drawing up plans on the basis of discussion with the mass of producers, so that they may accept those plans as their own.

A plan must be drafted by those who actually direct production. In the past, the metal management bureau left the drafting entirely to the planning workers; those directing production sent the draft up to their superiors without even casting a glance at it, while they themselves handled the work as they pleased, without referring to the plan. That is why there was no plan based on real conditions of production and why the direction of production according to plan could not be guaranteed.

The new work system enables those directing production to draw up the plan through discussions with the workers—the actual producers—inducing them to see the plan as their own; this is a great advantage, we can say.

Another advantage of the Taean work system is that it helps to improve the technical guidance of production and guarantee co-ordinated guidance of the production process.

Production processes are, in the final analysis, technical processes. Without technical knowledge, we cannot direct production. Production must be directed along technological lines.

Those who are familiar with techniques should direct, in a co-ordinated way, all the work directly connected with production—from planning to technical preparations and the production processes themselves.

Under the old work system the different sections connected with production were cut off from each other and there was no general staff to give co-ordinated direction to production.

The battle in each factory is a battle to guarantee production. Everything must be subordinated to this aim and the person who directs production must take on the role of chief of staff. The planning, preparation and direction of production should be under the control of one person. There will be little co-ordination if these tasks are divided up among several people.

Who should assume the role of chief of staff in the factory? Possibly the manager or the chief engineer, but whoever does, he should be skilled in technology. The chief engineer would be a good choice, because the manager must see to the general affairs of the factory.

In the army, too, the chief of staff prepares for and organizes the battle. Just as the chief of staff must be proficient in everything—from working out the plan of operations to preparing for and commanding battles—so the chief engineer must know all about production and direct all the different processes in a unified way.

This is a work system created on the basis of experiences

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accumulated in the course of our long struggle. The experiences of one year in the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant have shown that the establishment of a unified general staff led by the chief engineer has great advantages in that it ensures the efficient direction of production.

Furthermore, the new work system has radically improved the role of those sections which serve to ensure that production goes smoothly.

In the past, materials were not supplied on time to those engaged in production.

Superiors issued memos but assumed no responsibility for supplying materials; the responsibility fell on the shoulders of those engaged in production. This compelled shop managers and other responsible personnel to spend most of their time not on directing production but on rushing around trying to get hold of materials. This is a bureaucratic and capitalist method of work.

Now that we have established a system in which the higher levels supply the lower levels with materials, the shop managers are able to devote themselves to their own work without having to worry about materials. They are now able to concentrate all their efforts on the direction of production, the maintenance of equipment and improving the technical level of the workers.

The decisive factors in production are people and tools—that is, producers and equipment. The supply of raw materials is important as well, but there are people especially in charge of that; those directing production have only to concern themselves with doing a good job with people and with technical equipment. During my current visit to the factory I talked with shop managers and found that they were not wasting time on securing materials, but concentrated their efforts on the maintenance of equipment, on raising the ideological and technical level of the workers and on directing production. This is very good.

To ensure a smooth supply of materials from the higher levels to the lower it would be advisable to set up warehouses

in the machine-building factories for semi-finished goods. This is especially important in the factories which assemble machinery, using many kinds of components and semi-finished goods.

By storing components and semi-finished goods and supplying them on time, these warehouses can perform the functions of command posts for the co-operation in production between the different sections of one enterprise. By maintaining close contact with each workshop, they should systematically stock up on the materials necessary for co-operative production and have no difficulties in supplying the sections which need them. They should not limit themselves to just storing goods but should strive to know exactly how many, and what kind of components and materials are needed by each section; they must always keep in stock the materials necessary to meet demand.

The maintenance of a reserve of materials makes it possible to remove imbalances in production. But at present, it often happens that many warehouses, although keeping materials in store, have an excessive amount of unnecessary stock and too few of the items that are really required. If we are to eliminate these practices and ensure a smooth flow of materials and co-operation among different sections of production, warehouse-keepers must participate in drafting plans and have a thorough grasp of the true state of affairs of production in the factories concerned.

The supply agencies under the management bureau should also be made responsible for the effective functioning of interfactory co-operation in production. In order to create the reserves of materials needed by different factories, the functionaries of the supply agencies must have a good grasp of the production process and have a say in eliminating rejects, regulating output and shortening production time. In this way, the supply agencies will be able to fulfil the role of command posts for the co-operation in production and ensure a smooth supply for the different factories.

If we are to achieve good results in production we must

also set up efficient supply services for the welfare of the workers.

In the past there were *no* bodies responsible for tending to the everyday needs of the workers. But under the new work system supply services have been established to give the workers stable conditions in their everyday life.

In the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant a supply committee was organized for this purpose; the committee comprised one deputy manager of the factory for supply services, and representatives of all the bodies in the factory workers' district eligible for supply services, such as government organs, general stores, agricultural and livestock farms, co-operative farms, etc. Thus, a new supply-service system was established, one fully responsible for providing for the everyday needs of the workers in the district.

In the past all these bodies operated in a departmentalistic way, never attempting to develop close mutual relations. As a result, they failed to furnish supplies to the workers even when they were available.

However, since the formation of the supply committee under the guidance of a deputy manager for supply services, these bodies have begun to work in close co-operation to ensure stable conditions for the workers. This has led to considerable improvement in supply services. We must continue to develop this supply-service system in the future.

As we have seen, one year's experience at the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant confirms that the new work system advanced by our Party has fully shown the advantages of arousing the enthusiasm and creativity of the working masses, of strengthening the direction of production and of ensuring supply services for production and the daily needs of workers.

We deem it necessary to further develop this work system, introducing it in other sectors.

A revolutionary fighting spirit is most important in introducing the new work system. To carry through the Party's policies we must persevere, bravely overcoming all difficul-

ties. This is exactly what we should learn from the experience of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant. No matter how good the work system may be, you cannot give full play to all its advantages if you lack this fighting spirit.

Now I am going to speak of your tasks ahead.

True, you have had great successes, but you must realize that they are the result of only one year's work. You still have a number of shortcomings in your work and there are still many points to be studied and developed. Your task is to work hard constantly to perfect the new work system on the basis of what has already been achieved.

You must strive to further rationalize the management apparatus of the factory and also to make more efforts to improve your methods of work. The new system is, in a word, a communist system of work. All personnel should master the communist style and method of work, otherwise they will not be able to maintain, let alone improve, this new work system. All of you must, therefore, equip yourselves more fully with the Chongsan-*ri* method and Chongsan-*ri* spirit.

Moreover, you should constantly pay close attention to strengthening the leading role of the Party in the factory. The Party committee and the Party cells should be strengthened and the vanguard role of the Party members enhanced.

All the Party members and the Party committee are the masters of the factory. Everything is decided, organized and led by the Party.

The factory Party committee accomplished its tasks with credit last year. It discerned the weak points of work in the factory in time, roused the Party members to surmount difficulties, and firmly carried the Party's policies through to the end. In other words, it can be said that the factory Party committee has done a good job of taking its position at the helm. The committee did a good job of educating both Party members and the working masses in our revolutionary traditions and uniting them, and it has also achieved good results in the cultural revolution

I think it is necessary to improve Party work in other

factories as well, following the example of the Party committee of this factory.

There are Party functionaries who just rush around carrying brief cases. This practice will get no result. If Party functionaries are simply on the move, rushing here and there from early morning on like travelling salesman, they cannot stay at the helm. They should go deeply among the masses to study their work, give them orientations and always offer help to them in their work. Yet, in fact, the South Pyongan Provincial Party Committee rendered no great assistance to the work of the Party Committee of the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant. The Party must always take the helm.

Another lesson we should draw from the work of this factory's Party committee is the correct placement of Party forces. Great efforts have been made here, after placing the Party members at important posts, to raise their vanguard role. At present, the Party members in this factory have acquired a higher technical level and are undertaking more difficult tasks than the non-Party workers.

When we visit the co-operative farms, we find many cases of Party forces being distributed incorrectly. Party members are assigned to tasks of secondary importance, fail to achieve good results in production, and fail to stand in the forefront in hard work.

If Party members do easy work and indulge in empty talk, how can they claim to be playing the vanguard role? Party members must first set an example in production. They should take up difficult and important positions in production and, in comparison with non-Party workers, should work more enthusiastically, study technique more earnestly, organize their life in a more cultured way and behave modestly without any trace of arrogance. Only then can the Party members win prestige, be heard among the masses and help them advance.

We must continue to work hard in all fields, in the factories and in the villages, to strengthen the role of the Party members.

Furthermore, it is important to give full scope to the revo-

lutionary spirit of self-reliance. The spirit of self-reliance is one of making revolution by one's own efforts. We must arm ourselves with the indomitable revolutionary spirit which will enable us to produce what is lacking, to procure what is in short supply, to learn what we do not know through study, and to surmount all trials and difficulties bravely, never shrinking from them.

We must manage anything through our own efforts, not relying on the strength of others. We have received aid from the peoples of the fraternal countries, but this is only one of the conditions for accelerating our development. What is decisive is the struggle of our own people.

Take the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant for example. It was built without outside aid. We have built over 2,000 locally-run factories in all parts of the country, all without outside aid. We are now building all our factories, large and small, mainly through our own efforts We are drawing up technical blueprints and carrying out construction on our own.

Needless to say, we import some machinery from foreign countries, but this we buy with our own money, we do not receive them free of charge. In the future we will continue to import some necessary machinery Self-reliance does not mean refusing to use machines made by others. Nor does it mean opposition to learning from others, nor total rejection of foreign aid. The point is that self-reliance should be the basic principle guiding our activities.

It is better, of course, to manufacture machinery by ourselves as far as we can. Last year you manufactured some heavy machinery on your own, and it would be a good thing to turn out more in the future. I fully approve of your suggestion to make more machines by yourselves instead of importing them from abroad.

If we had imported the machines you made last year, it would have taken us three years to obtain them How can we wait three years when even one day's time is so precious for our construction? We must boldly manufacture everything we can for our own use.

We have been able to ride Chollima because we have the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. No one helped us to mount him. If someone who does not know how to ride is put on horseback, he may fall and get hurt. We mounted Chollima by ourselves; and we are now galloping forward with a free rein.

We must work harder to reach still higher peaks in the next three to four years. In the first place, we must radically improve the living standards of the people. An important task in this context is to supply the entire population with rice as their staple food. This calls for a production of 3 million tons of rice.

It would be foolish to count on others to help us do this. It is by our own efforts that we must strive to provide sufficient rice as a staple product for all the people.

What should we do to solve this problem? Irrigation projects should be carried out extensively and more tractors, lorries and chemical fertilizers should be produced. The tasks ahead of you are to produce more generators, electric motors and transformers.

The solution of the rice problem will enable us to use other grains as fodder and in this way we can also solve the meat problem.

If we work efficiently we will be able to get more of fish. If you turn out more electric equipment, we can build more fishing boats and catch more fish.

It is also well within our capacity to solve the question of having everybody live in tile-roofed houses.

We have a sound foundation for building a better life in the future. It is fully possible for us to enjoy a decent life through our own efforts. This is our right and no one can deprive us of it.

Furthermore, you must continuously wage a vigorous struggle for raising the quality of products and economizing on materials. You all handle copper, mica and silk and many other valuable materials. If you cut down rejects to a minimum and save these materials, it will bring great benefits to the state.

In order to improve the quality of products, we must increase the technical level of the workers and technicians. Greater efforts should be made to study more extensively both foreign and Korean technical literature and to master the latest techniques. Technicians should never rest content but carry on a resolute struggle to quickly reach the level of advanced technology in the world today.

Now, the work of training cadres should be improved. This factory should be a model to other factories and should give them active assistance. Therefore, you should train many cadres and send some of them to other factories.

All the workers of this factory should be trained as cadres. In the old days, so we are told, it was considered necessary for a person to have both literary and military accomplishments; today it is necessary for you to become cadres armed with advanced technology and revolutionary ideology.

When you do this, your factory can play a great part in developing the machine-building industry of our country. It is a task of great importance. I should like you to accept this task at this meeting and strive to carry it out.

Next, you should improve the supply service for the welfare of the workers. In your hostel I found many things that still need to be improved. If we were to give marks, it would barely "pass." You should fix up your hostel better so that it may be rated "excellent." Conditions should be improved in the supply service, and villages and houses should be kept cleaner and run in a more modern way. You must see that the supply of vegetables is kept up, and that a sufficient amount of cooking oil and some 200 grammes of seafood are supplied to each worker every day If you get only a "pass" mark in your supply service, you cannot become a cadre detachment Only after having developed the work in this factory satisfactorily, will it serve as an example for you when you are transferred to another factory as a cadre.

Orchards should be laid out on the hills behind the factory and its surroundings should be kept cleaner. And you must all lead your life more culturally. We still meet peo-

ple who pay no attention to their personal appearance. You should ensure that workers and their families are always well-groomed.

We have learned a lot at this meeting from your good experiences. I suggest that the experience accumulated at the Taean Electrical Machinery Plant be popularized in other fields. I wish you even greater success in your future work.

ON FURTHER STRENGTHENING AND DEVELOPING THE COUNTY CO-OPERATIVE FARM MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES

Speech Delivered at a Consultative Meeting of Party Functionaries and Agricultural Workers of South Pyongan Province

November 13, 1962

We have heard the report on the work of the Sukchon County Co-operative Farm Management Committee and listened to speeches by many comrades at this meeting

The Sukchon County Co-operative Farm Management Committee has clearly proved, through its experiences during a year of work, that the organization of the county co-operative farm management committees was timely and that the committees offer great advantages as a system of socialist agricultural management.

The first advantage offered by the county co-operative farm management committees is that these committees give leadership to the rural economy by the industrial method of management.

In the past, the people's committees used mainly administrative methods in directing agriculture In the days of private peasant economy, this was quite all right.

But collectivized socialist agriculture cannot be directed by administrative methods. Moreover, since the co-operative farms had been enlarged and had turned into a large-scale socialist farm with an average of more than 300 households and over 500

chongbo of farm land and rapid progress had been made in agricultural techniques, it was quite impossible to direct agriculture effectively by the same administrative methods used in the past. Socialist agriculture, which is operated on a large scale and equipped with modern technology, must be directed by the industrial methods.

In capitalist countries as well, all large farms worked by machines are run by the industrial method. This shows that even though the capitalist and socialist economies are fundamentally different economic forms, technically advanced large-scale agriculture, of whatever kind, can be managed only with the industrial method.

What is the industrial method of management? It consists of directly controlling, organizing and concretely guiding all the activities of an enterprise—from planning to the organization of production, the development of technology, the supply of materials, the allocation and organization of the labour force and the financial activities of the enterprise.

The keystone of the industrial method of management is technical guidance of production.

Agricultural production, like industrial production, represents a technical process. When farming was done by hand, with no machinery, technology did not seem to count for much in agriculture. But, as its technological transformation has forged ahead, it has become more and more obvious that agricultural production must also go through technical processes.

A modern irrigation system has been established in our countryside now, and moreover, numerous tractors and other farm machines are in operation and chemistry is being applied gradually. Without industrial method of management and technical guidance, it would be utterly impossible to direct agriculture such as this.

The technical guidance of agricultural production requires measures to ensure an equitable distribution of machines and equipment and the timely repair and replacement of equipment, to raise the technical and skill levels of the producers

and to provide for the rational utilization of all machines and equipment. Moreover, continued building of irrigation projects and good management of irrigation facilities are necessary. Water control, to take one example, is by no means a simple matter. The pumping equipment must be checked and repaired every now and then, and watering and drainage should be done according to plan. Water control is also a technical process. In addition, electrification and chemicalization must be introduced and all farming techniques related to readjustment of fields, soil improvement and seed production must be developed rapidly.

We are now in a position where we can neither farm well nor lead farming without technological know-how.

Moreover, we are confronted with the important task of speeding up the development of the productive forces in agriculture by promoting the technical revolution in the countryside. Technical knowledge is indispensable for directing and energetically pushing ahead with the technical revolution.

Because the co-operative farms were enlarged and their technical equipment was rapidly improved and because the technical revolution came to the fore as a top-priority, immediate task in the countryside, it was absolutely necessary to abolish the old administrative system of agricultural management and establish a new system of management based on the industrial method.

The question here arises of what unit size should be adopted for directing agriculture using the industrial method of management.

A co-operative farm is too small. It does not have enough management and technical cadres, nor does it have an economic foundation for effecting the comprehensive mechanization of agriculture. The province, on the contrary, is too large.

Therefore, we chose the county as the basic unit. A county has plenty of technical and management cadres and has practically all the state enterprises that serve agriculture—farm machine stations, farm machine repair shops, irrigation administration offices, etc. Besides, each county has around 10,000

chongbo of farm land. The county, therefore, is a suitable unit for directing agriculture using the industrial method of management, and it is also a convenient unit for the comprehensive use of all technical equipment.

The Sukchon County Co-operative Farm Management Committee has achieved great successes in agricultural production through its leadership of the co-operative farms within the county using the industrial method of management. Our experience has shown that, given the actual conditions of our country, the county is the most rational unit to use in giving leadership to the co-operative farms using the industrial method of management.

Another advantage offered by the county co-operative farm management committee is its organic combination of ownership by all the people with co-operative ownership and its strengthening of state guidance and assistance to the co-operative economy.

In the past, the tractor-hire station was the main link connecting the co-operative with the all-people, state economy in many socialist countries. It was through the tractor-hire station that the state made technical assistance available to the co-operative economy and promoted the technical revolution in the countryside. However, even though the tractor-hire station provided technical assistance for the farmers, it could not directly lead the productive activities of the co-operative economy in a comprehensive way.

The rural technical revolution in our country cannot be brought about successfully without making comprehensive use of all the state-owned technical equipment needed in agriculture with the powerful support of the state. We have, therefore, followed a policy of steadily expanding and strengthening the farm machine stations, irrigation administration offices and other state-owned enterprises that directly serve agriculture and promoting the technical revolution in the countryside with them as the base.

The county people's committees which used to directly guide agriculture were unable to give technical guidance to it

because they lacked the material and technical means required for assisting the co-operative farms. In addition, there was no county organization that exercised a unified control over the state enterprises serving the rural economy, and so these enterprises did not play their role effectively in the development of agriculture.

We have set up county co-operative farm management committees and made them responsible for guiding the co-operative farms using the industrial method of management, based on the unified control over all enterprises—farm machine stations, farm implement factories, irrigation administration offices, anti-epizootic centres, etc.—and over the technical equipment and the technical forces, which are owned by the state in the field of the rural economy. In this way state ownership is organically combined with co-operative ownership and the state's technical and economic assistance to the co-operative economy is decisively strengthened.

This has enabled the groups of technicians sent out by the state and the technical equipment of the state to serve the co-operative farms better. Moreover, this created favourable conditions for the continuous replenishment and improvement of technical equipment and enabled us to speed the technical revolution in the countryside more actively.

It was generally agreed that rice cultivation makes the mechanization of agriculture very difficult in our country, but the establishment of the management committees has made it possible for the co-operative farms and the technical forces and farm machine stations of the state to actively work toward a solution of this problem by maintaining an organic link between them. As a result, a definite way has been found to mechanize our agricultural production.

The formation of the county co-operative farm management committees has strengthened the co-operative economy, not only materially and technically but also organizationally and economically.

Unlike the private peasant economy, which is a scattered, small-scale undertaking which develops spontaneously, the co-

operative economy is, of course, a collectivized socialist economy which develops according to plan. However, compared with the state economy, which represents ownership by all the people, the co-operative economy is loose-knit and organizationally weak.

By organically linking up the co-operative with the state economy, which is a higher economic form, we have done away with the remaining manifestations of disorderliness and spontaneity found in the co-operative farms and have made them an economy more tightly organized, better co-ordinated and more powerful.

In fact, it may be said that the co-operative farms used to do their work carelessly, without mutual co-ordination on a county-wide basis. In planning production, therefore, individual co-operative farms could not do a good job of estimating the amount of water, machinery, electric power, materials and other items available and, consequently, their plans would go out of kilter.

However, with the organization of the county co-operative farm management committees, the co-operative farms within each county have developed close ties and are now able to work out production plans on the basis of correct estimates of machinery, equipment, materials and everything else. In other words, the co-operative farms now find themselves in a position to develop more systematically, more according to plan than before.

The organic combination of state and co-operative ownership has also made it possible to radically improve the management of the co-operative farms themselves. Earlier, each management board relied only on its own strength in its work and, therefore, could not efficiently manage the large co-operative farm, which took in about 300 households. The management staff of the co-operative farm could not properly handle such complex affairs as labour administration, the management of the farm's finances and property, the fixing of a correct ratio of accumulation to consumption, etc.—to say nothing of drawing up plans. However, the county co-operative farm manage-

ment committees can give appropriate assistance to the management staffs of the co-operative farms so that the latter can deal with all these affairs correctly by introducing the superior methods of management of the state economy, and thus can ensure more effective management of the co-operative farms.

The new system of agricultural management is also fully in line with the further development of the socialist co-operative economy.

In the future, when the technological reconstruction of agriculture has been effected and thus machinery has replaced manual labour in agriculture as in industry, easing the work of all people and providing them with abundance, the co-operative economy will be transformed into one owned by all the people.

Some people hold that the transition to communist society can be achieved while the co-operative economy is retained and even go so far as to say that we can go over to communism if the private economy had been left intact. This is entirely incorrect.

Of course, I do not intend to dwell here on what stages the socialist economy has to go through to achieve the transition to communism, but there is no doubt that, in order to attain communism, the country's economy must be unified in *any way under a single form of ownership—ownership by all* the people—and that, accordingly, co-operative ownership must be converted into ownership by all the people.

The organization of the county co-operative farm management committees is the most rational way of bringing co-operative ownership constantly closer to ownership by all the people, by strengthening the leading role of state ownership over co-operative ownership and by establishing a closer relationship between these two forms.

Even though, at present, there is a sharp distinction between the co-operative and state economies, in the future, when further advances have been made in mechanization and chemicalization and nearly all the distinctions between farm and in-

al labour have been eliminated, it will be possible to in-
ce an eight-hour workday and go over to the wage sys-
n the countryside, as well.

We plan to introduce the cost-accounting system in the
nty co-operative farm management committees if they a-
eve good results in the next few years. The state could see to
that the tractor drivers and the management committee per-
onnel are guaranteed a minimum wage and draw a large part
of their incomes according to the results registered in produc-
tion. This would provide an added incentive for the personnel
of the state enterprises, like the co-operative farmers, to in-
crease production.

We already have some experience in applying cost account-
ing with the county as the unit. We did this at the Unggi and
Ryongyon Farms, with good results. In the past, state farms
in our country often ran in the red because they had a low
level of mechanization and employed defective management
methods. When we raised their level of mechanization and in-
troduced the cost-accounting system in their workteams, the
state farms grew profitable and benefited the state.

Even if we introduce cost accounting with the county as
the unit in the future, co-operative ownership will have to be
preserved. And, in introducing the cost-accounting system in
the county co-operative farm management committees, there
is no need to treat all of them uniformly. This system should
first be introduced in those counties where mechanization i
comparatively advanced; you may leave for later such areas
Changsong County, where manual labour predominates.

Thus, when the cost-accounting system is introduced o
county basis and the technical revolution makes more prog
in the countryside, the worker-peasant alliance will be stren
ened and the ideological influence of the working class o
farmers will be even greater. Moreover, as mechanization
es ahead on a full scale, the differences between the prod
forces in industry and those in agriculture will be gra
done away with, the material and cultural level of th
ers' life will be improved and the distinctions betwe

and countryside will be reduced gradually. This will make it possible for us to develop the co-operative economy to a still higher level.

But we must not be too hasty in transforming co-operative ownership into ownership by all the people.

There are still considerable differences between farm and industrial labour in our country. A great deal of mechanization is still needed in agriculture, as a large proportion of the work is done by manual labour.

Therefore, organizing work and appraising its results is no easy task. You cannot check, stalk by stalk, whether a prescribed amount of fertilizer has been applied before planting the crops or whether weeding has been done, nor can you easily find out whether the farmers have done their work well or have idled away their time, getting by in the crowd. Moreover, farm labour does not yield immediate results as does industrial labour; the crops planted in the spring are subject to many different work processes before they are harvested in the autumn, and, in addition, they may be influenced by climatic conditions and many other natural factors. It is, therefore, difficult to appraise the labour put in on the basis of its results.

Owing to these diverse circumstances, the farmers generally lag behind the workers in the development of their political consciousness and suffer much from selfishness.

It can be said that it would be a grave error to nationalize the co-operative economy hastily or to introduce a pay-by-the-hour system for the farmers in disregard of the differences between industrial and farm labour.

The organic linking up of co-operative ownership with ownership by all the people which we are now undertaking is by no means intended to weaken co-operative ownership or put an end to it at once; on the contrary, it is meant to strengthen it.

It is necessary, under the present conditions, to make a clear distinction between state ownership and co-operative ownership. The farmers also want this.

What we must do today is provide continuous state guidance and assistance to the co-operative economy, thereby fur-

trengthening its material and technical foundations; stim- the farmers' zeal for higher production; and raise their dard of living quickly.

For the transformation of co-operative ownership into nership by all the people, we must, first of all, introduce -round mechanization in agriculture so that machines do actically all the work and men are needed only in a supple- nentary capacity; we must reshape the thought of the farmers by carrying out more communist education among them.

Only by so doing will we be able to transform co-operati ownership into ownership by all the people smoothly and leac the farmers to communism. It is true that more things will become clear in the future as our work progresses, but our ex- perience in the past period and in this year's work has con- vinced us that our present course represents a correct path to communism.

Now I would like to touch upon the major tasks confront- ing the county co-operative farm management committees.

In our practical work over the past year, we have clearly realized that the county co-operative farm management com- mittees founded by our Party offer tremendous advantages. We can say that we have found a very expedient way of solving the rural question in the future.

But, with only one year's experience, we cannot yet clain to have grasped all the advantages and shortcomings of th new system of management. In the course of practice we mu discover more of its strong points and shortcomings and ma continued efforts to further consolidate and develop the n system of management.

First of all, it is essential to consolidate the county operative farm management committees organizationally technically. It is necessary to reinforce the ranks of our agement committee cadres with educated people experien agriculture; to raise their professional level rapidly; particular, to increase the number of technicians. W actively push ahead with our work of expanding the the tractor drivers, who play an important role in

tural production, and of raising their technological level. The tractor platoons and companies should be further strengthened, and the technical and skill levels of the workers of the farm machine stations and irrigation administration offices should be raised decisively. Moreover, the ranks of our technicians in the countryside should be greatly expanded, so that an agronomist or assistant agronomist may be allocated to every co-operative farm workteam and the chief agronomist system may be introduced in the co-operative farms, as well.

Thus, the county co-operative farm management committees should be further strengthened both organizationally and technically so that all the departments of the management committees and all the state-owned enterprises under their guidance can carry out their duties satisfactorily.

The important question in strengthening the work of the county co-operative farm management committees is to improve the methods of work of their officials.

Most of the present chairmen of the management committees are former chairmen of people's committees. When they were transferred to the management committees, they brought their old administrative style of work along with them.

A bureaucratic style of work—shouting commands and issuing orders—was harmful in the past, when they worked in the people's committees but it is even more intolerable today, in the management committees.

The management committees themselves should organize and lead production. They will never solve problems by roaring commands and issuing instructions while sitting in an office. The old, bureaucratic, administrative style of work should be completely eliminated and priority should be given to political work in all cases, work with the people being given the first place. Effective work should be done with the technicians, with the chairmen and workteam leaders of the co-operative farms and the farmers. The officials of the management committees should be faithful servants of the people, not those who just give orders and issue instructions.

It is shameful to become servile minions of the landlords or

capitalists or to fawn upon and become servants of the influential, but it is an honour to become faithful servants of the people. Management committee officials should faithfully serve the interests of the co-operative farms and the farmers.

To be a faithful servant of the people, one must thoroughly apply the Chongsan-*ri* method to all activities. The Chongsan-*ri* method means going down to the grass-roots units to give assistance and solve their most pressing problems, instead of imposing tasks upon them bureaucratically. You should go among the farmers to consult with them and teach them kindly; you should study the actual conditions thoroughly and offer concrete guidance and assistance in such a way that the people at the lower levels may willingly accept them.

The Taean system of work should be introduced in production leadership and enterprise management. A system for directing production should be thoroughly established; the level of planning raised; and the supply of fertilizer, agricultural chemicals and other materials always ensured by the higher levels.

If, in the work of the county co-operative farm management committees, we combine the Taean method of industrial management with the Chongsan-*ri* method properly, the advantages of the new system of agricultural management will be brought out fully and innovations will be made incessantly in the development of agriculture.

Another important task is that of raising the rate of utilization of equipment.

At present, the county co-operative farm management committees have a considerable amount of equipment and facilities at their disposal. In Sukchon County, there are 262 water-lifting machines, an extensive irrigation system with 400 kilometres of canals and a large amount of equipment—more than 200 tractors plus trucks, different farm machines, transformers, electric motors, pumps, etc. We can say that this is quite a large undertaking, on a par with a top-grade industrial enterprise.

But the rate of utilization of the facilities is very low.

This year the rate of utilization of water has been improved somewhat, compared with last year, as a result of the establishment of a command system in the control of water and a campaign for the better use of water. Yet, even now, a lot of water is still wasted.

Those of you who have lived in Sukchon County for a long time are probably only too well acquainted with the miserable existence of our peasants in those days when there were not any irrigation facilities. In those days, a short spell of dry weather was enough to reduce everyone to destitution, forcing them to pack up and set out to beg for food. Therefore, in the difficult days following the war, we launched a truly hard-fought struggle, surmounting all hardships, to build irrigation facilities. At present we are turning out as many pumps as we need for ourselves, but for several years after the ceasefire we had to import them, in the face of great difficulties.

If we fail to make effective use of the irrigation facilities which we set up at the cost of such effort and if, failing to use the water properly, we waste it after it has been brought from places thousands of *ri* away expending a lot of electricity and money; it is a very serious matter. No water at all should be wasted; every drop of it should be used to irrigate the paddies and dry fields. Even water which has already been used in irrigation once should be recovered and turned to account again.

You are mistaken if you think that our pumps are entirely dependent on electricity. If you bring electricity from a far-distant place, over long stretches of wire, to irrigate only a few scores of *chongbo* of paddies and dry fields, it is tantamount to shooting a sparrow with a cannon. It entails a great waste of electricity and materials, and it does not pay.

Wide use should be made of motors not operated by electric power. As many pumps as possible should also be turned out in the provinces Then, small-sized pumps should be coupled to tractors so as to lift water wherever necessary.

Moreover, the rate of utilization of the tractors should be increased drastically. Tractors can be used for various purposes.

Yet, at present, most of them are used only in ploughing the fields and for haulage in the countryside.

Onchon County, for example, has received many tractors, but is not making good use of them. A tremendous amount of work can be done by 100 to 200 tractors, yet they are used only to plough the fields and are then left standing idle. Of course, the ministry concerned and the provinces are also to blame, for they turn out only electric-powered machines—none which can be tractor-operated.

As you have mentioned in your speeches, tractors can be used in weeding and harvesting as well as in ploughing and they can also be used for pumping water anywhere you want. Tractors can be used for multiple purposes by fitting them with cranes or earth scrapers. Nevertheless, tractors stand idle while the farmers continue to carry heavy loads on their backs, just as they always have. This is entirely wrong.

Farm mechanization depends on the effective use of tractors. An important task of the management committees being to effect the mechanization of agriculture, it is a serious matter to fail to use tractors effectively and keep them idle.

The management committees should pay close attention to keeping their tractors in good working order and using them for multiple purposes to promote the mechanization of agriculture.

We must produce various types of farm machines for comprehensive farm mechanization.

We must see to it that besides tractors, other farm machines, suitable for use in our agriculture, are devised and manufactured to mechanize all aspects of farm work. It is necessary to make tractors of different kinds, both large and small, in addition to the Chollima model.

No farmer is against emancipation from toil. Conservatism with regard to mechanization can be found in the minds of the leading agricultural personnel, but not among the farmers.

Our officials, in particular, have become less enthusiastic about mechanization lately. The main reason for this is that

the state provides a voluntary labour force readily. Provinces and counties have fallen into the habit of depending on this voluntary labour force and do not work hard to introduce mechanization.

In our country today, not only the farmers, but the whole nation take part in farming. This, of course, is not a normal situation.

In other socialist countries a great labour force is released from the countryside by agricultural mechanization and allocated to industrial construction, but our country, far from releasing any labour force from the countryside, has to give it continued labour assistance. Farming in our country is done on an intensive basis, and, for this reason, a considerable labour force will be needed in the rural areas even after the introduction of mechanization. As a matter of fact, mechanization can hardly be introduced in intercropping and mixed planting. And we still have many types of work which are difficult to mechanize, such as is involved in rice transplanting and tending cold-frame rice seedlings.

This is why our Party is following the line of solving the problem of the shortage of an industrial labour force by speeding up mechanization and automation in industry to the utmost, and not drawing off any more labour power from the countryside.

Since the state will not take labour away from the rural areas, the peasants, for their part, should try to hold up their end without receiving additional labour. This requires speedy mechanization.

The experience gained in Sukchon County shows that, if we carry out comprehensive mechanization by the effective use of tractors and other farm machines, we will be able to do farming with the existing rural labour force and free the farmers from heavy work, as proposed by the state. When labour-consuming work is performed by machines and the farmers raise good crops by working eight or nine hours a day like the workers, we will be able to say that we have generally effected a technical revolution in the countryside. Then the farmers will

spare time for study and will be able to enjoy a rest free-
n the winter. We must strive to complete this phase of the
nical revolution as a first step.

We have created an adequate technical base for agricultur- mechanization. Comprehensive mechanization of agriculture s well within our reach, provided we produce large quantities of the great variety of farm machines that we can make, turn out more animal-drawn machines and use them effectively.

We do not as yet have the conditions for introducing automation in the countryside. Therefore, there is no need to go in for excessively large-scale mechanization. It is necessary to employ every possible method conducive to easing the work of the farmers and saving labour.

It would be a good idea either to use animal-drawn machines or to turn out simple, hand-operated machines in large numbers by making improvements on simple farm implements. I don't understand why you do not make carts. Three-wheeled vehicles are preferable in farm villages where the roads are rough, as they are light and handy. If items such as these are made and used, it will be possible to carry loads faster even without the peasants breaking their backs.

There is no need to try to introduce mechanization uni- formly in all counties. You would do well to send large nur bers of tractors to the flat areas first, and, as for the mounta areas, make and supply the types of farm machines suitable that terrain.

The policy now being followed by our Party consist in the development of agriculture is that of effecting mec zation in the countryside, thus freeing the farmers fron some work and ensuring farm production with the e rural labour force. The management committees, th should do everything possible to introduce mechaniz agriculture in order to carry through this policy of th

Further, the management committees should ex ous efforts to make better use of land. Land is the m tant asset in agriculture. Machines and labour are a but they are of no use without land. It is, there

sary to increase the utilization of land to the maximum through effective readjustments of fields and soil improvement.

At present there are too many ridges between the different rice paddies. This is the main reason why in the autumn the actual yields fall short of the crop estimates made by unit-area sampling. Extensive work in land readjustment should be done to remove many of the ridges between the paddies, bringing bulldozers from the sector of construction and using Chollima tractors with earth scrapers attached. Furthermore, the edges of fields, the sides of roads and all other available space must be planted with as many crops as possible.

Much of our country's soil is acid, and much is deficient in iron and other micro-elements, calcium and other elements required by plants.

We do not have enough land to introduce crop rotation, and this compels us to carry out systematic soil improvement. New soil should be spread over the fields on an extensive scale, slaked lime should be applied to the acid soil, and chemical fertilizers and slag should be applied in quantity to poor soil to improve it.

Besides, land conservation work must be carried out properly. I have stressed this time and again, yet the results still leave much to be desired. With a view to actively protecting land, river improvement projects must be properly carried out, and the dykes carefully protected.

It is also necessary to work on seed improvement properly. This year, by using selected seeds, per-*chongbo* yields have been increased by more than a ton in many places. We should constantly improve seed strains and sow superior seeds on the right soil. A scientific system of manuring should be established and compost produced according to plan so that it may be applied liberally.

In addition to settling these technical matters, it is very important to do our planning well. The efforts of the management boards of the co-operative farms alone will not suffice. One of the main reasons for this, it appears, is that each management board cannot reckon with the exact amount of water,

chinery, fertilizers and other materials that will be
e. This is why the plans worked out by each co-opera-
rm—allegedly, on the basis of much calculation—do
iform to reality.

ne of our aims in setting up the county co-operative farm
gement committees was that of improving planning in agri-
re. Therefore, the management committees must take
ning directly in hand and effect a radical improvement in
work.

What is the essential thing in planning? As the experience
the recent annual work analysis at the Taean Electrical Ma-
hinery Plant shows, it is consulting the masses in drawing up
plans. A plan worked out without consulting the masses ex-
presses only the subjective views of a few persons and ca
hardly be called a plan. A good plan, one which conforms
reality, must be drawn up on the basis of consultation with the
producers.

When you have worked out a plan after consulting with
the masses, you must make it fully known to the producer
masses who are to put it into effect. The masses can display
creativity and activity in the fulfilment of the plan only when
they are acquainted with the target figures, the fighting aims
and the methods to be used in carrying it out. One of the most
important duties of the county co-operative farm management
committees is that of working out accurate plans and giving
effective guidance in their fulfilment.

Furthermore, labour administration must be improved.
Labour administration is at the moment most unsatisfactory in
our country. It is in a very backward state particularly in
agriculture.

Above all, the organization of work is inadequate. This is
major reason why the farmers on many co-operative far
have to work long hours. As a matter of fact, if work were
ganized well, the peasants could do farming properly e
though they put in much less time than they do now.

Furthermore, the rural labour force should be urge
to leave agriculture and the farmers should be encourag

settle in the countryside. Effective political and organizational work should be carried out to maintain our rural labour force.

In addition, we must allocate the labour force properly. Irrational allocation of labour such as assigning younger people to jobs that can be done by the old should be done away with. The young should be assigned jobs which are suitable for them, and the old should be given those jobs which are within their power. At present, able-bodied men are, for the most part, wandering around with brief cases under their arms on the pretext that they are some kind of leader or are doing some highly technical job, and only the women are left with work. Such a state of affairs must be stopped immediately. As far as possible, the women should be given the lighter tasks, and the men, the more arduous ones. If possible, clerical work such as compiling statistics and bookkeeping should be left to the women, and all the men should do outdoor work. Why should the men do the easy work, leaving the arduous chores to the women? All this is a result of poor labour administration.

The allocation of manpower is not co-ordinated among the workteams; there are many examples of teams with a surplus of men refusing to transfer them to shorthanded teams out of regionalism. This must be remedied through proper persuasion.

One of the most important aspects of labour administration is that of correctly fixing work norms. In agriculture, unlike industry, this is a very complicated and difficult task. Therefore, we should fix work norms correctly and assess the quality and quantity of work accurately. This is essential in correctly implementing the socialist principle of distribution and further increasing production by giving a greater stimulus to labour.

Furthermore, guidance and supervision of the financial activities of the co-operative farms should be improved and a strict system of management of the co-operative farm property introduced. Among other things, a proper balance should be maintained between consumption and accumulation on the co-operative farms. Some of the co-operative farms consume too much while setting aside a small sum for the common fund,

whereas others set aside too much for the common fund and fail to pay attention to the lives of the farmers. We should maintain a balance between consumption and accumulation so as to meet the immediate needs of the farmers, yet still set aside an adequate portion of the income for the common fund.

Moreover, technical education for the farmers must be strengthened and technical personnel adequately trained. Everyone should be urged to acquire the techniques needed for the technical revolution in the countryside. The farmers should be made to know the fundamentals of electricity, machinery, hydraulics and biology. They must also be taught about soil, plants, animals and climate. We must pay great attention to the dissemination of science and technology and to the training of technical personnel in the rural areas.

The ideological education of the farmers is a vital aspect of the work of the county Party committees, which should work energetically to raise the level of the farmers' ideological consciousness.

Such are the immediate tasks of the county Party committees and the county co-operative farm management committees.

The economic task next year as already set forth by the Party is to concentrate our efforts on providing sufficient rice to all our people in the coming few years. All efforts must be geared to this struggle. We must see to it that 3,000,000 tons of rice and 200,000 tons of meat are produced annually in the next few years and that the per-capita supply of cooking oil reaches ten grammes a day.

For the fulfilment of these tasks, we must expand the area of rice paddies and increase the per-*chongbo* yield of rice. If we reap one ton of rice more from each *chongbo* of rice paddy, this will be sufficient. We plan to expand the area of the paddies to 600,000 *chongbo* in the future, where we must harvest an average of 4.5 to 5 tons of rice per *chongbo*. Where conditions are more favourable, as many as six tons should be harvested; and where it is impossible, harvests may be smaller. But 4.5 to 5 tons should be the average throughout the country. We must strive to reach this target. Therefore, it is necessary to plough

the rice paddies more than three times, weed them well, sow high-grade seeds and transplant seedlings in good time.

Furthermore, double-cropping should be extensively introduced in dry farming fields. It should be an easy matter to gather four to five tons of grain per *chongbo* on these fields if dry-field rice or millet is sown after barley is reaped.

In livestock breeding, as you have mentioned in your speeches, it is important that every farmer's household has livestock and that the co-operative farms secure good strains of breeding animals. And you must provide the domestic animals with good assorted feed suitable for them.

To ensure the supply of cooking oils and bean curd, we must cultivate oil-bearing plants such as soy beans, wild sesame and hemp on a large scale. Particularly, plenty of soy beans should be planted. In general, it is advisable to base your farming plans on the tasks mentioned above.

In mechanization, it is necessary to follow a policy of supplying trucks to the mountain districts as far as possible and tractors to the flat lands first. Trucks must be supplied first to such provinces as Hamgyong and Kangwon, which have the transport problem. In the mountain areas, where tractor manoeuvrability is limited, mechanization based on animal-drawn machines should be pushed ahead for the time being, while, preferably, tractors and trailer farm machines should first be sent to the flat areas where they can be used more effectively. For the present, we should supply tractors in great numbers to North and South Pyongan and North and South Hwanghae Provinces. In North Pyongan Province, there is no need to send tractors to mountain areas such as Changsong Trucks are preferable in such places.

In conclusion, I would like to touch on the duties of the provincial rural economy committees and the central Agricultural Commission.

Until now, the Ministry of Agriculture has played the role of a management bureau, but is incapable of ensuring our agriculture's perspective development in this way. It is advisable, therefore, for the provincial rural economy committees to as-

sume the leadership of production. These committees should perform the function formerly exercised by the Ministry of Agriculture. A provincial rural economy committee is neither a management bureau nor a ministry. It fulfils the functions of both, we should say. Because there are 13 provinces and cities under direct central control, we have, as it were, 13 ministers of agriculture, instead of just one, to direct our rural economy.

A provincial rural economy committee should assist the county co-operative farm management committees in working out production plans, supervise the fulfilment of the plans in the counties and provide direct leadership in production. It must also supply the counties with farm machines and accessories, fertilizers, agricultural chemicals and other materials. In the future, each provincial rural economy committee should have farm machine plants and farm machine repair shops under its control and see to the farm machine repair work needed in the province.

A provincial rural economy committee must also provide technical guidance in the distribution of crop areas, seed selection, the establishment of a manuring system, the schedule for sowing, the adjustment of manpower.

The provincial rural economy committees should report any knotty production problems they encounter to both the central Agricultural Commission and the Cabinet and draw up plans and submit them to these two bodies.

The most important task of the central Agricultural Commission is to study measures for the development of agricultural techniques in our country.

At present there is no one who assumes responsibility for giving research assignments on farm machines and supervising the research, and the research work is left to take its own course. The Agricultural Commission should set up a research institute, exercise direct control over farm machine research and give it concrete leadership.

The Commission is also responsible for systematically conducting research on seed improvement and seed production, and must organize and direct the study of measures and meth-

ods to improve the soil, of long-range measures for transforming nature, of fertilizers, soils and other important problems. Its duties also include investigating how to develop animal husbandry, including the improvement of breeding stock, and the ways to promote sideline production in the countryside.

Thus, the Agricultural Commission must take charge of organizing and directing research on all problems related to the development of agriculture and see to it that the results of this research are incorporated into production without delay.

The Agricultural Commission must set up laboratories, research institutes, experimental farms, pilot plants and the like in many places and provide all the conditions needed for successful research work.

Moreover, it is also responsible for taking measures for the supply of materials and farm machinery.

It must also draw up the final drafts of plans and supervise the fulfilment of the current plans.

It must also make suggestions to the Party Central Committee and the Cabinet concerning long-range agricultural plans.

The central Agricultural Commission should also direct the large-scale projects aimed at transforming nature—projects having to do with water utilization, the creation of windbreaks, the reclamation of tidelands and the improvement of mountain areas and the planting of trees of economic value

Finally, in reference to the formation of personnel. The Agricultural Commission has the responsibility of training technicians and scientists.

These are the duties which should be carried out by the Agricultural Commission. Each province must take the direct responsibility for the leadership of production, work out plans for the province, assist the counties in drawing up working plans and distribute the allotted materials. The Agricultural Commission need not bother even with the distribution of materials; this should be handled at the provincial level.

It would be a good idea for the Agricultural Commission to consult with the Planning Commission and just make suggestions as to how many tractors and how much fertilizer should

be allotted to each of the various provinces, and for the provincial rural economy committees to do the actual work of receiving and distributing what is allotted to them.

If the Agricultural Commission busied itself with such business and neglected research and the guidance of scientists, we would have no one capable of projecting the long-term perspectives for our agricultural development.

The role of the Agricultural Commission should be strengthened so that we have a clearer idea of the prospects of our agriculture.

The Central Committee of the Party is very pleased with the results summarized in the report on the work of the Sukchon County Co-operative Farm Management Committee. The comrades on this committee have done a great deal of work even though they have been subject to some criticism. The members of the county co-operative farm management committee are not the only ones responsible for the failure to complete our plans for mechanization. The provincial and central departments concerned must also take their share of the blame.

Only a year has passed since the county co-operative farm management committees began their work, but they have given ample proof of their advantages. This is due to the great efforts you have made.

South Pyongan Province has also played an important role in reaching the height of 5 million tons of grain this year.

I would like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, to express thanks to the staff of the Sukchon County Co-operative Farm Management Committee, the functionaries of the South Pyongan Provincial Party Committee and the county Party committees in the province, the officials of the provincial rural economy committee and all the county co-operative farm management committees, and all the co-operative farmers.

OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY IS AN ARMY OF THE WORKING CLASS, AN ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION; CLASS AND POLITICAL EDUCATION SHOULD BE CONTINUOUSLY STRENGTHENED

Speech Delivered to People's Army Unit Cadres above the Level of Deputy Regimental Commander for Political Affairs and the Functionaries of the Party and Government Organs of the Locality

February 8, 1963

Our People's Army has inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, and it has grown and been tempered in fierce struggle against foreign imperialist aggressors headed by U.S. imperialism. Our People's Army is honourably defending the freedom and independence of the country and the life and property of our people from enemy encroachment and is firmly safeguarding our Party and our revolution. The invincible might of our People's Army stems from the fact that it is a genuine people's army firmly armed with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism and composed of the best sons and daughters of the working people led by the working class. To strengthen the People's Army, therefore, it is necessary, first of all, to thoroughly equip all soldiers with the revolutionary spirit of our Party so that it becomes a genuine army of the revolution, of the Party and of the working class. It is important for you to conduct military training and build up defences, but most important

of all is the intensification of political work among the soldiers.

The Central Committee of our Party has long since considered it essential to conduct a good political work in the People's Army, and, with a view to strengthening this work, it set up Party organizations in the army already during the war, and in recent years it has introduced the Party committee system and has taken many other important measures.

A matter of pressing urgency in the political work in the People's Army today is to further intensify the ideological work of heightening the class consciousness of the soldiers.

By fully equipping all the soldiers with class consciousness we must turn our army into a solid class army.

If imperialism were completely overthrown throughout the world and the exploiting classes thoroughly liquidated everywhere, people's class consciousness might not be such an important question. But it will be a long time before that happens.

Today a fierce class struggle is being waged on a world scale between the international working class and the reactionary forces of imperialism, and an acute class struggle is also going on between revolution and counterrevolution here at home. Our People's Army considers it its duty to combat the imperialists, landlords and capitalists and fight for the complete liberation of our nation, in the interests of the working class and other working people. If the class consciousness of our soldiers grows dull and they are ignorant of the landlords and capitalists and of the heinous nature of imperialism, our People's Army will not be able to fight well against the enemy like a revolutionary army.

You should not think it sufficient to simply stand guard on our frontiers, preventing serious incidents; you should arm all the soldiers with the revolutionary ideas of the working class, and see to it that each of them knows the enemy and hates him and is capable of fighting him with a high class consciousness.

1. ON THE NEED TO FURTHER STRENGTHEN CLASS EDUCATION AMONG THE SOLDIERS AND THE WORKING PEOPLE

Our Party *has long directed great attention to the strengthening of class education among* the Party *members and working* people, and this work is now going well on the whole. Yet, today we feel keenly the need of further strengthening this work.

Communists are all well aware of the necessity of class education of the working people.

And yet we must reemphasize this question because the reality of our country and the general international situation urgently require it.

Today our country is divided into north and south, and our people stand face to face with the U.S. imperialists. The socialist revolution has triumphed only in the northern half, while south Korea, one half of the territory of our country, is still under the occupation of the U.S. imperialists. There, the landlords and capitalists are harshly exploiting the workers and peasants, and foreign aggressors are brutally killing and insulting our compatriots.

Our Party and people should, first of all, drive the aggressive forces of foreign imperialism out of our territory, complete the national-liberation revolution, and then accomplish the socialist revolution throughout the country. This is a very difficult revolutionary task.

The enemy we are confronted with is U.S. imperialism, the chieftain of world reaction. U.S. imperialism is not only the object of the struggle of our people, but also the object of the common struggle of working class and peace-loving people of the whole world. Accordingly, the question of chasing the U.S. imperialists out of south Korea is closely linked with the

common struggle of the world's people against the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression. That is why our revolution against U.S. imperialism assumes a protracted and arduous character.

The more arduous and protracted becomes the character of the revolution, the more fully all the Party members, working people and, particularly, the men and officers of the People's Army whose duty it is to defend our country, need to be equipped with the revolutionary spirit of the working class.

And today there are conditions which might make us liable to forget the enemy of the revolution and become indolent.

In our country those who had fought against Japanese imperialism and experienced exploitation and oppression at the hands of the landlords and capitalists in the past are now getting old, while a new generation—who neither know imperialism, landlords and capitalists nor have undergone any hardships—are growing up and emerging as masters of our society.

In former days, we were subjected to all sorts of oppression and contempt by the Japanese imperialists and suffered harsh exploitation at the hands of the landlords and capitalists. So we felt a strong hatred for the enemies of our nation and class, and we did not spare our lives in the battle against them.

For the people who had suffered oppression and lived in poverty before, our life today is, indeed, boundlessly happy and worthwhile. Among the division or regimental commanders present here, there must be people who once served as farm hands for others or toiled under the lash of the capitalists. These comrades know well how miserable their past life was. They could not even think of going to school and were subjected to indescribable maltreatment by the landlords and capitalists. This is why they have always possessed the resolute will to dedicate their lives to defending the Party which has brought them the happiness they enjoy today and to fight devotedly to safeguard the gains of our revolution from enemy attack.

A few days ago, I saw a film based on a story about Height 1211. There is a dramatic scene in which Comrade Li Chol Jun, son of a former hired hand, who suffered every manner of ill-

treatment at the house of a landlord in the past, shoots down the landlord's son who fled to the south to become a puppet army officer. The Fatherland Liberation War was an extremely fierce struggle because it was a national-liberation war against foreign aggressors and, at the same time, it was such a deep-going class struggle.

But nearly ten years have already passed since the cessation of hostilities against the Yankees, and our living conditions have radically changed as compared with the past. We knocked down the landlords and capitalists long ago and have built a socialist system free from exploitation and oppression in the northern half. In the southern half, there are the U.S. imperialists as well as the landlords and capitalists, whereas in our northern half there are neither imperialists who humiliate and oppress our nation nor landlords and capitalists who exploit the working people. An end has been put to centuries of backwardness and penury in our country and our working people all enjoy a happy, new socialist life.

It is under this fine socialist system that the new generation are growing up, never having gone through the hard life of the past.

There are an increasing number of young people who did not even suffer the brutal outrages of the American scoundrels during the war, to say nothing of the oppression by the Japanese imperialists, and they are already finding their way both into the factories and the People's Army. In fact, we cannot say that the young people of 17 to 18 years of age at present really experienced our people's Fatherland Liberation War against the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

Our younger generation do not know very well what landlords are like, what capitalists are like and how malicious the imperialists are. For this reason, many questions which surprised us greatly are said to have been raised at the political classes presently given by platoon leaders. I was told that some young soldiers are ignorant of words such as "straw sandals," "farm rent" and "hired hand" and the platoon leaders have to explain these things to them. I wonder if these young people

who are ignorant of straw sandals, of landlords, capitalists, exploitation and oppression, can fully understand the villainous nature of imperialism, landlords and capitalists when they are told about it.

Further, as our living conditions are improving, there appears among some youth a tendency of disdaining struggle. They say they do not like war films because they are boring. They simply desire to have a good time, seeking only pleasure while avoiding all difficulties. Bravery and perseverance can be cultivated only through a vigorous struggle to overcome difficulties. However, they are not waging such a struggle; they just vegetate, so that the spirit of fortitude is sagging and a loose and indolent atmosphere is gradually pervading the youth.

You comrades gathered here say that you are indebted to the Party for your schooling because it was not before our liberation but only afterwards that you could go to school. However, the new generation take it for granted the ease with which they can study and are not even satisfied with having graduated from college.

When attending school before we found ourselves in a difficult situation, indeed. There were few schools and it was very hard to enter even a middle school, to say nothing of college. At that time we had no money to buy books, and as for Marxist literature, it was very difficult to even find it. So in order to study, we borrowed books from libraries. And once a book came into our hands we read it deep into the night because we might be fined in case we failed to return it by the fixed date. When we were fortunate enough to get a Marxist book, we read it in secret forgetting everything else.

But today, you can obtain as many Marxist-Leninist publications as you want at the bookshops and, moreover, they are very cheap. But young people today do not read much even though they have available heaps of good books. It seems that they want to study easily with as little effort as possible.

If we do not educate the younger generation and just leave them alone, they will become so addicted to a soft life that they will wish only to live in tranquility and will lose the

staunch combative will to make revolution in the teeth of difficulties.

If the people in our country, who are in frontal confrontation with the U.S. imperialists, were to forget the enemy of our class and nation and live in indolence, it would be a very dangerous thing, tantamount to disarming themselves completely before the enemy.

The U.S. imperialists are not likely to get out of south Korea soon. Nevertheless, the Yankees will not be able to hold on to the south over a long period. Japanese imperialism was destroyed after 36 years of occupation of Korea, but things are different now from what they used to be in those days. The American scoundrels have already been occupying south Korea for 17 years. Now we can say that the day is drawing nearer when they will be driven out. Though it is hard to foretell the future definitely, we can say that the Yankees will probably go to ruin in Korea in 10 to 20 years or so If we do not fight well, it may take 20-odd years or more.

Of course, 10 or 20 years is not a short period. Many things will change within that space of time.

Indeed, there is not a shadow of doubt that, in 10 to 20 years, almost all those who in the past had suffered from cruel exploitation by the landlord and capitalist classes and from national oppression by the imperialists will have grown old while the new generation that did not experience exploitation and oppression will have become the masters of our state and society.

Our revolution is not over and we still have much work to do. If we fail to accomplish the revolutionary cause in our generation, we must leave it for the next generation to consummate. And if the younger generation forget the enemy, become shy of struggle and only like to lead a life of ease, they may not only be unable to carry forward our revolutionary cause but also could even be deprived of the achievements we have made

Further, you must not think that those who are of worker and peasant origin or went through hardships before, are all fully armed with class consciousness. If they lead a comfortable

life for a long time in the absence of any education, even people who are of sound class origin and have gone through hardships may become oblivious of their former plight in which they were oppressed and humiliated, gradually become lazy and their class consciousness may be paralysed.

Therefore, in order to drive the U.S. imperialists out of our territory, realize the reunification of our country and carry the Korean revolution through to the end, it is necessary for us to further intensify class education among the working people. We must never feel complacent just because the socialist system has already triumphed, the hostile classes have been liquidated and our living conditions have improved in the northern half of the Republic. We must continue to be deeply concerned with heightening the class consciousness of the working people, and especially, with firmly arming the young generation with working-class ideology.

Class education of the working people and particularly of the new generation is not a problem faced by the Korean Communists alone. It is a matter of concern common to the Communists of the world. In the countries where the revolution triumphed in only a part of their territory and not on a nationwide scale, and in the socialist countries where the revolution emerged victorious at an earlier period—under conditions in which the world revolution has not been accomplished and imperialism remains in existence—class education becomes a matter of great importance now for the international communist movement.

Today world imperialism is slipping towards decline and ruin. But imperialism still remains a dangerous force and machinates evilly against peace, socialism and national independence everywhere in the world. We should not simply believe that imperialism will be totally overthrown in a matter of a few years. To rout imperialism once and for all and accomplish the world revolution, the people of the world must still wage an arduous struggle over a long period of time.

The longer the world revolution lasts, the more important becomes the question of the class education of the working peo-

ple in the socialist countries where the revolution triumphed earlier.

It is already 40-odd years since the socialist revolution emerged victorious in the Soviet Union and nearly 20 years since the triumph of the revolution in other socialist countries. Therefore, it can be said that the replacement of the old generation by the new is a common phenomenon taking place in all the socialist countries. Besides, in most of the socialist countries, construction has continued in a peaceful atmosphere ever since World War II, and the material and cultural life of their peoples has markedly improved. This entails the danger that a peaceful, comfortable life may make the people forget the revolutionary spirit they had in the past when they were fighting harsh battles.

Under such circumstances, if class education is discontinued among the working people, on the grounds that the socialist revolution has triumphed on a nation-wide scale, people will gradually slide into laziness and degenerate ideologically. They will end by losing their hatred for imperialism as well as their will to carry the revolution through to the end, and worse still, they will seek only their own welfare, not caring whether others are oppressed and exploited. This would mean that the peoples in triumphant socialist countries would give up the struggle for revolution and renounce the world revolution To seek only the prosperity of one's own country without regard for the world revolution is a manifestation of bourgeois nationalism and is fundamentally contradictory to Marxism-Leninism.

To desist from the revolutionary struggle and renounce the world revolution means to betray Marxism-Leninism and degenerate into revisionism. Then one could not build socialism and communism even in one's own country.

In some socialist countries, a dissipated and indolent way of life is now in evidence among the youth due to the neglect of ideological 'work with the working people. There has appeared among them bad tendencies: unwillingness to work or join the army and aspirations for only an idle and licentious

life. This lazy, dissipated and non-class way of life provides favourable soil for the growth of revisionist ideology, and under the influence of revisionism, people are degenerating all the more.

Consequently, many young people, with their class consciousness paralysed, fail to see things from a revolutionary point of view. They know little of the aggressive and brutish nature of imperialism, and are dubious about the anti-imperialist struggle, harbouring illusions about imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism.

Such ideological degeneration of the youth in some socialist countries constitutes a great danger both to building socialism and communism in their countries and to waging the revolutionary struggle against imperialism on a world-wide scale.

It is incumbent upon Communists throughout the world to be boundlessly loyal to the revolution of their own countries and fight, at the same time, for the final victory of the world revolution. In all socialist countries the work of class education should be energetically conducted in order to carry their country's revolution and the world revolution through to the end. Strengthening class education among the working people, it can be said, is an important task assigned to all Communists of our era by the cause of the world revolution.

We are duty bound to crush the imperialists and their lackeys, the landlords and capitalists, in Korea, accomplish the socialist revolution throughout the country and fight, as a detachment of the international communist movement, for the ultimate triumph of the world revolution. A protracted struggle is required both for the triumph of the Korean revolution and for the triumph of the world revolution. That is why we must consistently carry on the work of class education among the working people until our revolution is crowned with final victory.

Further, the strengthening of class education among the working people has come to the fore as a still more vital necessity in connection with the emergence of revisionist ideology in the present period.

At present, revisionists are spreading all sorts of anti-Marxist, opportunist theories and widely [illegible] ary bourgeois ideologies and the corrupt [illegible] thereby paralysing the class and revolutionary [illegible] the working people and, especially, [illegible] eration ideologically.

The modern revisionists betray the revolutionary [illegible] of Marxism-Leninism and deny the necessity of [illegible] struggle and class struggle. Claiming that "all men are equal; the whole world is a unity," the revisionists [illegible] the class outlook and preach the supra-class [illegible] kind," "universal outlook."

In the field of art, too, they draw no distinct line between the revolutionary art of the working class and the [illegible] art of the bourgeoisie, and advocate the [illegible] kind." The revisionists consider that the working class ought to learn the corrupt capitalist way of life and believe that the revolutionary working class ought to [illegible] dances which the capitalists enjoy [illegible] ing licentious pleasures. They [illegible] of art is absolutely unnecessary.

Where revisionism has found its way [illegible] more bereft of the love for and [illegible] and are being reduced to egoists [illegible] for themselves. This means a [illegible] of mammonism. What sort of [illegible] and revolution can be expected [illegible] money and pursues only personal [illegible] this path, he will not even [illegible] case resulting from this was that [illegible] tain country who was so [illegible] that she thought it an honour [illegible] agent.

One of our students [illegible] revisionism while studying in a [illegible] ly tempted into a degenerate [illegible] [illegible]

rean. This is of course a peculiar case. But at any rate, once people are affected and demoralized by revisionism, they will end up by rejecting their country and seeking only their own pleasure.

The revisionists are the agents of the imperialists. At present the imperialists are using the revisionists as their stooges in their manoeuvres to spread counterrevolutionary, non-class ideologies within our ranks and soften up our camp. Therefore, in order to prevent the penetration of revisionism, further cement the ideological unity of our revolutionary ranks and carry on a successful struggle against imperialism and the landlord and capitalist classes, it is required more urgently than ever before to intensify class education.

2. ON THE MAIN CONTENTS OF CLASS EDUCATION

Class education is a work of ideological education aimed at arming people with the working-class ideology. Its main object is to enhance the class awakening of the working people so that they may combat the class enemy uncompromisingly and fight to resolutely defend the interests of their class through thick and thin.

We should thoroughly expose to the working people the malignant and insidious nature of the class enemy, cultivate in them a strong hatred for that enemy and, at the same time, convince them deeply of their class position and the justness of the revolutionary struggle, thereby inducing all working people to resolutely fight the class enemy to the end, for the good of their class, their Party and their socialist country and for the victory of the revolutionary cause.

The question on which we should lay primary stress in class education is that of cultivating among the working people a hatred for imperialism.

Imperialism is the first target of our struggle. Imperialism is all bad, and particularly, the imperialism we have to fight is U.S. and Japanese imperialism. We must, above all, educate the soldiers and working people with the idea of hating U.S. and Japanese imperialism.

There are countless instances of barbarities committed by the American and Japanese scoundrels in Korea. We should tell the soldiers and the working people clearly how the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese imperialists killed, insulted and oppressed our people. We should let them know about all the atrocities that the American scoundrels perpetrated while in north Korea and are perpetrating now in south Korea. In south Korea today, when the Yankees go hunting, they shoot down Koreans who are gathering firewood and claim that they thought they were pheasants or hares; they shoot children to death, branding the victims as thieves merely for approaching the barbed wire fences; they rape Korean women and even shave off their hair; they strip Korean women naked and paint their bodies, and so on. All these represent an intolerable insult to our nation. We should inform the working people of all these facts. In this way they should be inspired with hatred against the enemy of our nation.

The Kwangju Students' Incident, touched off when Japanese male students jeered at a Korean schoolgirl, led the Korean students throughout the country to rise against Japanese imperialism. We should fully expose the outrages the U.S. imperialists are now perpetrating in south Korea and make them all known to our people.

What is most important in educating the soldiers and the working people to hate imperialism is to bring home to them its aggressive nature. We should not just tell the working people about a few cases of the imperialists slaughtering people in our country or savagely bombing our towns and villages; we should make the working people fully understand, on the basis of historical facts, that aggression and plunder emanate from the very nature of imperialism.

In the past, the imperialists gobbled up our country, and

eprived it of vast amounts of resources and wealth; and also
oday, they have got hold of south Korea and are plundering
the south Korean people, and even trying to swallow north Ko-
rea. All imperialism, without exception, is aggressive in nature,
be it Japanese imperialism or U.S. imperialism, the imperialism
of yesterday or the imperialism of today.

Just as the brutish nature of a wolf cannot change, so the aggressive nature of imperialism can never change. Catch a wolf cub and raise it; the beast will still do harm to people and flee into the mountains when it grows up. If the aggressive nature of imperialism changed, it would mean that imperialism has already ceased to exist. So long as imperialism remains, its aggressive nature will remain the same. We should categorically reject the allegation of the revisionists that the aggressive nature of imperialism has changed.

From the first days of their contact with our country, the
Japanese and U.S. imperialists tried to swallow our country
and schemed to plunder our people of their wealth. The Amer
ican rogues robbed our country of great quantities of gol
The gold they took away from the Unsan, Taeyudong and Su
Mines alone amounts to a tremendous figure. In many pla
there still remain traces of those Yankees who bustled ab
the high mountains and deep valleys to rob Korea of its
I found a Western-style house on the mountain pass of Ch
song, and asked the old men what it was. They said that i
built by an American scoundrel who lived there for a
during which time he made trips on horseback in
of gold. I suggested that it would be a good idea to m
the house in good state so that we can show it to ou
generations.

The crafty Yankees plundered Korea of a huge a
gold of which they spent a negligible sum to set up a f
ity hospitals" and the like, and distribute some bag
ine to Christian converts. Besides, in order to trai
they needed, they picked out some Koreans and s
United States. In doing so, they adv
were helping Korea

Today also, the American rogues are trying to deceive people by similar methods in south Korea. They have occupied south Korea and turned it into their colony. And yet, they allege that they are giving aid to the Korean people. We should fully expose the true nature of the several hundred million dollars of "aid" which they are said to give annually.

In actual fact what is plundered by the Yankees in south Korea every year is incomparably greater than what they offer in the so-called aid. In the first place, the Yankees maintain as mercenaries a puppet army of 700,000. If they were to station that size army of their own in Korea, it would cost them scores of times more than the amount of their "aid" to south Korea. The American scoundrels, however, feign ignorance of the fact that they use the young and middle-aged in south Korea as cannon fodder and plunder a vast amount of resources there. On the contrary, they vociferate as if they were feeding the south Korean people. In south Korea, too, many people seem to have started realizing by now that so-called U S aid is a means of ruining the south Korean economy and completely reducing it to an appendage of the United States.

We must also get the people fully acquainted with the fact that the Japanese and U.S. imperialists have long since collaborated with each other for the purpose of invading Korea. We should thus expose, based on a historical fact, the ambitions of the U.S. and the Japanese imperialists to commit renewed aggression against our country

Of late, the U.S. imperialists and the military fascist clique in the south are even manoeuvring to give entree to the Japanese imperialists in an endeavour to prop up their colonial rule in south Korea which is on the verge of collapse.

Men like Pak Jung Hi and Kim Jong Pil in south Korea are special agents of the United States and also stooges of the Japanese scoundrels. They are now holding the "ROK-Japan talks" with a view to ushering in the Japanese bandits. These traitors intend to reduce to only 300 million dollars the reparations to be given for the plunder committed by the Japanese imperialists against our people for 36 years.

Government has made clear its determined opposition
ROK-Japan talks." A broad sector of the Japanese pub-
well as the working class are raising their voices to de-
e the illegality of the "ROK-Japan talks."

We must firmly oppose the Pak Jung Hi clique bringing
panese imperialism, and sharpen the vigilance against the
anese imperialists who are machinating to invade our Ko-
again.

Racial discrimination and misanthropy are ideas inherent the imperialists. We remember clearly how the Japanese scoundrels looked down upon Koreans and brutally slaughtered them in the past. The rabid racial discrimination of the Yankees is widely known to the world. They regard the whites as a superior race, and believe that the yellow and the black races ought to be dominated and maltreated by the whites. We should thoroughly reveal the history of atrocities committed by the American scoundrels in insulting and murdering Koreans and the criminal acts they have committed and are still committing against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In this way, we should see to it that all our people profoundly hate Japanese and U.S. imperialism and that not only our generation but also our future generations remember the aggressive nature of imperialism.

Besides, we should make the soldiers and working people fully acquainted with the evil nature of the landlords and capitalists. Today landlords and capitalists still remain in south Korea, and they continue to exploit the workers and peasants ruthlessly. In north Korea the landlord and capitalist system had ceased to exist but the former landlords and capitalist though overthrown, are still alive today.

The younger generation have no idea of landlords, b the former landlords have never forgotten their confisca land. Although 17 years have already elapsed since the la lords' estates were confiscated they still keep the property ords. They say that one of them, helped about by his gran points out to the young grandson all the lands he had deprived of and tells him that he must regain the lands

means when the time comes, even after his death In Pyongyang, of late, a 72 year-old erstwhile landlord, who had kept murmuring and complaining, turned against us despite the fact that all of his sons had gone to school and had even graduated from college thanks to the solicitude of the state. The members of his people's neighbourhood unit made every effort to educate him but it was all in vain, and finally, it is said, they had no other choice but to expel him from the unit, entrusting his reeducation to his sons. I think this is an instructive instance which shows that the true nature of the landlords does not change. Just as the true nature of imperialism is actually unchangeable, so is the true nature of the landlords and capitalists.

The landlords have not forgotten that we expropriated their lands, and so how can we forget the landlords? We should continue to hate landlords and capitalists and fight them to the end. It is necessary for us to produce many films and dramas exposing the criminal acts of exploitation and pillage by the landlords and capitalists, and also write more novels based on similar subjects. Our youngsters should be made to see and read all these films and novels so that they can fully understand how their parents were exploited and oppressed by the landlords and capitalists in the past.

And it would be good for the army to occasionally invite and hold round-table discussions with some of the old country folks who in the past eked out a scanty living as farm hands and became better off after the liberation. Through such round-table discussions we should make our soldiers fully aware of how miserable the plight of our peasants was and how cruel the exploitation by the Japanese scoundrels and the landlords was in former days.

Another very important thing in class education is to bring home to the soldiers and working people the corruptness of the capitalist system and the superiority of the socialist system.

Exploiting classes like landlords and capitalists are inseparable from their exploiting system. We should hate not only individual landlords and capitalists but the exploiting classes

as a whole, and should fight against the exploiting system itself in which they rule the roost.

To have a full grasp of the class essence of the capitalists, one must be well informed about the capitalist system. We should help the working people to fully understand that the capitalist system and the landlord and bourgeois way of life are bad, whereas the socialist system and our people's mode of life are good.

Capitalist society is a society where a handful of the privileged classes, including the landlords and capitalists, oppress and exploit the toiling masses. State power and the wealth of society are exclusively in the hands of these privileged classes. The toiling masses are starved and ragged. If they fall ill, they cannot afford medical treatment. They have no power whatsoever to defend their human rights although humiliated and oppressed.

On the contrary, under the socialist system the popular masses are the masters of everything. In socialist society, no one is subjected to exploitation and oppression. Everyone works and lives equally well, people study and develop together. Although they may not be in a position to live in luxury like the landlords and capitalists, they all live free from worry about food and clothing, are entitled to work and study, and receive medical care. Moreover, under the socialist system, all the people are united and work with consciousness, so that they develop the society rapidly and show great vigour in the struggle against foreign aggressors.

In making the superiority of our system understood, it is very effective to compare the northern half with the southern half.

A contrast between the superiority of the socialist system and the corrupt, reactionary nature of the capitalist system is manifested most strikingly in the diametrically opposed situations in north and south Korea. Our struggle today is, in fact, an acute struggle between the two entirely opposite social systems, established in north and south Korea, a struggle between the classes that support the socialist system and the classes that

support the capitalist system. We are striving to get people to choose for themselves between the two systems. It is therefore very important to prove the advantages of socialism over capitalism fully, by making comparisons between the social systems in north and south Korea.

In south Korea, the landlords and capitalists continue to exercise their authority and live in affluence, while the workers and peasants lead a wretched life. Since power is not in the hands of the workers and peasants, far from being protected by the state, they are simply oppressed. The police beat, arrest and imprison workers and peasants, and subject large numbers of toiling people and youths to forced labour and pressgang them into the puppet army as cannon fodder for the Yankees. There are over 6 million unemployed and semi-unemployed, and hundreds of thousands of child beggars are roaming the streets, but the rulers do nothing whatsoever for them. They arrest, imprison and slaughter at random those who advocate the rights of the people, and herd people off to desolate far-off lands in South America across the Pacific. We should thoroughly expose the criminal emigration scheme of the south Korean rulers who banish innocent south Korean people to faraway places so that they may never return, under the pretext that poverty is caused by a shortage of land, while they lay waste hundreds of thousands of *chongbo* of cultivable land.

North Korea is inhabited by the Koreans just as in the south, but the situation is entirely different here. All landlords and capitalists have been eliminated in the northern half and the exploiters and oppressors have all been liquidated. The state is run by the people themselves; all of the factories and farms are owned by the people who manage and operate them for themselves. Everyone works, studies and lives free from worry about food, clothing and housing.

In south Korea countless people go about begging with cans in their hands, many dying under bridges from cold and hunger. We, however, now all eat hearty meals though they be boiled rice and corn, half-and-half, and there is no one lacking shelter and sleeping under bridges.

south Korea today, a large number of youth and children go to school and students even sell their blood to earn expenses. But in the northern half, all pupils and students, accounting for one-fourth of the population, study at schools free of charge; and everyone is even provided with conditions for receiving higher education.

As everyone has an occupation and works in our society, the enemies are carrying on a malicious propaganda campaign that north Koreans are subjected to forced labour. Contrary to their expectations, this sort of propaganda will backfire so that, in fact, the Koreans in the south will long for north Korea.

An espionage agent, who had infiltrated into north Korea and fled to the south, slanderously claimed that the streets in the north were like a living hell in the daytime with not a soul to be seen because everyone had been dragged off for forced labour. Such a crude lie can deceive no one, nor can it evoke the sympathy of the south Korean people. If the south Korean working people, who are jobless and languishing in hunger and poverty, hear this, they would say they prefer to get any job even if it did mean forced labour. What pride can one have in streets filled, even in the daytime, with parasites who live without working and with the unemployed and beggars wandering about with no job and nothing to eat? And what good is it to have many yelling hawkers urging people to buy some product? Only madmen could be against eliminating such things and having everyone working and living well.

A few years ago, an airliner flew over here from south Korea. A stewardess from the plane gave her impressions of the streets of Pyongyang, saying that the cosmetics and other luxuries in the shops were not worth mentioning and that there was only plenty of ordinary fabrics suitable for plain people and of mass consumption goods. These remarks, too, can be construed differently from opposite class positions. When they hear the words, the landlords and capitalists may consider north Korea is a poor society since it lacks toilet articles and luxuries. As for the working people in south Korea, they will think life in north Korea ideal for working people and

"It doesn't matter if we have no cosmetics and luxuries. So long as there are plenty of the goods that the working people need, that's enough."

The bourgeoisie like to talk about freedom. Their freedom, however, is the freedom for the landlords and capitalists to exploit the working people and the freedom for the workers and peasants to be badly-clothed and hunger-stricken.

I was told that some of the south Korean reporters who come to Panmunjom extol bourgeois freedom. When our correspondents asked them what freedom they had after all, a south Korean counterpart reportedly answered: "You all go to office at eight in the morning and work, but we don't do that. Once we write a good story and make money, we drink or take a rest at home for days. And no one is bothered about it. What is this if not freedom?" This fellow, however, shuts his eyes to the fact that in south Korea now great numbers of people, unable to earn a living, are going hungry, far from loafing for two days on one day's earning. He does not care whether others are starved or frozen to death, whether the country goes to ruin or not; he only wants to make a good living for himself. What a mean idea! It is most disgraceful to idle away time at home, drinking wine, instead of concerning oneself with the community, the state and the sufferings of one's fellow countrymen.

The freedom to eat the bread of idleness as long as one has money in one's pocket is a freedom for the rich bourgeois exploiter class, not for the working people Genuine freedom for the working people lies, above all, in extricating themselves from exploitation and oppression by the landlords and capitalists and in all being able to work, not for the good of the exploiters but for their own sake and for the sake of their country and society.

The capitalists talk about human rights, but in capitalist society the working people actually have no right to work, no right to live, no right to receive medical care, no right to study. Only socialist society ensures genuine freedom and rights for all the working people to work and live happily together.

A brief glance over one aspect of capitalist society may fascinate some with the pomp of bourgeois life. The streets blazing with varicoloured lights and shops stacked with luxurious and flashy goods may give an impression that everything is prospering and thriving. In contrast, our shops, which fulfil their function as supply organs for the working people, are not concentrated in any one place but are distributed evenly in each district, and their goods are all ordinary ones. People fresh from capitalist countries may think that our towns are much less splendrous than capitalist ones. But everything that is sumptuous and brilliant in capitalist society is designed for the rich capitalists, not for the poor workers. People who fail to observe things from the class point of view may see only the gorgeous side of capitalist society, which has nothing to do with the working people, and be fascinated by it.

We should always draw comparisons between capitalism and socialism from the class point of view, and thoroughly convince the soldiers and working people of the superiority of the socialist system. Only then will they love their system, make devoted efforts to further strengthen and develop it, defend their socialist system and socialist homeland from enemy invasion and fight on with firm confidence in the justness and victory of the cause of socialism.

In the army, too, when political lessons are given, it is advisable to dwell on the south Korean situation a great deal, not just stressing the socialist construction in the northern half. You should give the soldiers a good analytical explanation as to how the landlords levy farm rent in south Korea; why south Korea, once called the granary of Korea, has bad harvests all the time and millions of foodless peasants subsist on grass roots and tree bark year after year, whereas mountainous north Korea gathers good crops every year and has sufficient provisions; why in south Korea the number of unemployed is constantly on the increase and even college graduates cannot get employment and in the end find themselves in the miserable situation of the jobless *chige* carrier, while the northern half is concerned about its manpower shortage; and so on.

We must also make the soldiers understand clearly that the fundamental cause of the miseries and sufferings of the south Korean people lies in the colonial, predatory policy of U.S. imperialism and its reactionary ruling system.

In the pre-liberation days when we were struggling against the Japanese imperialists we taught the guerrillas in detail how the Japanese scoundrels were bleeding the Koreans white and how the landlords were exploiting the peasants. We explained to them how much the landlords collected in farm rent, how the Japanese bandits deprived the Koreans of their lands, how they levied taxes, and even what the monopoly system was.

The soldiers should be thoroughly acquainted with the situation in south Korea as well as in north Korea. Only then will it be possible for them to have a deeper understanding of the superiority of the socialist system and greater determination to safeguard the revolutionary gains. And only in this way will our soldiers come to hate the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the landlords and capitalists, and increase their revolutionary enthusiasm to overthrow the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the landlords and capitalists in south Korea at an early date and to make our south Korean compatriots as well-off as we are.

Class education of the working people is a deep-going class *struggle in the realm of ideology.* Without waging an uncompromising battle against the ideology of the hostile classes, it is impossible to equip the soldiers and working people with the working-class ideology, the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, we must wage a powerful struggle against all types of reactionary bourgeois ideas, anti-Marxist-Leninist ideas and opportunist ideas. At the present time particularly, when revisionism has raised its head internationally, it is of great significance in class education to expose the reactionary nature of revisionism.

The modern revisionists, with a view to paralysing the class consciousness of the masses, deny the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship, preach class collaboration and

bourgeois liberalism and obscure the fundamental difference between the capitalist system and the socialist system.

While beautifying imperialism and alleging that the aggressive nature of imperialism has changed, they call for a halt to the anti-imperialist struggle and oppose the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and exploited peoples.

On the question of war and peace, too, the modern revisionists have put forward a pernicious "theory." Peace can be won only through the struggle of the broad popular masses against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. However, the revisionists pin their hopes on the "reasonableness" of the imperialists and beg them for peace while repressing the anti-imperialist struggle of the popular masses. They are compromising with imperialism and capitulating to the imperialists' policy of war blackmail, while spreading warphobia and bourgeois pacifism.

Revisionism is bourgeois ideology which has penetrated the working-class movement. The revisionists, renegades of the revolution, craftily using Marxist-Leninist propositions in camouflaging their reactionary nature, actually preach bourgeois ideology and serve the interests of the imperialists and the reactionary classes.

Modern revisionism is exerting an extremely harmful influence upon the struggle of the popular masses for peace, national independence and socialism. Where revisionism finds its way, the class consciousness of the masses grows blunt and they degenerate ideologically, thereby becoming unable to carry on the revolutionary struggle.

So, at present we cannot successfully give the working people a class education or mobilize them for the victory of the revolution apart from the struggle against revisionism. We should fully lay bare the non-class and reactionary nature of the revisionists so that all the working people can draw a distinction for themselves between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. We should thus see to it that all our Party members and working people, holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the

banner of struggle against imperialism and for national liberation and socialism, fight out resolutely for the triumph of the revolutionary cause.

Another important thing in class education is to firmly arm the soldiers and working people with the ideas of socialist patriotism.

We must learn not only to hate the enemy but also to love our friends. Love of one's own class and people and the ardent love of one's own Party and country is one of the loftiest characteristics inherent to the working class.

Nothing is dearer to us than our country. Our people have felt in their bones how miserable is the colonial slavery of a stateless nation.

The true mother of all people is their native country. We cannot live nor be happy, apart from our country. Only by virtue of the prosperity and well-being of the homeland is it possible for us to carve out the road to happiness. All the finest sons and daughters of our people were ardent patriots before anything else. It was also for the restoration of our country that the Korean Communists fought against the Japanese imperialists before liberation, braving hardships and tribulations.

Li Su Bok, a hero who displayed matchless valour in the Fatherland Liberation War of our people against the armed invasion of the U.S. imperialists, said that he had to devote his life to the interests of his own country. This is the feeling of real patriots All our soldiers and working people should possess this patriotic spirit Patriotism is all the more indispensable for us who have to drive out the U S imperialist aggressors and accomplish the national-liberation revolution.

However, as our people had long lived in colonial slavery without their own state, quite a few of them are not proud of their country and nation and, accordingly, they lack in love of their people and fatherland. So, in many cases, some people become transformed into Japanese when they are in Japan, into Russians in Russia and into Americans in America.

True, our people retain much of the flunkeyism which has been handed down historically and lack a sense of national

However, our big defect is that we have so far failed e the working people a thoroughgoing education in patriot- As a result, some even seem to think the working class not have to be patriotic while others think socialist pat- sm and proletarian internationalism conflict with each er.

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism con- itute an inseparable whole. Some people betray their country nder the signboard of internationalism, which is very wrong

Fundamentally speaking, proletarian internationalism is internationalism between independent nations, between states, and internationalism is inconceivable apart from nations and states. If one holds that he needs neither state nor nation, but needs only internationalism, this is not an internationalist stand but that of a ruined people who have forgotten their own coun- try and nation and depend on others.

Needless to say, it will be another matter after imperial- ism is completely overthrown and socialism and communism emerge victorious on a world-wide scale in the future, and the boundaries of nations vanish and states cease to exist. Then the question of patriotism will never arise and its relationship to internationalism will pose no problem.

However, while frontiers continue to exist and people have their respective countries and live on a national basis like to- day, one cannot forget his country and nation.

It would be meaningless for the Korean Communists t talk about revolution apart from the Korean nation and th 3,000 *ri* of Korean soil.

Those who were born in Korea are duty bound to make r olution and build socialism and communism in Korea. The rean revolution is the internationalist duty devolving or Korean people. For this reason, only when the Korean p satisfactorily carry out the Korean revolution first, wil be performing their internationalist duty faithfully. Ever we have must be subordinated to the fulfilment of the revolution. Moreover, inasmuch as we are still at the revolution in which we must accomplish the national-li

revolution throughout the country, it is essential to enhance the national pride of our people.

The question to which we should pay particular attention in educating the working people in patriotism is that of making them fully understand the great importance of national independence. The Party is demanding that *Juche* be established in all domains, and special emphasis should be laid on political independence and economic self-sustenance.

Originally, Communists make it their rudimentary task to fight for the liquidation of all kinds of subjugation and for the attainment of sovereignty and independence. He who denies political independence and preaches flunkeyism is not a Communist.

The man who lacks political independence will practise revisionism if others do it, accept dogmatism if others fall into it, or capitulationism, if others do so. How can he become a Communist who responsibly leads the revolution of his country if he keeps swaying with the wind.

A person who follows in wake of others without political independence is out of his senses. Such a stupid man can neither love his country and people, nor do anything in a creative way to suit his own actual situation. The man who thus lacks the spirit of sovereignty and independence works not for the good of his people but to curry favour with others. Therefore, this sort of man may eventually play into the hands of the great-power chauvinists who try to subjugate other countries, and he may go so far as to degenerate into a traitor who sells out the interests of his own people.

Without economic self-sustenance, no political independence can be ensured. A state can be fully sovereign and independent only when it has political independence and economic self-sustenance. Above all, it is of prime importance for us Korean Communists to turn our country into a state which has complete political independence and economic self-sustenance. Only political independence and economic self-sustenance will enable us to solve our country's problems on our own.

It should be a fundamental principle that the problems of

a country should be solved by its own people. It would be a very stupid and erroneous idea to win independence by relying on others and to live well on the favours of others. The Korean revolution must be accomplished by the efforts of the Korean people themselves and the Korean question must be solved by the Korean people themselves.

We must show the people in the southern half that political independence and economic self-sustenance have been firmly established in the northern half, and must continue to inspire them to take the path of political independence and economic self-sustenance, without relying on the United States or Japan. Some of the south Korean people still maintain that the reunification of the country should be materialized by the United Nations. We are fundamentally opposed to this. Why should we ask for the help of the United Nations to solve the question of Korean reunification instead of settling it among us Koreans? To do so means disbelief in our own strength and an insult to our nation. There remain quite a few people who are not ashamed of relying on external forces because flunkeyism has had a potent influence in our country from the past.

In the last days of the feudal society of the Li dynasty the situation of our country was particularly appalling. People were not concerned with saving the country by their own efforts; on the contrary, different factions did their utmost to get the assistance of foreign powers in order to achieve their partisan ends whenever something happened. So, some secured the backing of Russia, others the backing of Japan and still others the backing of Chin—each group got the backing of a foreign power. This vice found expression even after the August 15 Liberation. The factionalists played the same old game in 1956. All the anti-Party factionalists came out against our Party, each with the backing of a big power.

Today the idea of reliance on external forces which remains in the minds of some south Korean people offers a big obstacle to the solution of the question of the reunification of our country. Therefore, we must energetically instill the idea of political independence in the south Korean people and youth.

Of late, the south Korean youth have begun to insist that economic self-sustenance is necessary to secure political independence. This is a very good sign. Certainly, economic self-sustenance is unthinkable under U.S. imperialist colonial rule, and if such ideas continue to grow among the south Korean youth, a powerful struggle may break out against the U.S imperialists and their lackeys. Especially, if we north Korean people oppose U.N. supervision or foreign supervision and continue to strongly demand reunification by the Korean people themselves, the south Korean youth will definitely rise in response to this.

We are now building socialism in the northern half, but we must remember that our country still remains divided. If we conduct educational work in the same way as in the countries where the revolution has triumphed on a nation-wide scale, it will not suit our reality. How can we forget the question of national sovereignty and independence when we have not yet liberated the more than 20 million south Korean people? If we were to confine ourselves to the building of socialism in the northern half alone, we could just sit idle, singing the praises of socialism. But we must never do this, for we are making revolution. We must carry the national-liberation revolution to the end and accomplish the socialist revolution across the country, come what may. For this, we should strengthen education in patriotism and lay a greater emphasis on the question of national liberation and the sovereignty and independence of the country. Otherwise, we will not be able to carry through the revolutionary tasks entrusted to the Korean Communists and the Korean people. Herein lies the very reason that education in patriotism should hold a particularly important place in class education in our country today.

Another important thing in educating the soldiers and working people in revolutionary spirit is to strengthen their confidence in the victory of the revolution and cultivate in them the spirit of love for the future.

Faith in the victory of the revolution is all the more essential in our country. When the revolutionary struggle assumes

a difficult and protracted character, those whose belief in the revolution is unstable may become weary and vacillate. It should, therefore, be driven home to the entire people that the revolution will definitely triumph.

If our present revolutionary cause were not to emerge victorious, people would become disappointed and dispirited and few would continue to devote themselves heart and soul to the cause, no matter how just and good it is. But if they are certain that the revolution will surely triumph, they will devote their all to the struggle, even though final victory may not be realized in their lifetime. It is precisely because of their firm conviction of the victory of the revolution that true Communists are able to fight out heroically for the triumph of the revolution, fearing no enemy, however mighty, and courageously overcoming all difficulties and trials.

The downfall of imperialism and the victory of socialism is an inexorable law of development of history. Historical facts prove that imperialism is doomed to ruin even though it appears to be strong. Japanese imperialism was ruined, German and Italian imperialism were also crushed. The American scoundrels, too, will go to ruin. Already there are clear signs that U.S. imperialism is declining. We must make it thoroughly known to our working people that imperialism will be destroyed, all forces of reaction will be destroyed and socialism is certain to win victory. We must thus encourage everyone to fight to the end for the accomplishment of the revolution, with firm confidence in its triumph.

Furthermore, the youth should be educated to love not only the socialist system, already established, but also communism, to be built in the future.

We must not rest content with the present state of affairs. If we do, we cannot develop or make progress. We should always set goal higher and higher and struggle to attain them. Uninterrupted struggle and continued advance will enable us to complete our revolution and build a paradise of communism.

Those who love the future, who always set high goals of

struggle for themselves and strive to achieve them, are capable of living more frugally and more militantly, always leading a cheerful and active life. So the education in love for the future is of great importance in establishing a revolutionary mode of life among the working people.

The work of arming the soldiers and working people with the revolutionary spirit of the working class must always be conducted in close combination with the education in the Party's policies and in the revolutionary traditions.

In order to carry out our country's revolution with a mind of our own, it is necessary for us to equip ourselves fully with our Party's policies and our revolutionary traditions. The policies of our Party are a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Korea and the guide to our action. Our revolutionary traditions are the indomitable fighting spirit and the priceless experiences and achievements of the Korean Communists in the course of their protracted, heroic struggle to carve out the road to victory for the Korean revolution, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. If we are fully armed with our Party's policies and revolutionary traditions, we will be able to adhere to our revolutionary position and wage an uninterrupted, resolute revolutionary struggle in all adversities and ordeals without losing the spirit of *Juche*. Neither revisionism, dogmatism nor flunkeyism can ever infect those who are armed with the Party policies and revolutionary traditions. Only such people can be said to be true Korean revolutionaries in whom the ideological system of the Party is firmly established. We must train all the soldiers and working people to be revolutionaries of this sort

This means that our soldiers and working people must be well acquainted, first of all, with the objectives and tasks of the revolution and know the methods of revolutionary struggle and its future prospects. We should explain to the soldiers and working people what the basic tasks of the Seven-Year Plan are as well as how rich and strong our country will become, how well-off our people will be and what great significance it will have in relieving the plight of the south Korean

people when it is fulfilled. They should also be made to realize fully how we are building socialism. All these matters are explicitly stated in the report to the Fourth Congress of our Party. All soldiers and working people should be induced to make a deep study of the Party documents and become well informed of the Party's policies and lines put forward in each period of the revolution and of the intentions of the Party Central Committee. Thus, we should see that all people think and act as the Party Central Committee does and fight to carry out the Party's policies through thick and thin.

We must expect an arduous struggle in the future, too. We should follow the examples of the heroic struggle of our revolutionary forerunners and assimilate and develop their fighting spirit. In this way, we should see that everyone fights for the reunification and independence of our country and for the final victory of the Korean revolution with the same revolutionary spirit and unflagging fighting will that the anti-Japanese guerrillas displayed in the deep forests of Mt. Paekdu-san.

Along with class education, it is necessary to further strengthen communist moral education. So far our Party has paid a great deal of attention to communist moral education and has already achieved considerable success. The communist pattern of work and life has begun to take root among the working masses and there are many examples of people fighting devotedly for their comrades and collectives. Many beautiful and impressive accounts of communist deeds have been coming forth from among the workers and peasants, and from intellectuals like teachers and doctors whose level of consciousness is relatively high.

But we cannot rest content with the successes already achieved. We still have many shortcomings in the work of communist moral education.

Quite a few people still do not love the collective, do not love labour and do not cherish and protect state property, common property.

Even in our society, hopeless egoists may appear if peo-

ple are left alone without moral education. If people become selfish, they will be mad with a desire for a life of plenty just for themselves, not caring even about their parents, brothers and sisters, relatives, friends and comrades, just as in capitalist society. What's the good of living this way? Since we intend to build a communist society and get people all to live equally well, we cannot allow them to become egoists like that.

The survivals of obsolete ideas and old habits of life, which have come down through thousands of years, cannot disappear of their own accord in a brief period, just because a new socialist system has been set up. The complete eradication of outdated moral concepts and habits of life from among the working people, requires a long, persevering struggle and positive education for building up new communist morality.

However, we have failed to successfully conduct communist moral education among the working people in a systematic way. For an effective moral education, social and home education should be conducted well, and, at the same time, should be properly combined with school education.

In the future we should prepare textbooks, publish booklets and carry articles in the magazines on communist moral education and should also produce many films and dramas on the theme of moral education

Education in communist morality should be intensified in the People's Army, too.

Most important of all here is to have the revolutionary traditions of unity between officers and men further developed in the army. In the past, among the anti-Japanese guerrillas, commanding officers and soldiers shared sleeping quarters and meals, joy and sorrow with each other. At that time the commanders did not have a family life and they took care of their men at all times, living together with them.

At present, however, the officers have a family life, and do not share sleeping quarters and eating with the soldiers. This is a right and necessary thing, of course. There should be differences between the officers, who will serve the army all

through their life, and the soldiers, who will go out into society after three or four years of military service.

However, we should be deeply conscious that, since they do not share sleeping quarters and meals with the soldiers, the officers could become estranged from the life of their men, which would make it difficult to ensure unity between men and officers. As a matter of fact, if officers do not go among the soldiers and live with them constantly, they will be unable to have a good grasp of the mentality of the soldiers, and a gap could appear between them.

If we do not manage to give a full communist moral education to the officers in conjunction with education in revolutionary traditions, they will not be concerned about the life their men lead, while themselves living a comfortable life in a well-heated home with meals served by their wives, and they will only seek a still more comfortable life. As the saying goes: "Much would have more." And they will, in the long run, come to hate even walking, and they will want a car; once they get a car, they will want a bigger one so as to stretch out their legs comfortably in it. Then they can no longer make revolution.

If you want to make revolution, you must discard the egoistic idea of living well only for yourselves. Revolutionaries must be ready to sacrifice their private life.

Officers must organize their daily life in the spirit of always sharing the sweet and the bitter with the soldiers and make conscious efforts not to be estranged from their men. Whenever you enjoy a special delicacy, you must think of your soldiers; when it rains, or when your troops camp out or are on an arduous march, you must not go home to sleep but stay with your men.

The officers should be strictly prohibited from following such pernicious practices as having their men chop firewood or carry water for them to make their family life more comfortable. This is little less than the behaviour of officers in a privileged caste. There are very acute contradictions between officers and men in the imperialist army where officers ex-

ercise such privileges. We must take all precautions against the slightest expression of such evil tendencies in our revolutionary army.

In the revolutionary army, officers and men are all comrades who share life and death, sweet and bitter, for the sake of the revolution. Superiors should love and help subordinates and the latter should respect and defend the former, thus ensuring firm unity between them. Officers must always love their men as their own brothers and show day-to-day concern for their daily life; the division commander should give assistance to the regimental commander, the regimental commander to the battalion commander, the battalion commander to the company commander and the company commander to the platoon leader. The unity between officers and men must be maintained in this way. It is very important to ensure unity between officers and men in order for our army to become the army of our Party, a class army and a revolutionary army. Only in this way will our army always overcome difficulties through unity and win victory under all circumstances.

Also, soldiers should be educated in the spirit of taking good care of weapons and economizing on ammunition. Without weapons and ammunition you cannot fight the enemy. We should know how the anti-Japanese guerrillas treasured their weapons.

Only when the soldiers are educated in the spirit of taking good care of weapons and saving ammunition, will they manage state and co-operative farm property well and display patriotic devotion in socialist construction in future, when they are given assignments to work at factories or co-operative farms.

I visited front line units this time to see how they are getting along and found that the living conditions of the soldiers are not bad. What we have to do now is to fully equip them all with the revolutionary communist spirit by strengthening their class education and communist moral education. Most important today in strengthening the fighting capacity of our army is to conduct such political and ideological work among the soldiers in a thoroughgoing manner.

3. ON ENHANCING THE ROLE OF LITERATURE AND ART IN CLASS EDUCATION

I should like to express some views on how to make better use of various educational media, literary and art works in particular, in class education.

We have a lot of educational media—newspapers, magazines, novels, plays, films and so on. However, all the numerous educational media fail to play their part to the full today.

We have at our disposal a wealth of good materials for the education of the working people. A proper comparison in explaining the diametrically different realities of north and south, for instance, will enable the working people to get a profound understanding of the advantages of the socialist system. However, we are not attending to this work well.

Besides, we have many splendid achievements to our credit. There are too many praiseworthy things to enumerate—the great successes our people have scored in socialist construction, the peerless heroism being displayed by them, hosts of fine communist stories being created among the working masses, etc. But we fail to give proper publicity to them.

This is why everyone who visits our country, whether he is a foreigner or a young person from south Korea, observes that we are underestimating our actual achievements in our propaganda. It is true that our propaganda is below par.

Why do we fail to propagandize our excellent achievements properly? The main reason is that the work is left to a few writers and journalists and the broad masses are not actively enlisted in it.

As I have said time and again, it is wrong to make writing something mysterious. There is nothing mysterious about literature and art. Anyone who has graduated from middle school can write about what he feels and thinks.

A great many middle school graduates can be found in the countryside, too, not to speak of towns, and still more in the army. There are ever so many people who are able to write. It is advisable to get all of them to write what they have seen and felt. Then you can collect their writings and have highly qualified writers pick out good stories and give them a bit of artistic polish. That's all there is to it.

This method can be applied also to scenario and play writing.

Generally, the cultural level of our working people is not low today. We also have a good many professional writers and composers. Nothing is impossible for us if we mobilize all our forces.

When we were waging the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we had neither writers nor composers, but we staged dramas, made up songs and put out magazines and pamphlets

We got together and had discussions to write a play or compose music. And yet, the masses warmly acclaimed our plays, and many young people who were moved by them vied with each other to join the guerrillas. From this experience it is evident that our plays captivated the hearts of the audience any way.

Magazines, pamphlets and the like were also put out by primary school graduates or by middle school graduates at best.

True, some crudeness was unavoidable in these works, but they were enough to educate the masses effectively.

There is nothing extraordinary about literature and art. The essential thing is to depict the truth A certain degree of clumsiness does not matter so long as the masses understand well.

As for magazines, I think the design of *Chollima* is agreeable. It would be better to increase the staff of reporters and correspondents for this sort of magazine and induce many people in each village, factory and school to write about different things that take place in town and country, and send it to the magazine.

At first they may be not good at writing, of course. But it

is advisable to have their writings published, even though poorly written, after giving a good polishing to them. This encouragement will help them write a better article with interest next time. Their quality will also be enhanced through doing this time and again.

We should thus induce workers and farmers, workteam leaders and management personnel to write, and chairmen of county Party committees and county people's committees, too.

Scenarios and dramas must be created on a mass scale. When many people are drawn into creative work, a variety of material may emerge and this will, in turn, encourage the work on a mass scale.

This will make it possible to obtain plenty of good material. If there are outstanding items among them, journalists or writers may go to the authors to help perfect them.

Why do we consider the play *A Red Agitator* to be a good piece? Because it gives a good portrayal of a stirring event taking place in our countryside as it really is. People like Li Sin Ja are to be found not only in Rihyon-*ri* but in many other places, too. If a lot of people write about such laudable cases taking place around them and writers and artists produce their works on that basis, they can produce all the excellent works desired. Our literary and art works must always be based on such lively sources.

We must find many good stories by enlisting masses of people who have a vocation for writing, and publish them in the newspapers or work them up into literary pieces to educate the working masses.

Next, let me tell you about how to deal with subjects based on the revolutionary traditions in novels, films and plays.

In the light of the present situation of our country, it is natural that literature and art should take up many subjects from our revolutionary traditions and war experiences. But these subjects must be dealt with in such a way as to suit the feelings of our young people of today.

At present, the young people find our films on the theme of the revolutionary traditions or war to be too stiff, and bor-

ing. This means that these films are not properly combined with our life of today.

So, I say our comrades do not know how to administer medicine effectively. People are unwilling to take a bitter medicine however good for them it may be. A bitter medicine should be sugar-coated before it is administered. The point is that you do not know how to sugar-coat skilfully.

When you make a war film, you should not present only battle scenes from start to finish but describe the life of today as much as possible while inserting less battle scenes, and also strive to make your works rich in emotion so as to meet the taste of young people.

Suppose you make a film based on the battle of Height 1211. You can start it with a soldier's reminiscences of a hero who fought well on Height 1211, and properly associate the hero's life in the past with his present life. In this way, you can produce an interesting film. You might also show the hero's childhood; what education he received from his parents in his early days, how he studied at school, how he kept on good terms with his friends, what sort of girl he fell in love with. You can further describe how bravely the hero fought the enemy on Height 1211 after joining the army, and what the soldier himself was doing at that time and what impressions he got from the hero's struggle; you can also portray how actively he is participating in the building of socialism at present, how he fares today and how his heroic friend and his parents are getting along and so on, thereby introducing topics of today's life Thus, it is possible to deal with both past and present life, introduce valour and heroism in battle and give a good description of life's emotions as well.

But the film entitled *Height 1211* which was put out recently is all fighting from beginning to end.

In contrast with it, the film *Under the Bright Sun* is a fine piece. It gives a true portrayal not only of the revolutionary struggle of the anti-Japanese guerrillas but also of today's struggle for socialist construction and the people's happy life under the socialist system. True, the sequences of the recollec-

tion of former times seem a little long, but, it is, in my opinion, a good work which is suited for our present-day life any way.

We must bring about a great improvement in film production.

Films are a very important means of mass education. But our cinematographic art is in a very backward state today.

It has been several years since the February 8 Film Studio was set up but it has not produced any war film worth mentioning.

We are to blame, of course, for having failed to educate writers and artists properly, but the chief reason is that script writing has been shrouded in mystery. You are gravely mistaken if you think only certain professionals can write scenarios. Anyone can write an excellent piece, if he just goes among the people and depicts the truth. The fault lies with writers and artists who do not delve deeply into actual life, making a mystery of literature and art.

We have been producing films for years now, yet we have had no film dealing with the working class. Our country has thousands of factories and a heroic working class. There are no end of examples of the valiant struggle of the workers that can be described. But no film has ever appeared depicting the working class.

One day I saw a Soviet feature film *Bright Path* together with some writers and artists and then consulted them as to what had to be done in the future to improve motion picture work in our country. The film was about a woman, a former maid at an inn, who distinguished herself as a weaver, bringing about an innovation at the time of the Stakhanov movement, and in time became a Deputy to the Soviet. It depicts the struggle of the working class well and has healthy music that gives courage to the audience.

So, I told our writers and artists that they, too, should make films that way.

How many examples there are of the heroic struggle of the working class in our country, where the Chollima Movement is being unfolded! What we have constructed on the debris in

the postwar years has not come all by itself. It is the result of the heroic struggle waged by our working class displaying extraordinary patriotic devotion.

Our working class fought well, indeed. In order to save their factories from the enemy's bombing, they dismantled machines and carried them on their backs across mountains and rivers; they fought hard battles for postwar rehabilitation and construction, under conditions of great austerity.

But when told to depict something reminiscent of the past, you merely show scenes of utter destruction caused by the desperate bombing of the American bandits. Why do you present desolate scenes of ruin only, instead of the heroic battles of our working class? Only those who are ignorant of the people's struggle can do that.

As I said once last year, documentary films, too, are poorly made.

In our documentary films today there appear roll after roll of fine landscape with streaming water and towering rocks like Mt. Kumgang-san and Mt. Chilbo-san but few of them depict how people work, struggle and learn at factories, schools, hospitals and other places. That is why I once said: "You shoot too many waterfalls. Do you think of living on the waterfalls of Mt. Kumgang-san?"

Also appearing quite often in documentary films are meeting halls. Meeting halls are usually shown in the first sequences of documentary films. We've had enough of meeting halls. Why do you always do this? What's the use of screening the platform of a meeting every time or filming leading functionaries delivering speeches or awarding prizes? The audiences will lose interest in the film because similar scenes are repeated.

Documentary films ought to show people labouring heroically at factories, farms and fishing ports. They can make a real newsreel. If a newsreel just presents the same men you always see and the conference halls familiar to you, how can it be worthy of its name?

As for the conference halls, shoot them a couple of times a year when there are meetings of special importance like a

le's Assembly or a Party Congress. That's enough. How you film all the activists' meetings which are held almost ryday?

A newsreel is supposed to show lifelike scenes of the strug- e as it actually develops, and present them when they are ll fresh. It must show how people are working all over the ountry—at factories and farm villages, schools and hospitals Only then will it suit our feelings, reflect the superiority of th socialist system and, accordingly, enjoy popularity among th audience and have an educative value. Our cinema is too bac ward. We must rapidly raise the level of both feature fil and documentaries so that they reflect our life vividly.

To raise the level of our literary and art works, it is neces- sary for writers and artists to delve more deeply into real life.

We have a bad practice of awarding prizes too often. Prizes are awarded whenever a work is created or a piece of music is composed fairly well. And the rest, that receive no prize, are regarded as a reject.

Of course, I have no objection to awarding many prizes. But I think we had better work a little more, and then receive an award. We should be a bit more modest and make more seri- ous efforts to improve our work. Getting together for drinking is not a right behaviour when you win a prize for your work That could lead to ruin and dissipation.

We must work harder to intensify class education and co munist moral education, propagate the Party's policies and sh the heroic struggle of the people. We must produce m superior works.

Besides, in order to have our people better informe the actual situation in south Korea it would be desiral publish an illustrated magazine with plenty of photo showing the realities of south Korea. In this way we m duce people to feel sympathy for the hard lot of the sou rean compatriots, to hate the U.S. imperialists and their and resolve to further accelerate socialist constructio northern half, live a frugal life and fight persistently revolution through to the end.

If we continually strive to enhance the role of the educational media such as radio, newspapers, magazines, novels, dramas, films and others and impart class education and communist moral education according to the requirements of our reality, we will register greater successes in this work.

4. ON STRENGTHENING PARTY WORK IN THE ARMY

Now I should like to touch briefly on Party work in the army. Those who think that Party work generally means holding meetings, admitting new members into the Party and penalizing those who make errors are grossly mistaken.

The essential constituent of Party work is the work with cadres and the work of rousing the Party organizations to action. Party work is, above all, work with the people who form the Party organization. Most important in work with the people is the work with cadres. We can say that Party work is going well when the work with cadres is done well Cadres in the army mean the officers. The Party committees must give top priority to doing a good job in the work with officers.

Work with cadres can be performed either through private conversations or in a collective way at a meeting. If the commander, deputy commander for political affairs, and the chief of staff of the regiment and other executive committee members of the regimental Party committee co-ordinate their efforts in buckling down to work with cadres, they can get to know all the cadres in the regiment like the palms of their hands.

But you are not doing your work with cadres regularly, simply having a talk with them when there is some trouble. You are not doing a good job of keeping in constant touch with cadres, studying their merits and demerits and educating them. You cannot have a grasp of the actual conditions of the cadres if you only see them at meetings or simply issue orders or receive reports.

n you meet and talk with the cadres often, you will discover their good points and bad points and come to ith various questions which await solutions. In the case rades who have a low political level, the problem of rais- will come to the fore; with comrades whose cultural level w or who are loose in their moral conduct, the problem es of enhancing their cultural level or setting their moral on the right track; and with those who have insufficient owledge of military affairs, the problem of elevating their vel of practical know-how comes up.

I am holding a meeting with you now, but with this mee ng alone I can hardly get a full grasp of the actual conditions of your units. Of course, it is impossible for me to personally talk with every one of you. I, for my part, have cadres with whom I have to conduct day-to-day work. I do my routine work chief- ly with the vice-chairmen and department directors of the Party Central Committee, vice-premiers and ministers of the Cabinet, responsible functionaries of various social organiza- tions, and with high-ranking generals in the army. In the course of my conversations with them, I discover quite a few problems.

A little while ago a deputy regimental commander for po- litical affairs told us that he held talks with eight persons a month. That is too few. He ought to talk with about 20 persons. He can have talks with at least one person a day, while attend- ing to other business.

You might send for the man you want to talk with, but yo can also go down to a unit and have talks with your comrad while living with them or helping them in their work, or ta advantage of their presence at a meeting.

Your private conversation could cover any problems ra ing from their political and ideological life, their army li the unit and their cultural life, down to their personal li a comrade's weak point is political knowledge you might r mend books on politics to him, and if his cultural level ou could advise him to read some novels or poems. A ll him to relate the knowledge he has obtair

books with his own work, so as to put him to the checkup whether he has a proper understanding of the contents of the books. In this way you will be able to give our cadres a class education, education in the revolutionary traditions and education in Party policies, too, in a more concrete way.

Work with cadres can also be done by having the executive committee hear a report by a given comrade on his work. This type of work should be conducted by understanding the actual work of the cadres, by giving them good advice and helping them work better, instead of digging into the faults of comrades who have committed serious errors and scolding them at a meeting. At present the absolute majority of our cadres are all hard-working, good people. Their only drawback is that they have insufficient qualifications and do not know how to do their work properly. That is why work with cadres should be done with the main emphasis on the educational work aimed at teaching them work methods and improving their qualifications.

You must not think that political work with cadres is conducted exclusively by the divisional political department chief or the deputy regimental commander for political affairs. It should be carried out by divisional and regimental commanders, by all Party committee members.

Our experience tells us that it is of paramount importance to educate people through private talks and meetings In the old days, when we were engaged in guerrilla warfare we used to go down to the units, carrying our bundles with us, and march together with the men, and we broached some questions among the guerrillas during rest periods to conduct propaganda and educate them. Since we were always having talks with individual guerrillas, we had a full grasp of the strong and weak points, character and even hobbies of each comrade So, even when a comrade committed an error, we could offer him criticism suited to his level and character This led those criticized to accept it without taking offence and correct their errors readily.

If we work with cadres in this manner we will prevent

them from making mistakes and build our ranks solidly. We did not carry on work with cadres in this way before, and as a result, we were unaware that the anti-Party factionalists were spoiling lots of people and we could not prevent them from doing harm. If we do not pay proper attention to the work with cadres, much the same thing could happen in the future, too.

Our cadres are the priceless wealth of the state. In the years of the Fatherland Liberation War they fought bravely, without sparing their lives, and safeguarded our Party and country, and they fought devotedly in the postwar years as well, to strengthen and develop our People's Army. We should give active assistance to these cadres so that they unite around the Party as firmly as ever and achieve splendid results in their work, avoiding errors. Meanwhile, we must always give class education and education in revolutionary traditions to the new, young cadres, so that all of them inherit the glorious traditions of our People's Army and develop into excellent military cadres, boundlessly loyal to the Party and the revolution.

Another important thing in Party work is to keep the Party organizations constantly on the go. It is necessary always to see whether the Party cells and Party committees hold meetings in time to consider essential matters, whether they have dealt with them correctly, how they organize studies for the Party members and how they conduct mass education and so on, and to supervise the Party organizations at all levels so that they ensure a proper organizational life for the Party members according to the principles described in the Party Rules.

When the ranks of cadres are firmly built and the Party organizations do their work normally, then all the Party members will be roused to activity, and when this happens all the soldiers will be roused to activity. Therefore, the Party committees in the army should make every effort to normalize the work with cadres and the work of keeping Party organizations in action.

5. ON STRENGTHENING THE TIES WITH THE LOCAL POPULATION

Now, one of the most essential problems in strengthening our People's Army is the work with local population.

As you all know, "As the fish cannot live without water, *so the guerrillas cannot live without the people*" *was the motto* of the anti-Japanese guerrillas. This motto, in the last analysis, emphasizes the importance of the mass line. In the army the commanders cannot live without their men, while the army cannot live without the people.

However strong the army may be, it can never display its might unless it is supported by the local population. This is as true under our present regime as in conditions of guerrilla warfare. If the people in the areas where the army is stationed are badly off or not well-disposed toward our government and army, it will greatly affect the morale of the soldiers and will also be very disadvantageous in the fight against the enemy. Therefore, the People's Army must always maintain close ties with the population and actively help them to achieve a comfortable living standard.

There are two most important questions to be solved in the work with the local people One is to help them to live decently, and the other is to awaken their class consciousness

To do this work well it is necessary, first of all, to have a correct grasp of the actual conditions in the areas where army units are stationed. The political department of the regiment, at least, as well as of the division, must have full knowledge of the general conditions in the county where its units are stationed, and must acquaint itself with the concrete situation in the *ri* where the troops are quartered. In order to grasp the local situation, it is necessary, above all, to know the local Party organizations well. *You should know in detail what sort*

e *ri* Party committee chairman is, what the ma rty committee is, what kind of people the co-operative anagement board chairman and workteam leaders are, ne composition of the population is, what shortcomings ave in their work and so on.

fter becoming completely familiar with the actual situa- n the locality, you must take measures to help the local y organizations. Up to now the People's Army has assisted ocal population in various forms. It has given them a help- hand in labour as well as technical and economic assistance. s is, of course, necessary. But this sort of help alone is not ough to solve the basic problems. People in some individual llages in the mountain areas are badly off primarily because f unsatisfactory Party work, though this is also partially at- tributable to a shortage of manpower or other unfavourable material conditions. Until Party work is set on the right course, no amount of material and technical assistance will do any more good than pouring water into a bottomless pot—there will be no end to it.

The People's Army should, first of all, render political as- sistance to local Party organizations, so that they may perform their work well. It is a good thing that you attend Party meet- ings to help them and that you explain and disseminate the Party's policies among the masses. The army has many quali- fied lecturers and many comrades experienced in Party organi- zational work. If these political forces in the units are mobilized for assisting the *ri* Party organizations in their work, it will help greatly to improve the work of the *ri* Party organizations.

Some suppose that, because the front line areas are all mountainous, the people there are not well-off, but that is not true. As far as the natural conditions are concerned, those o Changsong and Pyokdong are more unfavourable than her And yet, people over there are all well-off now. When we visi ed a unit yesterday we had a talk with a soldier from Char song. According to him, his family in Changsong was distrib ed 2.5 tons of grain and 2,500 *won* in cash, whereas here in farm village the average share per household amounte

some 1.6 tons of grain and 100 *won* in cash. The soldier also said that the natural conditions here are not less favourable than in Changsong.

Needless to say, it is not that the Changsong people were well-off from the outset. It took us four or five years to get them to develop the bountiful life they lead today.

When I visited Changsong for the first time in 1955, the living conditions of the local people there were terrible. For a year or two I tried different methods of shoring up the work of the county and improving the livelihood of the people, but failed to solve the problem.

Therefore, the Party deemed it necessary to improve the work of the county Party organization first of all, selected an excellent cadre for the chairmanship of the county Party committee, and built up the county Party committee with fine comrades, before pushing the work ahead energetically

As in all other work, a very important question in county work is that the county Party committee chairman and other cadres in the county set an example themselves in implementing the Party's policies. The chairman of the Changsong County Party Committee had remarkable executive capacity, though he spoke little. He personally went out to direct Party-cell meetings, delivered lectures to the masses and took the lead in carrying loads on his back at the construction sites of locally-run factories. Since the county Party committee chairman came out at dawn to work with a *chige* on his back, not only did vice-chairmen and section heads of the county Party committee follow him, but even the nurses from the hospital came out. In this way they built levees to ward off floods and erected houses and factories. They were active in pushing ahead with the work of gathering and processing large quantities of wild fruit and extensively developed stockbreeding by making use of the mountainside. Farmers each got a hundred *won* in cash just for the wild berries or haws they collected, and earned another hundred *won* with a calf they raised to sell. In doing so, they set a fine example of putting into practice the Party slogan: "In mountainous areas make proper use of the mountains" and

by proved that people in the mountains can live as well
ose on the plains.

This area abounds with mountains and grass but I couldn't
d a single sheep or cow in the ravines. Farmers here seem
be relying only on tiny tracts of land at the foot of the moun-
ins, without turning the mountains themselves to good ac-
ount. Worse, the functionaries of the Party and government
organs here fail to do proper political work among the peasants,
with the result that farming is unsatisfactory. This is why peo-
ple are still badly off.

You are Communists who are ready to fight for the rev-
olution at the risk of your lives. It would be quite absurd if you
couldn't even lead your neighbours properly. A genuine rev-
olutionary army should not only be able to fight the enemy
proficiently but also know how to conduct political work well
among the people. The anti-Japanese guerrillas were very
brave fighters when fighting the enemy arms in hand, and all
of them were excellent political workers among the local peo-
ple.

Those who aren't fully aware of the real state of things
may think that the Changsong people have become well-off
because the centre gave them plenty of things. But we didn't
give them anything special. All that we gave them, if any
were some competent cadres we assigned them. We helped th
people in Changsong mainly in their Party work.

The basic problem cannot be solved so long as you he
people by providing them with some manpower as you n
do. We must help people politically and revolutionarily. By
ing help to their Party work, we must induce all the
people to actively implement the Party's policies on their
initiative and do their best to build up their native pla
a beautiful way, and raise their living standard.

The Party's policy for improving the living conditi
the people in the mountain areas has been set forth cle
is necessary to extensively develop local industry, stoc
fruit growing and the like by making effective us
ined by Changsong and Pukchong. If th

come to take an interest in their work and are roused to action in that way, all problems will be solved.

Now, as soon as the people in Changsong hear about a newly issued Party resolution or directive, they willingly come to visit the Paty and government bodies to inquire about its contents. Everything will go smoothly if everyone becomes that sensitive to Party policies. We must see to it that people are awakened on their own and achieve a bountiful life by their own efforts. If we do good political work, the people here, too, will come to lead as plentiful a life as the people in Changsong.

It is necessary to improve the living standards of the local population in the front line areas rapidly, in two or three years, and unite them more closely around the Party.

At the first stage, we must start with the work of bringing the Party's policies home to them. If people come to understand the Party's policies and put them into practice, their living conditions will also improve and their unity will naturally be consolidated still more.

The vicinities of the zone where the People's Army troops are stationed must thus be built up properly. Only then can you enlist the aid of the masses and confront the enemy without any preoccupations.

The method of political work is now given explicitly in the Party's documents They explain everything lucidly—how to get a grasp of the actual conditions of the masses, how to propagate the Party's policies, how to carry on work with the families of former "peace maintenance corps" members, with families of those who went south and other groups with complex backgrounds, and how to fight against scoundrels. All you need to do is study and understand them more profoundly and give effective help to the local Party organizations.

Bad people may be found even among local Party functionaries. In such cases it is advisable for you to submit your opinions to higher-level Party bodies. It is also necessary to stimulate the county Party committees and the provincial Party committees incessantly so that they are obliged to do their work with the people along the front line.

the local Party organizations and the People's Army ...rts and energetically carry on political work in this ... work in the front line areas will rapidly improve, the ...here will become well-off, and your rear will truly be ...dated.

6. ON MILITARY AND OTHER PROBLEMS

Now, I should like to say a few words on military prob...ms.

So far you have done a great deal of work. You have car...ried out a lot of defence construction and the ranks of cadres have been built up properly. The morale of the soldiers is high; you have enough reserves of the necessary materials, and everything is in full combat readiness. Both men and officers lead a good life.

My personal inspection this time has further convinced me that you really enjoy a good life though I already formed a general idea of it from the reports of the Defence Minister and the General Political Bureau Director. Your life seems quite different from what I saw in 1954 when I visited Panmun County.

However, we should not be complacent with the results we have already achieved. We must conduct combat training more effectively and make consistent efforts to further perfect our combat readiness.

We must remember that most of our recruits lack comba... experience, and must take into consideration the fact that ne... types of weapons are coming out one after another and, a...cordingly, constant changes are taking place in tactics as w... We must acquire a thorough mastery of new kinds of weap... and continue to study defence manoeuvres against the weapons the enemy has shipped in.

The People's Army is entrusted with the weighty re...

sibility of defending our country for the Party and the people. You must be thoroughly prepared in all respects so as to be completely able to smash any enemy and must equip yourselves more fully with new, continually-developing military science and technology.

You must not tell yourselves that you can beat the enemy hands down just because you advanced as far as the Rakdonggang River area and fought the Yankees over three years or think you don't need to learn any more because you have fought since the days of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle. We should try to read just one more book in order to acquire a knowledge of new military science and technology.

You should make a study of the enemy's weapons and strategy and tactics, too. We can defeat the enemy if we know him well.

In modern warfare it is important to make better use of artillery, tanks and the like and ensure higher manoeuvrability. We must, therefore, increase the technical knowledge and skills of all the arms. And everyone should constantly improve his marksmanship to become an infallible crack shot.

We should never miss the target, so as not to waste precious shells. If the enemy scores a single hit out of a hundred, we shouldn't miss once in a hundred shots.

All our weapons and war materials belong to the people Those who do not value and take care of the people's property are not patriots.

Today our people are performing two difficult tasks simultaneously. We are effecting all-round industrialization while at the same time carrying out the great work of increasing the nation's defence capabilities. Thanks to our advanced social system and our Party's correct policies we are successfully carrying on these two difficult tasks by our own efforts These two tasks should be carried out simultaneously. In fact, if we had not established a powerful industry, we could not have great defence capabilities we now possess And if we hadn't increased the country's defence capabilities, our people would not be able to build socialism with a sense of security today

In proportion to population, our country has the largest army among the socialist countries. While undertaking economic construction on a large scale, we allocate a huge amount of materials and forces to the nation's defence construction. A colossal amount of iron and cement was invested in the tunnels you have driven. With the same equipment and material we could build huge numbers of factories and dwellings. It is therefore necessary to cherish and take good care of the tunnels and all the other military installations we have built, and economize on arms, ammunition and other war materials to the maximum. Only then will it be possible for us to carry on economic construction and the nation's defence construction on a larger scale.

From olden times a strong man who distinguished himself in battle has been called a "match for a hundred," which means that one man can beat a hundred foes. If we conduct better training and strengthen our defences, it is possible for us to become a "match for a hundred."

We are not in a position to expand the army at present. We are already short of manpower. Further expansion of the army would hinder the construction of the national economy.

Therefore, the only correct way is to strengthen our positions with the existing military personnel, conduct military training better and equip all the soldiers fully with the revolutionary spirit, so that each of them can handle a hundred foes. If defence construction is carried out more adequately and all soldiers acquire the marksmanship of a crack shot and arm themselves with an indomitable fighting spirit, it is quite easy to make everyone a match for a hundred.

Only when you increase your fighting capacity and make our defence line impregnable can our people continue to advance in the saddle of Chollima in socialist construction. That will amount to putting into effect the Party's slogan that both socialist construction and national defence must be ensured properly, with a sickle and hammer in one hand, and a rifle in the other.

Only if we build socialism better and increase our strength

still further can the question of national reunification be solved at an early date.

Two things are essential for the solution of the question of the revolution in the southern half of our country. One is that we build socialism more successfully in the northern half and turn our revolutionary position into an impregnable fortress and the other is that the people in the southern half themselves be encouraged to rise up. The revolution in the southern half cannot be accomplished unless the people there rise up themselves.

Certainly, this does not mean that we are going to leave the revolution in the southern half to the south Korean people only. It is the common duty for the entire Korean people to drive out the U.S. imperialists and reunify the country. Therefore, we must continue to wage a stubborn struggle to bring our revolution to final completion. We must not forget our south Korean compatriots; we must prepare our revolutionary forces firmly.

However, it is impossible after all to accomplish the revolution in the southern half without the struggle of the people in the south. This we keenly felt [illegible] march.

Pak Hon Yong, a spy on the payroll of the American scoundrels, bragged that south Korea had [illegible] Party members and that in Seoul alone there were as many as [illegible]. But in actual fact, this rascal, in league with the [illegible] our Party in south Korea. Although we advanced as far as the Rakdong-gang River area [illegible] Pusan is located a stone's throw from [illegible] thousand workers in Pusan had [illegible] the question would have been [illegible] southern half had risen in [illegible] liberated even Pusan and the American [illegible] have been able to land.

Therefore, it is most [illegible] the southern half and [illegible] olutionary struggle

It will be some time before all the people reach an adequate level of consciousness. The south Korean people are constantly being trained and awakened by hunger and poverty. People are awakened only after they have been deceived time and again and undergone bitter hardships personally.

When Syngman Rhee was ousted, I met the students of the Songdo College of Political Economy, who were very much excited, for most of them were from the southern half. They were overwhelmed with joy, exclaiming in unison: "Everything is settled now, isn't it, Premier?" At that time I spoke to them in this way: "When Syngman Rhee is toppled there will appear a Syngman 'Chang.' When Syngman 'Chang' is overthrown, a Syngman 'Pak' will appear. In this process of repetition, the people in the southern half will be fully awakened and will eventually rise up against the enemy. Only then will the problem of the revolution in the southern half be solved and will you be able to return to your native places."

In fact, Syngman "Chang" was installed after Syngman Rhee was ousted. When Chang Myon was in power repression eased somewhat, and people started rising. At the time the question of reunification seemed to be really ripening into solution. But it is not so simple as long as the Yankees are there. Scared by the move of the south Korean young people to rush up to Panmunjom to meet the youth of the north, the Yankees instigated their spies to overthrow the Chang Myon regime, and installed those uniformed gangs of spies in office. Sooner or later these military gangs, too, will be thrown out. But it is a foregone conclusion that yet another scoundrel will assume power in their stead. Don't think that everything will be over when Pak Jung Hi is ousted. The point is that the people should be awakened. All young people should be awakened, the workers and peasants should be awakened, and, further, "ROK army" soldiers should be awakened. They are now being awakened gradually. We must actively help them to wake up quickly.

If the young people of the south come and see Pyongyang at least, how soon they will be awakened! If we build socialism successfully, show the south Korean people the happy life of

the people in the northern half and conduct tireless educational work to awaken them, all the south Korean people will come over to our side. Then the Yankees will find no way out, and the question of the revolution in the southern half will be solved once and for all.

The Chinese people, too, had long suffered from scrambles for power among the warlords. Wu Fei-fu, Chang Tso-lin, Feng Yu-hsiang and many other warlords assumed power and were ousted one after another. This was repeated over and over again, and in the process the people came to open their eyes, followed the Chinese Communist Party to expel Chiang Kai-shek and, in the long run, accomplished the revolution.

Subjective desire alone is not enough to carry out the revolution. Victory in the revolution presupposes the maturity of all objective conditions. For the triumph of the revolution in the southern half it is necessary to further strengthen the revolutionary forces in the northern half, and it is especially important to awaken the people in the south. As the young people of the south rose up and beat down Syngman Rhee, so must all the south Korean people rise against U S. imperialism.

If we conduct proper work also with the puppet soldiers in the southern half, it is possible to win them over to the fold of the people, to the fold of the revolution. The puppet army officers may be sons of landlords and capitalists but the rank and file are all sons and daughters of workers and peasants If they are awakened to class consciousness, they may level their guns at the American scoundrels.

We must continue to intensify work with the enemy troops It is no secret that a revolutionary army does political work among the enemy troops Once the army turns to the side of the revolution, the ruling classes are ruined inevitably Therefore, it is very important to work with the enemy troops, aiming to bring the puppet army to the side of the people

It seems that you have not yet fully understood that the revolution in the southern half requires the awakening of the south Korean people and, chiefly, their struggle. It is, of course, no easy job to educate the enemy troops to come over to our

side. This should be done strenuously under a detailed plan for a prolonged period. You must not give up after a few unsuccessful attempts.

Preparations are necessary to make revolution. From now on you should untiringly conduct work with the "ROK army" and make ample preparations. Such preparations may seem insignificant right now, but they will become a big asset as they accumulate.

The revolution in the southern half is also related in a large measure to the international situation. A struggle against the U.S. scoundrels should take place everywhere in the world, driving them into blind alleys. First of all, the Asian peoples must all unite and drive the Yankees out of Asia. U.S. imperialism is being isolated from the people more and more, and the day of its defeat is drawing near.

Today the general international situation is favourable to our revolution. In the international arena the forces of socialism are much stronger than the forces of imperialism. Further, the national-liberation movement in the colonies is rising steadily. Contradictions are being further aggravated within the imperialist camp. France is opposed to the United States and a deep-going antagonism is also being created between Britain and France. The situation is disadvantageous for the imperialists while it is advantageous for us.

The same is true regarding the situation in south Korea. Today the U.S. imperialists occupying south Korea and their lackeys, the military fascist clique, have reached a dead end. The military rulers are disunited among themselves, at loggerheads with one another, and even groups of the former Democratic Party and Liberal Party have come out against Pak Jung Hi.

All this tells us that there are conditions for the south Korean revolution to continue to develop in the future.

We should prepare ourselves well; but not because of a situation unfavourable for us or a great danger of war. When our Party adopted the resolution on increasing our defensive might it aimed at arming the entire people and turning the

whole country into a fortress and thus preventing the enemies from venturing to provoke us. We strengthen the defensive power of the country not so much to cope with a war that might be launched by the enemy as to make good preparations for coming to the aid of the south Korean revolution when required by the growth of the revolutionary forces in south Korea and the intensification of the people's struggle, and to prevent the enemy's daring to set off a war.

Enemies always look for a weak point, and once they spot it, they attack. It is in the nature of imperialism to attack the weak. If we doze off without vigilance or loaf about all the time, the enemy may raid us. Therefore, we must increase our defence capabilities, be alert, mobilized and always in full combat readiness.

The Yankees hate Cuba like a thorn in their flesh and Kennedy, the rascal, is still looking for a chance to invade Cuba. But the Cuban people led by Premier Fidel Castro have resolved to fight to the last man and have categorically rejected on-the-spot inspection by the Yankees.

Today Cuba has a large number of militiamen besides the regular army. Because Cuba had been a colony of the United States, she must know the Yankees better and harbour a deeper hatred for them. We saw at the time of the recent crisis how the whole people rose up, shouldering rifles with a determination to fight. The saleswomen wore revolvers while at work, and the factory workers all carried automatic rifles, ready to fight the enemy at any moment. When everyone is thus mobilized, even the Yankees are impotent. So they failed to invade Cuba after all.

The most essential thing is unity. There is nothing to fear so long as the whole Party and the entire people are united.

Needless to say, Cuba finds herself in a far more difficult situation than we are. She is just a short way from the enemy but far away from the socialist camp. Nevertheless, thanks to the heroic struggle of the Cuban people, Cuba will be there to stay. As was announced by our Party, the Cuban people, under the leadership of *Comrade Fidel Castro, started the armed*

with seven rifles when the Yankees had atomic bombs; ...lly overthrew the U.S. puppet regime by their own ef... ...ringing about the triumph of the revolution. If only ...ban people remain knitted closely together, they will ...ue to safeguard their revolution.

...t is really wonderful that Cuba has accomplished the so... ...t revolution under the very nose of the United States and ... held out already for four years. In the past, when the ...nish revolution occurred the Soviet Union and many other ...untries dispatched volunteers, but it was frustrated by the ...scists in the end. Now things are not as they used to be. It ... obvious now that revolution can be won anywhere if people ...ight in unity. The Latin-American peoples are valiantly rising ...in the revolutionary struggle, following the example of Cuba. Guerrilla warfare is being waged vigorously in Venezuela, for instance. In the future more people will rise against imperialism in all parts of the world.

The present situation is very favourable for revolution. My only and greatest worry is lest you should slacken your vigilance and get weary, since you have been confronted with the enemy for a long time. Because of the protracted armistice in our country you might tend to feel weary. You must guard against this. It is also necessary to prevent the penetration of revisionism. Revisionism undermines our unity and dampens the fighting spirit of the people.

The enemy will not dare attack us if we are all united ideologically and keep ourselves in hair-trigger readiness for action. We must never relax; we must prepare to assist the south Korean people in their struggle.

Our people have attained great successes both in increasin... the nation's defence potential and in building socialism. Toda... our front lines and rear have been consolidated and the mor... of the people is very high. We can say with confidence that ... have laid firm foundations on which to achieve a greater ... tory.

Making an inspection tour of the front line areas o... occasion of the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Pe...

Army, I have been very much gratified to see what you have done. I will report to the Party Central Committee that men and officers of our People's Army in the front line areas are in high spirits and that all are reliably guarding the defence line of the fatherland. I wish you ever greater successes in your work. We will continue to win victory, as in the past.

THE DUTY OF SCIENTISTS AND TECHNICIANS IN THE CARRYING OUT OF THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

Speech at a Conference of Scientists and Technicians
March 22, 1963

Comrades,

We are holding a scientists' and technicians' conference after an interval of eleven years.

The decade that elapsed between the first conference of scientists and this conference has witnessed an amazing growth in the ranks of our scientists and technicians. We had only a few dozen national technical cadres immediately after liberation. When we held the conference of scientists in 1952, the number of scientific and technical workers was no more than several hundred. Today, after a period of ten years, engineers and specialists alone number 60,000 and if we add junior specialists, the number of scientists and technicians totals as many as 180,000.

Not only have the ranks of scientific and technical cadres increased greatly, but a great achievement has been made in the development of science and technology as well. In this ten-year period, our nation's economy has progressed significantly. We carried out the Three-Year Plan on the ruins of the war and fulfilled the Five-Year Plan; now we are successfully carrying on the Seven-Year Plan to attain the country's industrialization and technical revolution. Our scientists and technicians

have grown markedly in the course of this great struggle for construction.

The biggest success our people has achieved in socialist construction is that we have learned how to design, build and run factories on our own. This brilliant success is associated with the devoted efforts of our scientists and technicians.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I am availing myself of this opportunity to express our high appreciation of your conspicuous achievements in scientific research and express warm gratitude to the scientists and technicians for having made an important contribution to the economic and cultural construction.

Comrades, our conference is now in its third day. Many of you have discussed the work to be done afterwards and have advanced valuable suggestions here. This conference of scientists and technicians we are holding today one year and a half after the Fourth Party Congress seems somewhat late. The delay, however, was not a bad thing. In this time, we have tested many things and have accumulated various experiences while implementing the tasks set forth by the Fourth Party Congress. In many fields, we have gotten a clear idea of whether or not the tasks given to the scientists and technicians at the Party Congress were quite feasible; we have a better idea of our strong points and our defects. I think it is more advantageous for us to have this conference now, to sum up all those things and discuss our tasks, after having accumulated some experiences and familiarized ourselves adequately with our strengths and shortcomings.

To begin with, I would like to remind you of the tasks set by the Fourth Party Congress for scientists and technicians. The Party Congress entrusted them with the tasks of making great efforts for solving urgent scientific and technological problems which have arisen in the practical work of socialist construction, and bringing our country's science to the international level in the near future by assimilating scientific achievements attained by advanced mankind. It also charged our scientists to take an active part in carrying out the technical revolution, do

their best to mechanize all branches of the national economy including agriculture, to introduce comprehensive mechanization and automation in some branches of the economy, and firmly establish an independent industrial system based on the natural resources of our country. In a word, these are the tasks of industrializing the country.

The Party has set forth the task of bringing about industrialization in the Seven-Year Plan period. We have been carrying it out for three consecutive years now. In this period we have made great successes in economic and cultural construction and in the advancement of science and technology.

But, when we take a sober look at what we have done so far, we have to admit that our science and technology have not yet grown in depth and scope just as our industry is still inadequately equipped in various aspects. In many areas our science and technology are incomplete, lopsided and fragmented.

In particular, mechanical engineering in our country is at a low level, so that we are faced with many difficulties in carrying out research and introducing its results into production. Our machine-building industry fails to provide us with necessary machines and equipment as it should. Because of its short history and lack of experience, our machine-building industry has only a small number of designers and they have inferior qualifications. Moreover, our metallurgical industry fails to supply a sufficient quantity of different kinds of structural steel, especially such materials as alloy steel and light metals, needed in the machine-building industry.

These are the defects and shortcomings we have seen and the difficulties we have encountered in the course of carrying out the technical revolution, of implementing the tasks set by the Fourth Party Congress for science. In the last analysis, these are the defects mentioned in your speeches. These are defects that we cannot completely avoid in our rapid advance.

We have many weaknesses and a lot of work to do in the future. We have no reason whatsoever to be complacent with

the results already achieved. We have only just laid the foundation now.

As you all know, it took Britain three hundred years to realize her industrialization, and it is almost a century since Japan began to build modern industry.

And how long is our history of industrial construction? It is only ten years, beginning with the year of the ceasefire, and no more than 17 years if we figure from the year of liberation. In this period we rehabilitated the economy from the debris of the war, laid the foundations of industrialization and built up the ranks of scientific and technical workers fully capable of managing all the factories and enterprises on their own. This is a notable accomplishment.

A period of ten years, however, is too short a time to industrialize a country, particularly an extremely backward country like ours. How is it conceivable that the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from our past can be completely eliminated, that scientists and technicians can acquire wide and deep knowledge and accumulate a wealth of experience in such a short period? Moreover, it is obvious that the industry we built in this brief span of time is unable to meet all the demands of the scientific and technical workers

Our economic foundation is not yet realizing its full potential. The experience we have accumulated in the field of science and technology is not rich enough and the knowledge of our scientific and technical workers is not comprehensive and profound. All this proves that we have no grounds whatsoever for becoming self-complacent. We must continue our persistent study with a modest, sincere attitude. To brag that we can do anything once we decide to now that the foundations of industrialization have been laid and a large number of scientists and technicians have been trained, and to make banner headlines about a tiny success without even thoroughly testing it—all this shows an immodest attitude.

We should realize that a lot of work still has to be done if our science and technology are to fully meet the requirements of industrialization and, furthermore, that a consider-

able time is still needed if they are to reach an international level. We should train more scientific and technical cadres and, on your part, you should strive to acquire more comprehensive and more profound knowledge.

Our scientists and technicians also lack the sense of responsibility and indomitable will befitting to a revolutionary. In research, many comrades do as they like or concentrate on problems of secondary importance, rather than apply themselves mainly to the solution of urgent problems in socialist construction. Some also show an irresponsible and weak attitude of leaving their study projects half-finished and of dabbling in this or that subject, without surmounting the difficulties in their research. Scientific and technical workers should correct such a wrong attitude, take a responsible attitude towards the Party and the state and acquire the revolutionary quality of overcoming any difficulty.

In order to develop scientific research the State Planning Commission and the economic ministries must provide scientists with every possible condition for their work. In this respect, too, many defects have been revealed so far. We don't deny that many circumstances prevent us from furnishing scientists with all the necessary conditions. But this is not the point. The question is that some of our economic personnel have such a short-sighted view that they only pay attention to immediate production without giving any thought to the long-range national plan. We have failed to provide our scientists with even those conditions that are well within our reach.

We did not guarantee them research facilities that were readily available. Let me cite an example. As far back as right after the armistice, we decided to build a science library in Pyongyang and even arranged to buy tens of thousands of books. The bulk of the books we ordered arrived long ago. But, to this day, the library has not been built. Although we press for its construction each year, it has been put off on this or that pretext. The fault does not lie with the State Planning Commission which includes the project in its plan every year. Rather, it is the city of Pyongyang that leaves it out every time

claiming that there is a strain on construction. This case alone proves that our economic personnel pay very little attention to scientific research work.

In addition, the financial institutions are not concerned with getting foreign books for scientific workers. Technical books in themselves contain neither capitalist nor revisionist ideas. There is no reason to fear foreign technical literature. We should gather as much information as we need from all countries of the world. Because we fail to ensure the necessary material conditions for research, scientific workers waste their time on insignificant questions, unable to put their energies into research. This situation must be rectified.

Even pilot plants are not properly built for them. It is a matter of common sense that the results of scientific research should be introduced into production after they are fully tested at a pilot plant. It is an intolerable adventure to introduce research results directly into production, skipping over this step. Accompanied by the department directors of the Party Central Committee, I gave guidance to the work of the Nampo City Party Committee sometime ago. Possibly the chief engineer of the Nampo Smeltery is present at this meeting. This smeltery stopped in the middle of building many new workshops and facilities such as a sulphur workshop, a zinc ore yard, a roasting oven and a rolling workshop—as many as five in all. This stoppage wasted large quantities of materials and manpower. These many projects were abandoned in the middle of construction mainly because the smeltery tried to introduce things into production which had not been fully solved technically, although the problem was also due to the incorrect assignment of projects. If pilot plants had been built and all the technical problems solved completely through adequate experimentation before being introduced into production, there would not have been such waste. The economic personnel, however, take such a huge national loss for granted while stingily begrudging money for the construction of a pilot plant.

Economic personnel should not only be concerned with immediate production. They should look far into the future and

allocate money to the construction of pilot plants. In ay conditions should be provided for scientific work- ully confirm the results of their research and perfect rough pilot plants.

xt, we must improve the guidance we give to research ntific fields. Many defects are presently manifested in the ization and direction of the research work of scientific ers. Neither the Academy of Sciences nor the State Com- sion of Science and Technology properly guide scientific earch. Their first defect in guidance is to have dispersed the rces on too many problems instead of concentrating on the lution of the most urgent questions in industrialization and echnical revolution in accordance with the Party's policy. Ef- forts were not directed to key problems, whose solution would have helped resolve other problems. Scientists also wrongly tend to concentrate on subjects which will not be applied for a long time, or they get immersed in problems which have al- ready been solved by others. It is necessary, of course, to study problems which have already been solved theoretically and technically in order to apply them to suit the actual con- ditions of our country. We are not opposed to such research.

Those who organize and direct scientific research should thoroughly implement the Party's policy, which directs sci- ence's efforts to the solution of practical problems in socialist construction.

The second defect related to guiding scientific research is that ministries have organized the work in a departmentalist way. Every ministry maintains its own research institute and laboratory, instead of allocating forces rationally so that the small number of inexperienced scientific and technical cadre we have now may co-operate with each other in their researc Ministers do not regard the research institutions under t Academy of Sciences and other ministries as theirs and f comfortable only when their ministries have one of their o Accordingly, many similar research institutions exist and t are many cases where the same subjects are studied separ in different places. For instance, in television research

the forces are dispersed in a number of places such as the Ministry of Communications, the Broadcasting Commission and the Ministry of Machine-building Industry. Because scientific research forces are scattered about in this way, no one problem can be adequately solved. We must centralize the dispersed scientific research forces if we are to put an end to this wrong practice. Moreover, a perspective plan should be made for scientific research in keeping with the development of the national economy, and the scientific research forces should be concentrated to solve the practical problems arising in economic construction. This will enable us to do a great deal of work even with our present research forces.

Next, we must intensify the education of scientists in the Party policies. This meeting has shown unequivocally that the education of scientists and technicians in the Party policies has been poorly conducted. The Party's policy is a yardstick for the correct solution of all matters. Without understanding it, one cannot properly resolve even a single problem. You are all absorbed in research and have read extensively. But if you are not acquainted with the Party's policy, you cannot clearly understand if the subject you are studying is urgently required by the Party; nor can you correctly judge the main problem to be solved decisively today Good-quality farm machines have not yet been made either because the scientists and technicians are unclear about the Party's policy or because they do not try hard enough to carry it through in their research. If you had had a clear understanding of our Party's policy on the technical revolution in the countryside, you would have been fully able to make good-quality farm machinery that suited the conditions of our country. Scientists and technicians ought to devote all their knowledge and talents to the Party and the people. To become scientists of the people, technicians of the people, you must study the Party policies deeply, master them completely and always work in the right direction according to these standards.

Now, let me tell you about some problems concerning the technical revolution. As you all know, the Fourth Congress of

Party put forth as the most important task the carrying out n overall technical revolution in all branches of the na- al economy and the industrialization of the country.

If capitalism had developed normally in our country be- re, technology would have been developed and, accordingly, e task of the technical revolution would not be raised today s an important problem in socialist construction. In those countries which have gone through the normal stage of capital- ism and have a highly advanced technology, socialism and com- munism can be built without a technical revolution merely by turning the means of production owned by the capitalists into the property of the people by means of socialist revolution.

When the industrial revolution was going on and technolo- gy was developing rapidly in the capitalist countries, our coun- try long remained quite a stagnant, backward agrarian state subject to feudal rule and the colonial domination of Japanese imperialism. That is why our country must carry out a techni- cal revolution in the course of the construction of socialism.

Our Party put forward the task of an overall technical rev- olution after carrying out the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution in the northern half of our country. Thus, we are in a position to push ahead with the technical revolu- tion more rapidly, relying on the superiority of the socialist system.

True, our country was formerly backward and stagnatin and it is carrying out its technical revolution now, later th the advanced countries. Then, is it impossible for us to catch with industry in the developed capitalist countries? Certai not. We can do in a matter of decades what capitalist coun have taken centuries to do. We are fully capable of overta and outstripping them because our socialist system is in parably superior to the capitalist one and opens up broad pects for rapid economic and technological developmen is clear merely by comparing the northern half of the R with south Korea.

The national economy develops at a very rapid pa northern half of the Republic where the means of p

have been turned into the property of the people, and where the socialist system, free from exploitation and oppression, has been established.

On the contrary, the economy cannot develop rapidly in south Korea which is not only backward from the first but is also treading the road of capitalism. In today's south Korea the existing factories have gone bankrupt, the rural economy has continued to decline, unemployment has increased and the people's living conditions have gone from bad to worse. The south Korean people have been struggling to break out of this plight.

As a result, the Syngman Rhee regime was overthrown and the Syngman "Chang" regime collapsed. Syngman "Pak" was the next to come to power; judging from the present situation, the day is not far off when he, too, will meet his downfall. Ho Jong and the like may rise to power tomorrow. But regardless of the ruler that appears, things will never change as long as U.S. imperialist colonial rule continues to exist.

Japan, for instance, has nearly a one hundred-year history of industrialization. However, if we do not become complacent with the successes already achieved and make mistakes and if we maintain the present rate of development, we will be able to catch up with and outstrip Japan technologically not in a hundred years, but in 15 to 20 years. Therefore, it is most important to keep up our country's high tempo of economic development by taking advantage of the superiority of the socialist system.

We can keep up the Chollima pace if, on the basis of this superiority, we ensure the planned and proportionate development of our national economy, the proper balance between accumulation and consumption and the correct equilibrium between industry and agriculture We can maintain this speed if we do not rest content but continue learning and studying to effect the rapid development of science and technology.

We have already permanently eradicated the sources of exploitation and poverty by reorganizing the relations of production along socialist lines. This alone, however, is not enough. [illegible] transformation so that people

can work easily and earn a lot while living a plentiful life. We cannot advance further without a technical revolution.

As you all know, we are saddled at present with a manpower problem in all fields of the national economy. When we desire to develop more mines, we find ourselves short of manpower; when we set out to reclaim more land and catch more fish, we need the men. Without a technical revolution in all spheres of the national economy, we cannot ease the strain on manpower, increase production, and thus, further raise the people's standard of living.

What is the slogan our Party has put forward to raise the people's living standard today? To provide all the people with a full life, that is, supply them with rice and meat, dress them in attractive clothes and warm overcoats in winter and build more houses for them. To this end, industrial and agricultural production should be radically increased. Only when production grows will the national income increase and the people's living conditions improve. That is why the Fourth Congress of our Party put forward the task of increasing the total value of industrial output about 3.2 times during the period of the Seven-Year Plan.

There are two ways of increasing the total value of industrial output; one is to increase the number of workers; the other is to raise labour productivity by carrying out the technical revolution. Concerning this problem, the circumstances of our country will never allow us to raise the output value by increasing the number of workers. We have an acute labour shortage at present, and the manpower needed for expanded production cannot be satisfactorily guaranteed with the present rate of population growth. Moreover, the growth of population means increased consumption, and the increment of workers alone gets us nowhere. Our only solution lies in mechanizing and automating the existing factories and enterprises to augment the value of per-employee output and in using the labour force thus freed for the expansion of production in other branches.

Right now we have many things to do but cannot do be-

cause of the inadequate supply of labour. It is necessary, therefore, to carry on the technical revolution. With the work force released by it, we should prospect for mineral resources abundant in our country, develop more coal and ore mines and build more new factories. The fishing industry should also be developed so as to increase our catch, and in the rural economy, more land should be reclaimed and per-*chongbo* crop yields markedly boosted.

The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Central Committee of the Party directed a Red Letter to its entire membership calling upon them to save manpower in the enterprises and send the freed labour force to the countryside. During my guidance work to the Nampo City Party Committee a while back, I discussed with technicians at the Nampo Smeltery how to carry out the technical revolution rapidly and successfully and increase production while saving on labour At that time I asked them how many workers the smeltery had sent to the countryside and whether they could fulfil their production plan even after sending them away. They answered that they had sent about five hundred, and that they could fulfil their plan creditably. I asked them then why they had those extra five hundred workers before. They said that they had kept them in order to do their work more easily.

If we are lazy, we can never carry out the task of the technical revolution set forth by the Party. We must be able to overcome many difficulties and obstacles to do it. So I proposed the following task. they should strive to raise the present per-worker value of output from 15,000 *won* to 30,000 *won* with the existing labour force by mechanizing and automating the production processes, without even using those five hundred workers. Then, the technicians held a Party meeting to discuss the matter and reached a conclusion. They attended the plenary meeting of the city Party committee and said that they would carry out the job by 1967. Of course, they have made such a hasty calculation that it may be rough. Yet, such determination is, in itself, a very good thing

If everyone studies and tries hard to move ahead with the

task of the technical revolution advanced by the Party, we will be fully capable of carrying it out. Our country has the necessary conditions for this revolution. We have established a heavy industry base with the machine-building industry as its core and laid the firm foundations for industrialization.

The question depends on whether or not the scientists and technicians actively push themselves to fulfil the task of the technical revolution set by the Party. We have really a great deal of work ahead of us in the fields of science and technology.

Take the mechanization of agriculture to begin with. In industry, mechanization and automation are comparatively easy; but, in agriculture, mechanization is a more difficult and prolonged process. We cannot, however, for that reason, wait around without stepping up mechanization in agriculture. The peasants' intense work load cannot be lightened without a technical revolution in the rural economy. At factories workers only have to work at their lathes for eight hours; where automation has been properly introduced, they just sit pushing buttons a few times during those eight hours and then go home. However, in the countryside, peasants usually work more than 12 hours a day and during the busiest part of the farming season 14 hours. There is no slack season for our peasants. Even in winter, they have no time to rest, what with producing manure and making straw-bags. That is why young people do not like to remain in the countryside, but prefer to go to factories.

The peasantry in our country have been freed from oppression and exploitation and their standard of living has reached the level of the former middle peasants. However, we have not completely relieved them yet of hard and backbreaking labour. Today, we Communists face the lofty, the honourable task of emancipating our peasants from the arduous toil they have endured for thousands of years since the time of our ancestors.

But apparently our scientists and technicians are not concerned about the peasants' difficult work and do not consider the technical revolution in the countryside a vital question. If we go on like this, while living on the rice produced by peas-

ants, how can we look them straight in the face? We must think harder and push ahead with rural mechanization so that peasant labour and industrial labour have an equal intensity.

Furthermore, the peasants' income and living standard should also be made nearly equal to those of the workers. As you know, in order to build a communist society we must eliminate the distinctions between town and country. You should not think simply that this problem can be solved by building houses and cultural establishments in the countryside like those in town. This alone is not enough. Labour intensity, income, living standards and all other conditions should be equalized between the workers and the peasants to get rid of the differences between town and country. In order to raise the peasants' income and standard of living to those of the workers, agricultural production should be developed more intensively and, for this, the technical revolution should also be carried out in the countryside. We can go over to communism only when we develop the agricultural productive forces further, eliminate the distinctions between industrial and agricultural labour and make it possible for all the peasants to lead the same bountiful life as the workers through the technical revolution in the rural areas.

The rural technical revolution in the northern half of the Republic will also constitute a great inspirational force for the south Korean people in their struggle. In south Korea there are a considerable number of workers, but the overwhelming majority of the population are peasants. In the northern half we have already freed our peasants from exploitation and poverty, and if we accomplish the rural technical revolution to free them from difficult and arduous labour and provide all of them with a plentiful and happy life, the peasants in the southern half will support us and rise up more vigorously against U.S. imperialist colonial rule and the system of feudal exploitation.

The technical revolution should be carried out in industry as well as in the rural economy. What is important for the technical revolution in this field is to replace the existing outdated machinery and equipment with new ones, mechanize what has not been mechanized, and automate what has been

chanized. When we build new factories, we should ...ze or automate them without fail. True, industry cannot be compared with agriculture, but here, too, there is still a lot of tough labour and much outdated machinery and equipment. This is the case with the centrally-controlled industries, with construction, transport, fishing and local industries—things are more or less the same in all branches.

Let me cite the case of mechanization for *myongtae* gutting in the fishing industry. Though our country catches about 300,000 tons of *myongtae* annually, we are not eating a lot of salted *myongtae* roe and guts. This is mainly because the scientists and technicians in the field do not think a lot about mechanizing such arduous labour as gutting *myongtae*; they do not attack the problem energetically. It is said that they have been working on a *myongtae* gutting machine for as much as ten years now, but they have not yet succeeded in making anything worth mentioning. What is more, facilities have not been properly provided for washing and processing *myongtae* in winter, so that the *myongtae* processing is way behind.

At the time of Japanese imperialist rule people were force... to gut *myongtae* and prepare and sell salted *myongtae* ro... even during the winter, shivering in the cold weather to e... out a living because they could not get other jobs.

But things are quite different today. All the children ... young people go to school or serve in the army, and housew... live well on their husbands' wages. Who would think of gu... *myongtae*, shivering in cold winter weather? As I always ... the State Planning Commission, no one would willingly ... at *myongtae* gutting nowadays unless we put up building... vide machines and equipment and install running water... workers so that they work comfortably sitting down ...

In local industry as well, we do a poor job of mec... production and waste a great deal of labour. For that ... called the Changsong Joint Conference last year a... mended that they at least introduce semi-mechaniz... work, however, still has not been carried out prope... our functionaries do not fully understand the proble...

We should actively step up the technical revolution, clearly recognizing that without it we cannot further advance industry, agriculture, fishing or any other fields, nor can we solve the question of improving the people's standard of living as we now intend to.

Now I would like to mention some important problems in the technical revolution.

For the technical revolution, scientists should, among other things, direct their efforts to the deeper study and development of mechanical engineering.

As you correctly pointed out in your speeches, our country has in fact laid extensive foundations for the machine-building industry and, well used, this industry can make any machine

However, no further progress is being made because of obstacles in design work. Large machines and precision machines are not yet properly made because of crude designs and inaccurate calculations.

We took great pains to make the Chollima tractor. Since we did not even have a blueprint, we bought a tractor, took it apart, designed the pieces one by one and managed to make our own Needless to say, to produce a tractor by ourselves that way was a great success. However, we still do not know how to design different kinds of tractors that suit our agriculture. We can barely manage to imitate what others have done

At present our country has nearly 900 scientific workers in the mechanical engineering research institutes alone. Numerically speaking, this is a considerable force. But our scientists and technicians are not proficient yet in design, the science of mechanics and so on because they lack practice and profound knowledge.

As was discussed yesterday, many factories that we built on our own have defects. Of course, we speeded up the construction of factories in order to develop the economy rapidly in a short span of time. This meant that some of them were roughly thrown together. But we see defects even in those factories which were not constructed in a hurry. These shortcomings are all caused by lack of precision in our designs, sci-

of mechanics, thermodynamics, etc. In other words, many ories still fail to run at full capacity because of inadequate tions to mechanical engineering problems.

The same is true of coal production. We can bring about novations here as well if only we introduce comprehensive echanization in our coal mines, that suits the prevailing con-itions. The present variations in coal production by the col lieries are due to the fact that they either use foreign machin unsuitable for the actual conditions of our mines or use m chines copied from them. Consequently, productivity is ve low. Since we are still unable to make machines that fit the specific conditions of our country, we have no alternative but to use foreign machines.

However, I do not want you to think that the state of our machine-building industry and machinists is appalling. It is a major accomplishment to have laid the foundation of the ma-chine-building industry and built up the ranks of scientists and technicians we now have in such a short period of time. It is inevitable that our capabilities should still be limited since our machine-building industry has a short history and our newly-trained technicians have not had the time to accumulate wide experience. We can easily eliminate this defect if we direct our attention from now on to improving the quality of these ranks of cadres.

If we have endeavoured to build up the ranks of scientis and technicians over the last ten years, from now on we shou devote our efforts to raising their quality and strengthen their fighting capacity.

The few facts mentioned above are enough to demons clearly that we must make great effort to develop mecha engineering. If we do not, we will not be in a position eit solve the urgent technical problems that arise with the de ment of the national economy or to accelerate the technic olution. Your scientific achievements in the fields of ch and metallurgy, moreover, cannot be applied unless me engineering is developed. After all, everything depe machine.

ne same is true of centralizing the production of comrades spoke about the problem of raising the quality astings, and their opinions were all good. And, in fact, this ne of the difficult problems which faces the machine-build- g industry today. Yet, the most important thing in solving is problem is to centralize the production of castings. Our 'arty has for a long time repeatedly emphasized this point. Only by centralizing casting production is it possible to mech- anize laborious work with ease, raise the technological level of the equipment and improve the quality of the castings as well. This task, however, has not yet been fulfilled.

It is true that this problem arises because of the lack of responsibility on the part of the personnel in the institutions concerned, including the Ministry of Machine-building Indus- try. But the cause also seems to lie in the failure to solve vari- ous technical and economic problems. Scientists should render active assistance in solving these problems.

While endeavouring to carry out these immediate tasks, we should strive to develop mechanical engineering continuously and anticipate the training of the designers well in advance in order to develop our country's economy in a planned way.

The Academy of Sciences should devote major efforts to the development of mechanical engineering, the most impor tant problem to be solved in the technical revolution, instea of dispersing its research. We should concentrate the scienti and technicians in mechanical engineering by consolidating research institutions in this field which are now scattere all areas of the national economy. Moreover, the relevant organizations should adequately equip mechanical engine research laboratories and provide all necessary conditio the work. To begin with, the Ministry of Machine-build dustry should construct a well-equipped pilot machin ing factory for the research work of the Academy of We will get nowhere by merely talking and leafing books in the office. Only by building up a good tory and carrying on positive experiments is it obtain substantial results.

Another important task for further progress of our national economy is to develop radio engineering and electronics.

Our Party has been emphasizing this matter for a long time. Yet, research work in this field so far has not been conducted very seriously.

Radio engineering and electronics are not only necessary in the fields of communications and radio and television. Foreign experience indicates the extensive application of electronics to fields such as the metallurgical, chemical, machine-building and power industries as well In particular, it is impossible to control or develop rapid and complex processes without electronic equipment.

Therefore, to avoid falling behind other countries, we must pay due attention to future development in electronics.

Sometime ago I had a talk with the workers and technicians of the Communication Equipment Factory. At that time they said that they would produce televisions by themselves this year in co-operation with the personnel of the Broadcasting Commission. Of course, it is important to make television and radio sets with imported electron tubes But what is even more important is to produce our own electron tubes and semiconductors.

Electron tube production furnishes the groundwork for the development of electronics The Cabinet and the State Planning Commission should build an electron tube factory soon, as well as a semi-conductor factory, thus providing better conditions for accelerating research in electronics.

Although mechanization is right now a prime task in our country, automation will become the priority before long. So we need to make far-sighted preparations for automation. It is precisely electronics that is the key to the preparations for automation Accordingly, research in electronics is inevitably an urgent task both for carrying out the technical revolution and for the future development of our national economy.

Now I would like to talk about some of the tasks for the development of heavy industry related to carrying out the technical revolution.

The important task before the metallurgical industry is to sure a satisfactory supply of materials needed for the techni- al revolution.

Last year, fighting to reach the height of 1.2 million tons of steel, we were able to turn out large quantities of this item. Yet, there is a shortage of certain types of steel components although we are not using all the steel we produce. We do not make enough steel and structural steel of varied kinds and standards and, therefore, still fail to fully satisfy our needs for such components.

That is why we are not only still unable to manufacture the machines we want to produce and cannot properly ensure the quality of those we do produce, but also are wasting huge quantities of structural steel.

The immediate task facing the metallurgical industry is not to increase the absolute amount of steel produced but to multiply the assortment of steel and standards of steel components so that what we produce can be effectively used.

We plan a large-scale expansion of the Kim Chaek Iron Works in the future. But, for the present, efforts should b nade to expand the assortment and standards of rolled ste)y reinforcing the rolling facilities of the existing metallur cal factories and to develop the production of alloy steel light metal.

Our country has abundant supplies of elements use alloys and has favourable conditions for the developme alloy steel production. Alloy steel is indispensable for the nical revolution. We should further diversify steel prod by expanding the assortment of alloy steel, in particula ing out large amounts of heat-resistant, acid-resista ferro-magnetic materials.

There is a very urgent demand for light metals a alloy steel. The Seven-Year Plan envisages the pro 20,000 tons of aluminium. We should begin with th tion of at least 10,000 tons as soon as possible. With tons of aluminium, we can substitute large quantiti wire and make many light machines.

...en if the machine-building factories double the present ...ion rate of their equipment and make more large ma- and precision machines in the future, 500,000 tons of ...will satisfy the needs of the machine-building industry for ...ime being. If we only turn out approximately 1.5 million ... of steel, that will be enough, even if a lot of steel is used ...capital construction and in other fields.

It is not necessary, therefore, to expand the metallurgical ...ctories any more right now. Capital investment should be ...nade in rolling mills and in the production of alloy steel and ...ight metal.

In the chemical industry as well, scientists should pay primary attention to increasing the utilization rate of the existing facilities.

The scientific workers should not disperse their forces but rather unite their efforts, first of all, to normalize production at the Vinalon Factory and the Chongjin Chemical Fibre Mill and complete the construction of the Sinuiju Chemical Fibre Mill.

It is very important to normalize production at the Vinalon Factory because our people today demand fabrics which are warm and durable and not just cloth of good quality. I think scientific workers can bring the annual vinalon output to 20,000 tons and later, to 30,000 tons if they concentrate on steadily lowering the amount of raw material consumed per-unit product and on further improving and expanding the existing equipment.

The normalization of production at the Chongjin Chemic... Fibre Mill and at the Kilju Pulp Mill, both very importa... in fibre production, is an urgent task which scientists sho... solve at the earliest possible date. We must use all mean... raise the annual artificial fibre production to the 30,000 level and stabilize it as soon as possible. Moreover, scie... should play an important role in completing the Sinuiju C...ical Fibre Mill.

Only by these methods will we be able to solve the need for fibre.

While concentrating our efforts on solving the immediate fibre problem, we should do long-range research on the future production of chemical fibre through oil processing.

Another important problem facing the chemical industry is how to produce synthetic rubber.

We are now manufacturing a large number of tractors and trucks, but we cannot produce the rubber they need. We should produce at least around 10,000 tons of synthetic rubber a year as soon as we can.

The demand for rubber should thus be met both by our own production and by foreign imports. It is not safe to rely solely on imports. The Party hopes that our scientific workers will begin to produce synthetic rubber in the near future.

Another important problem in the chemical industry is to increase the production of chemical fertilizers and various kinds of agricultural chemicals.

We are now planning to continue to raise grain output, but this task cannot be carried out unless large amounts of fertilizer are produced. So the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee is going to discuss the question of increasing fertilizer production with our technicians.

It is important that technicians do their utmost to solve this problem. And it certainly can be resolved if our technical forces are properly mobilized.

We should produce more chemical fertilizers for use in our countryside. This is the only way to improve land fertility and reach our goals for grain output.

In addition, we should see to it that weed killers are extensively used. In our agriculture weeding is one of the most laborious jobs and an important one which has a decisive influence on crop yields. Since our country has a long, heavy rainy season, grass grows easily and the grain output drops owing to the weeds. Merely eliminating weeds by applying herbicides will bring a 15 to 20 per cent increase in grain output. Therefore, we must produce and supply agricultural chemicals in large quantities that will help to improve land fertility, control blights and harmful insects, kill weeds and so forth

ext, we should give careful attention to economizing elec-
.

Today our country ranks third or fourth in the socialist
p in per-capita power output, but it is not so in the value
ross industrial output. This means that we waste too much
ctricity. With a view toward eliminating such irrationality,
e Party Congress set forth the job of converting those in-
ustrial branches which consume a lot of electricity into ones
hat use little or no electric power. Our scientists should use
their heads to solve this problem.

At present, however, this important task is being performed in a very passive way. The cause of this would seem to lie in the poor understanding that the personnel in this field have of the importance of economizing on electric power.

First of all, you scientific workers present here should clearly understand that the bias of our industry towards those sectors using a great deal of electric power is the evil consequence of the predatory colonial policy of Japanese imperialism. Since the Japanese imperialists could not transfer our electric power to the industrial centres in their country, they organized a number of irrational, wasteful processes for producing raw materials in an attempt to plunder the abundant power resources in our country.

We have built an independent economy and intend to de-
velop the machine-building industry and many other n
branches of industry; so we need lots of power right now.
order to meet the rapidly increasing demand for
should build a number of new power bases and ec
electricity to the utmost. It is very important to ec
electricity by changing irrational, wasteful productic
es into ones that make little or no use of electricity.
our scientists should show great concern over this pr
solve it without fail at the earliest possible date.

Now let me speak briefly about the fishing i
country, which borders on the sea on three sides,
serious efforts to develop this industry. Scienti
...dly bother to study how to develop it. They th

country, with a total of only 1.8 to 2 million *chongbo* of arable land, including hillsides, cannot afford to discard 300,000 to 400,000 *chongbo* of hillsides simply because they give low yields. At present such farm land is not even fertilized with manure. And no one would manure it in any case since it is all washed away by rain.

Therefore, scientists should study how to plant perennial crops on such hillsides, prevent them from being washed away and improve the soil. If we succeed in at least properly cultivating crops there for fodder, it will be a great help. We can have meat if we produce a lot of feed.

And research should promptly be undertaken to exploit reclaimed land. There are hundreds of thousands of *chongbo* of land to be reclaimed from the sea. Therefore, it is a very urgent task for us to take prompt measures for exploiting this land.

I have mentioned above several of the important problems in the development of our national economy that call for prompt solutions by our scientific and technical workers.

The central task confronting our people today is the technical revolution. Our scientists, therefore, should serve this revolution more faithfully. Scientific workers should devote all their know-how and energy to improving the existing facilities in the metallurgical and chemical industries and all other branches of the national economy, thereby increasing their utilization rate, to developing industry, agriculture and fishing rapidly and to raising the people's standard of living more quickly.

I firmly believe that following this conference our Red scientific workers of the Party will greatly contribute to the development of the national economy, the further consolidation of the foundations of the independent economy and to the raising of the people's living conditions to a higher level, by devoting themselves completely to the battle to accomplish the task set forth at the Fourth Congress of our Party and making brilliant scientific advances.

TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN RYANGGANG PROVINCE

Concluding Speech at the Plenary Meeting of the Ryanggang Provincial Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea
August 16, 1963

Comrades,

We have attended this plenary meeting of the Ryanggang Provincial Party Committee for three days, and have seriously discussed with you the questions of agriculture, of the timber industry and various other problems.

As you have mentioned in the report and speeches, Ryanggang Province has made great strides forward in all aspects of politics, economy, culture and people's welfare over the past few years.

During this period big factories and enterprises such as the Hyesan Paper Mill and the Hyesan Flax Mill, which were non-existent when I visited here in 1958, have sprung up, and many local industry factories have also been constructed. Besides these, the College of Agriculture and Forestry and such scientific research institutes as the Highland Agricultural Research Institute, the Flax Research Institute and the Forestry Science Research Institute have come into being, and many technical schools with different specialities have also been established.

As I have ascertained in the course of my recent visit to the foot of Mt. Paekdu-san by way of Pabal-ri, Pungsan County,

the people's living standard, too, has markedly improved with the development of the economy and culture.

Thus, it can be said that Ryanggang Province has now laid a solid foundation for further developing its economy and culture, for providing a more abundant life to its people and greatly contributing to the growth of the country's economy as well.

We are very pleased about this. I will no longer dwell on the successes you have achieved, for they have been treated at length in the report and many comrades have spoken of them in the discussion.

The crux of the matter is that you should not become complacent with the successes already registered, and that you should maintain the spirit of uninterrupted advance and continue to battle hard.

Now, I would like to comment here on some important economic tasks and Party work Ryanggang Province is confronted with.

I. ON ECONOMIC WORK

1. ON AGRICULTURE

The grain output of Ryanggang Province is negligible compared with other provinces.

Agriculture should not be underestimated in Ryanggang Province just because its grain output is small. The development of agriculture here is at present of very great political, economic and military importance for our country.

The improvement of the people's living standard in Ryanggang Province depends, above all, on the development of agriculture in this region. The farm population accounts for nearly half the total population of Ryanggang Province. There are also a large number of workers here engaged in the timber and min-

ing industries. If the province runs short of grain for its factory and office workers, it may bring it in from other provinces; but as far as food grain for its peasantry and subsidiary food for its factory and office workers are concerned, their demands should naturally be met with its own produce.

Moreover, Ryanggang Province is a glorious old revolutionary battlefield of our country. The Party organizations in Ryanggang Province are responsible for providing our people inhabiting this old revolutionary battlefield with a far better living standard than before liberation. Only when the workers and peasants here who went about in rags and suffered from hunger for so long under Japanese imperialist rule are well-clad and well-fed and enjoy a happy life today, will they say that they have really benefited by the liberation and the socialist system

Ryanggang Province has a fairly large share of the total crop area of our country. The cultivated land in our country, not counting the area under fruit cultivation, totals 1,800,000 *chongbo*. At present Ryanggang Province has 90,000 *chongbo* of farm land and, if the new land being reclaimed in Potae-*ri* is added, the figure will be in the neighbourhood of 100,000. This is by no means a small area in our country where the land under cultivation is extremely limited.

If this 100,000 *chongbo* of land is turned to good account, the province can easily attain self-sufficiency in food for its farming population and besides, will be able to create a certain food reserve in the future. At present, however, Ryanggang Province even fails to produce food enough to feed its own peasantry, let alone to create a food reserve.

And what are the reasons for the poor showing in farming and the failure to attain self-sufficiency in food in Ryanggang Province?

Some comrades allege that the reason lies in excessive planting of flax carried out under orders. This, it must be said, is an evasion of responsibility.

The main cause of poor farming in Ryanggang Province lies in the fact that the Party organizations and the functionaries in

the field of agriculture in the province do not organize and guide the rural economy properly in keeping with the peculiarities of this district. Specifically, it is because they do not make an active effort to honestly study scientific methods of farming suited to the climatic and soil conditions of the highlands and introduce those methods into agricultural production.

As is generally known, Ryanggang Province lies on the highest tableland in our country. The noted Paekmu and Kaema plateaus are both found there.

Ryanggang Province has also a number of specific climatic features. The warm air current from the south and the cold air current coming down from the direction of Mongolia meet over this region. That is why this district is usually veiled in mist and the sunny hours are very short. On top of this, the frost sets in early in the autumn and the cold is very intense. The climate is extremely varied even within the same area. It differs from valley to valley and, even in one and the same valley, the sunny side differs from the shady side.

Ryanggang Province is thus handicapped by unfavourable natural conditions for agriculture, so from olden times people have been engaged in farming mainly in the flat areas more amenable to habitation.

In the past our agronomists, too, limited their research to flat land farming and paid almost no attention to highland agriculture. Such being the case, no scientific system of farming suitable to the climatic and soil conditions of the region has been applied in Ryanggang Province.

Without studying a scientific farming system suited to the natural conditions of the highlands and introducing it in agricultural production, no advances can be expected in the farming of Ryanggang Province. Our Party, therefore, has long been emphasizing the necessity of studying and developing agriculture in the plateaus of Ryanggang Province. As early as 1954 when I gave guidance to North Hamgyong Province, I raised the problem of making a study of highland agriculture, and in 1958 I came here personally and emphasized this problem once again. At that time we proposed, as an important task for agri-

culture in Ryanggang Province, the large-scale, priority cultivation of such highly profitable, cold-resistant crops as potatoes, flax and hops and the carrying out of scientific research with a view to gradually going over to the extensive cultivation of grain crops in the future. And we also directed that an agricultural science research institute be set up in Ryanggang Province to study and develop highland agriculture.

Since then, however, the Party organizations and the functionaries in the agricultural sphere in Ryanggang Province have not conscientiously carried out the task set forth by the Party. It was not until 1961 that the proposed research institute was founded, and even after its establishment the provincial Party committee did not provide proper research conditions for the scientific workers and neglected agronomic research work. That is the reason why Ryanggang Province still does not even have a definite technical guide showing what crops to plant on the Paekmu and Kaema plateaus and how to cultivate them.

The Party organizations as well as the leading agricultural functionaries in the province seriously lack the disposition to rely fully on the scientists and technicians and co-operate with them. When they are told to rely on the masses, many functionaries readily go to the peasants and take in their farming experiences but, on the other hand, they fail in their attempt to organize and mobilize the scientific and technical personnel to the research work to acquire on the basis of those experiences scientific farming methods.

How do matters stand now in the Ryanggang Province countryside as a result of the refusal of the functionaries to draw on science and the haphazard way in which the work of the rural economy has been organized and conducted?

Although they boast a lot of their province being an old revolutionary battlefield and being situated in a strategic rear zone, the living standard of its people is not very high because it has failed to farm efficiently. Subsidiary food items are not plenty and fruits such as plums, peaches and apricots are not to be found in the market place. How come it is only the inhabitants of Ryanggang Province that lack a regular supply of fruit,

whereas people in other provinces have all planted fruit orchards for themselves and now have a variety of fruits available?

It is true, of course, that Ryanggang Province has difficulties in farming compared with other districts because most of it is tableland and its climate is cold. But no matter how adverse its natural conditions for agriculture may be, it is fully possible to reap big and stable harvest in this region, too, if the Party organizations and leading agricultural officials join efforts with the scientists in the study and active introduction of scientifically-substantiated methods of farming suitable for the region's specific conditions.

The experience of other countries refutes the idea that grain crops will not thrive on the Kaema and Paekmu plateaus of our country because of chilly weather and that it is impossible to raise domestic animals at Potae-*ri* owing to the cold. The point is that the Party organizations and the functionaries in the agricultural field are indifferent to the research for agricultural development in this district.

At present, you farm haphazardly, basing yourselves merely on the experiences of the peasants, instead of carrying on the research for the establishment of a system of scientific farming. That will not do. Doubtlessly, the peasants' experiences are, in general, valuable, but all of them cannot be said to be good. Some of them are good and some are backward. Their experiences, therefore, cannot automatically determine our agricultural policy.

It is wrong to stick to experience and ignore or cast aside science. In any case, experience serves only for information. It is incorrect to make a fetish of the peasants' experiences nor, on the other hand, is it proper to underestimate them. Drawing on their experiences, we must study new, scientific methods of farming.

First of all, the Party organizations should enlist the agricultural scientists in collecting and systematizing all the time-honoured experiences accumulated by the peasants in Ryanggang Province. What kinds of crops grow well and their pro-

duction results in such-and-such a district should be investigated and understood in every detail; meanwhile, seeds of different plants should be collected.

Agricultural experiments should be conducted extensively on the basis of the data already attained in order to discover new, scientifically-based farming methods. Definite scientific conclusions cannot be formed without carrying on ceaseless experiments. The peasants of Ryanggang Province are now reluctant to plant such grain crops as wheat and *bora* beans, clinging to their old practices. This is attributable simply to the absence of clear scientific conclusions with regard to such crops. The provincial Party committee must, therefore, actively encourage agronomists to draw up a scientifically-based technical guide to highland agriculture in the coming two or three years.

The basic line of research should deal with the extensive cultivation of cold-resistant, quick-ripening and high-yielding grain crops in the highlands

It will be necessary, first of all, to acclimatize the seeds of high-yielding crops like wheat and *bora* beans in the cold so that they can be planted in the highlands. Because there is no technical guide to the cultivation of such high-yielding crops as wheat and *bora* beans at present, the peasants of Ryanggang Province take it for granted that they should grow only oats, a low-yield grain crop We must, therefore, teach the peasants by demonstrating in practice that high-yield grain crops can be planted in Ryanggang Province, while at the same time obtaining seeds through the experimental cultivation of those crops.

Given the climatic conditions of Ryanggang Province, it is also important to obtain seeds which give us highly cold-resistant as well as quick-ripening plants. In this area, the earth thaws late in the spring and the frost sets in early in the autumn. Moreover, the rainy season begins in August, and the growing period for crops is very short. Therefore, only quick-ripening ones can yield high and stable harvests in Ryanggang Province.

We should also carry out many experiments to produce new strains by crossing different plants. In this way, we should obtain quick-ripening and high-yielding varieties.

Together with the research in grain crops, we must also carry out research in industrial crops, vegetables and fruit on a large scale.

Hops are a well-known speciality of Ryanggang Province. However, since no scientific research has been carried out in this field, hop cultivation entails an excess of labour and wastage of copper sulphate. Scientists must search for a way of producing large quantities of good-quality hops with the least possible outlay of labour and with less consumption of copper sulphate.

Techniques for growing vegetables should also be studied and popularized.

A few days ago, at an exhibition I saw "all-season radishes" produced at Kapsan and they were exceptional. They say that three crops a year of that radish can be raised in Ryanggang Province. That is magnificent! The fact that such a good crop is not audaciously introduced is a great error.

Some comrades say that the results of the celery cabbages planted in Ryanggang Province have not been encouraging because their centre part is not well formed, but I personally found them to be solid on the experimental plot. Some are even better than those in Pyongyang. If you have confidence in science and boldly carry out experiments, making the results widely known, Ryanggang Province can also become self-sufficient in vegetables.

If apples do not grow well in Ryanggang Province, there is no need to take the trouble of planting them. It is advisable, however, to plant as many fruit trees as possible of those which do grow well in this district. There is no reason why peaches cannot be grown at all, although it is possible that the fruit is smaller than those grown in plain areas. Plums and apricots can also grow quite well if they are tended with care. The grapes I saw at an experimental plot were doing fairly well. Fruit trees, therefore, should also be cultivated on a large scale

in Ryanggang Province utilizing methods based on adequate research and widely disseminating these experiences.

It is not an easy task to study the scientific methods of farming suitable to the climatic and soil conditions of such a highland zone as Ryanggang Province and actively put them into practice. Yet, it is possible to solve this problem if the Party organizations at the various levels including the provincial Party committee and the leading officials in the sphere of agriculture vigorously organize and mobilize all the agricultural scientists and technicians of the province for this project and efficiently rouse the workers on the state agricultural and livestock farms and the co-operative farmers to action.

The provincial Party committee should give leadership to the agronomists in the province with a view toward improving their method of study of highland agriculture. So long as the agronomists remain cooped up in Hyesan, turning over the pages of books with their eyes shut to the realities, as they do now, the research work cannot be properly accomplished. Therefore, the provincial Party committee should see to it that branches of the Agricultural Science Research Institute are established in many localities in order that they may carry on scientific investigations while directly working in the fields. Moreover, experimental plots should be created at different spots of Ryanggang Province including the Kaema and Paekmu plateaus, where investigation on scientific farming should be carried out on an extensive scale

The experimental plots should not be half-hearted projects where only a few plants can be sown; each crop should be allotted at least one *chongbo* of land. Only then is it possible to reach accurate conclusions on the crops under experimentation.

It is recommended that crops about which preliminary conclusions have been formed in the first year of experimentation be planted on the audacious scale of dozens or hundreds of *chongbo* of land each during the following year. I have learned that at Farm No. 5 wheat has been experimentally sown on almost 200 *chongbo* of land this year. Well done!

esearch on crop cultivation should be performed on ex-ental plots in this way, and the experiments on livestock ding should be carried out on the state agricultural and tock farms. The state agricultural and livestock farms have, comparison, more adequate domestic animal sheds than the operative farms, and they also have their own technical per-nnel, so that they can carry on research by themselves if ey are given definite assignments and helped a bit by the cientists.

The agronomists carrying on research on the spot must maintain close ties with co-operative farmers and state agricultural and livestock farm workers there and combine efforts with them.

The teachers and students of the Hyesan College of Agriculture and Forestry, the higher agricultural schools and agrotechnical schools should also be actively enlisted in the work of scientific investigation. This will help the scientists and will also be of great benefit to the teachers and students. The scientists will be able to receive assistance in their research from the teachers and students, and the latter will be able to learn a lot about agronomy from the former.

The provincial Party committee should pay a great deal of attention to the training of a larger number of new scientists and technicians while, at the same time, making effective use of the scientists and technicians in the province.

First of all, the Hyesan College of Agriculture and Forestr should be expanded. The demand for the graduates of th college is very great now. If two agronomists are to sent to every co-operative farm, more than 500 would be ne ed in Ryanggang Province alone. And over 1,200 agronom would be required if one was allocated to every workt If one adds the technical cadres needed in the Party gans and the agricultural leadership agencies in the pro the Hyesan College of Agriculture and Forestry would h train at least 2,000 to 3,000 experts. The Hyesan Col Agriculture and Forestry should also send its graduates ition to Ryanggang Province, to highland areas such a

rim County of Chagang Province, Changjin County of South Hamgyong Province and Yonsa and Musan Counties of North Hamgyong Province.

In order to train such a great number of agro-technical cadres, more faculties must be established at the Hyesan College of Agriculture and Forestry and its enrollment increased. The present agricultural courses given in the forestry faculty should be separated from it and expanded into an independent agricultural faculty, and new faculties of agricultural economics and animal husbandry established. Correspondence courses should also be expanded further so as to allow the greatest possible number of managerial personnel from the co-operative farms in the province to come and study during the winter.

It is necessary to improve the level of the existing cadres through further education, substituting the idea that cadres should be dismissed for their lack of knowledge.

Together with the expansion of the College of Agriculture and Forestry, the problem of college textbooks must be solved without fail.

I talked with professors of the college a few days ago. According to them, the college has no textbooks on agriculture for students at present. In view of the absence of scientific research data regarding highland agriculture, it is only natural that no textbooks covering this topic could be compiled. Moreover, it is impossible to teach students with foreign textbooks that do not contemplate the specific conditions of our country.

Therefore, lectures should first be given for a year based on generalized data extracted from the experiences of the peasants. In the meantime, the professors should go out to the experimental plots and carry on research work in collaboration with the scientists of the Agriculture Research Institute, and thus gather scientific material with which to give lectures the following year. If they do this for about three years, they will be fully capable of compiling agricultural textbooks based on scientific data.

Also, higher agricultural schools should be set up in major nties. A school of this kind is badly needed in Pungsan nty, for example. At a higher agro-technical school in such county, a department of animal-husbandry should also be tablished in addition to the agricultural department, in order o train a large number of technicians in this field. And it would be advisable to set up a higher forestry school in such places like Samjiyon.

In this way, higher technical schools should be set up on a district basis to train technicians for different specialities and, in the case of branches that cannot be taught in a county, there should be established an inter-exchange with other counties.

The scientists, technicians and educators that specialize in farming in the province are now very eager to study the scientific methods of farming in the highlands. The important thing is that the Party organizations and the leading functionaries responsible for agriculture improve their work with them and give them all possible aid in their research.

Party organizations and leading functionaries should maintain constant contact with scientists and call them in to give reports on how their research is progressing. They should make the scientists familiar with Party policies, visit the experimental plots with them, and help to solve opportunely difficul problems that may arise in the course of their research wor Moreover, they should meet regularly with college professo ask how their pedagogical activities are proceeding and how t students are getting along in their studies and concern the selves with their problems.

Scientists of the Agricultural Science Research Insti and the professors of the College of Agriculture and For should especially be provided with living quarters, with m of transportation and with the scientific and technological needed to carry on research smoothly.

We should also make available to them the data of scientific research on highland agriculture. The agro lies of Chinghai, Tibet, the Hsingan Mountains re of the Sungari River in China, ana

Ryanggang Province in regard to natural conditions, will be helpful to our scientists in their research work.

Another important thing for agriculture in Ryanggang Province is the proper location of different crops.

In this region, high above sea-level and with its specific climatic conditions, it can be said that harvest yields are totally dependent on whether or not crop areas are distributed properly. Unfortunately, there is a bad distribution of crop areas in Ryanggang Province.

The main reason for this defect is the subjectivity of the county co-operative farm management committees in matters of planning.

Now county co-operative farm management committees divide target figures mechanically and subjectively impose them upon lower units without having studied the actual state of affairs in their own counties. Take potatoes and flax as an example. Such exaggerated planting area quotas are imposed that in order to meet them those on inferior levels utilize even swamp land unfit for their cultivation. This means that the county management committees allot crop areas by the rule of thumb, with no scientific basis, simply assuming that potatoes and flax will grow well here in a cold region and that oats and panic grass will thrive there in a high and damp area. It is self-evident that as a consequence of this practice, good harvests cannot be achieved.

In fact, the county co-operative farm management committees still fail to play their role properly. The speech made by the chairman of the Samsu County Party Committee at this meeting shows how much the functionaries of the county management committees are working in this rule-of-thumb fashion. As you have all heard, the chairman of the co-operative farm at Chongrim-*ri* in Pochon County knows well what must be done, at least, in farm work, but the chairman of the Samsu County Party Committee made a speech showing ignorance of what and how things should be done. Of course, this is the fault of the chairman of the county Party committee himself. However, the fact that he has no clear idea of what to do with

to farm work in his county also shows that the Samsu y Co-operative Farm Management Committee is not dos work properly. The chairman of the county Party come himself should know all about farm work in his county, he cannot get anywhere alone. The county management mittee should help him by making a profound study and entific analysis of the actual conditions on the co-operative rms. As the Samsu County Co-operative Farm Management ommittee fails to do its work properly, the chairman of the ounty Party committee knows little about the farming situation in his county and, consequently, cannot but make a pointless speech at the meeting.

By setting up the county co-operative farm management committees, we aimed to introduce industrial methods of management into the rural economy. In other words, the idea was to guide the work of agricultural production in a scientific and technical way in conformity to geographic peculiarities, avoiding the administrative methods of the past, utilized when the people's committees were in charge of directing the rural economy.

For this reason, the county co-operative farm management committees should, as a matter of course, map out scientific plans, maintain adequate balance between the two accounts, study soil fertility and the composition of fertilizers and calculate profitability in detail, taking into consideration the planting and harvesting time of different crops. If plans are made and crop areas distributed haphazardly, without any scientifi and technical calculation, then why did we need to organi the management committee and its planning, manpower a technical sections? The personnel of the county co-operat farm management committees must become fully consciou their duties and improve their scientific and technical guid of agricultural production.

To begin with, a scientifically-based plan should be d up for the distribution of crops in accordance with the n condition of each area. Those that grow well should be extensively following the principle formulated by th

of putting the right crop in the right soil. Under all circumstances, crops which meet the needs of the state and benefit the peasants should be planted. If crops fail to meet the requirements of the state and bring no profit to the peasants, there is no use planting them widely, no matter how well they grow. Functionaries of the county co-operative farm management committees, therefore, should go to the farms and make scientific and technical studies regarding the crops that grow well and at the same time suit the needs of the state and can yield big profits to the peasants. On this basis, concrete plans should be mapped out for distribution of crop areas. Only then will it be possible to farm efficiently and increase crop yields.

I should like to stress particularly, in connection with the question of distribution of crop areas in Ryanggang Province, the need to assure the sowing of high-yield grain crops on a large scale. You must not casually plant grain crops which yield only 100 to 200 kilogrammes per *chongbo* just because you have been told to be self-sufficient in grain.

If a grain crop is planted, its yield should be at least one ton per *chongbo*. Even if one ton of grain is turned out from each *chongbo* of our country's farm land totalling 1.8 million *chongbo*, the gross output will be no more than 1.8 million tons. This amount will not even allow our people to eat gruel regularly.

In Ryanggang Province, just as in the country as a whole, the yield from one *chongbo* should be sufficient to feed at least five persons. To achieve this, each *chongbo* should turn out two tons of grain. Considering that provisions for the factory and office workers are brought in from other provinces, it requires at least one ton of grain output per *chongbo* here to feed only half the population of the province.

However, you seem to be satisfied with an output of 200 to 300 kilogrammes per *chongbo* and have not taken measures to assure greater production or to carry out research work. This will not do. Grain does not just drop out of the clouds, nor does it spring up from the ground by itself. Increased grain production requires both investigation and effort. Only by taking

path will it be possible to produce enough food for the ple.

Today our Party and all its members are the head of our untry's household. Therefore, the responsibility for guaran-eeing food for the people rests upon our Party and all its nembers.

Party workers must realize this clearly and have a sense of responsibility. Thus, they should plant on a large scale high-yield crops suitable for the geographical features of the province and strive with persistence to turn out more than one ton per *chongbo*.

In Ryanggang Province, cold-resistant and early-ripening crops should be planted in the areas high above sea level and grain crops as much as possible in the lower areas.

Primarily, flax, potatoes, *bora* beans, wheat and barley should be cultivated on a large scale in the high areas. Flax should always be grown in a big way, even if it has to be rotated every three or four years. It is more profitable to the state to cultivate flax than oats or panic grass whose per-*chongbo* output is less than 200 kilogrammes, while planting more grain crops in areas where the yield is upwards of two tons pe *chongbo*.

Even when the flax harvest declines, the rate of decli runs between 100 and 200 kilogrammes per *chongbo*. The fore, it is advisable to plant 15,000 or 20,000 *chongbo* of f If flax is produced in large quantities, it can be exchanged corn meal to be used for human consumption.

In Ryanggang Province, the plan is to sow oats on a scale as a grain crop, but this is unnecessary. As you hav covered from experience, the yield of oats is very low when the per-*chongbo* output of oats is 600 kilogramm reduced to half that when husked. In fact, boiled oats even pleasing to the taste. We ate it in the days of the struggle, but it is inferior to maize gruel.

It is preferable to plant crops other than low-yi less oats. This does not mean, however, that oats sho . Oats should be grown for the time being

the fact that scientific research and experiments have not yet been adequately carried out on which crops grow best in the highlands. Wheat or barley should be planted there in place of oats in the next year or two once scientific conclusions are drawn from the experiments.

Wheat gives a higher yield and is more palatable than oats. And where oats grow, wheat must grow. Securing seed suitable for the climatic and soil conditions of this district is an imperative for a big wheat crop.

In Ryanggang Province, potatoes, which grow well in the highlands, should be cultivated yearly in great quantities. But potatoes must not be planted without considering the consequences. I once said that the potato was king of the dry-field crops. For that reason, Ryanggang Province grows it even in rice paddies and maize fields This should not be done. You should not plant potatoes in areas where rice and maize grow well. The potato is king of dry-field crops in the highlands where grain does not grow well.

It would do well to plant *bora* beans, too, on a trial basis. As yet no research has been made on this crop, so during the first year it should not be planted widely, but rather on some 3,000 *chongbo* and on an experimental basis. If its per-*chongbo* yield is upwards of one ton, it should be planted on a wide scale beginning next year. If *bora* beans are planted on a large scale their stems can be put to good use. According to analysis, dried stems contain six per cent protein and fresh ones as much as 12 per cent. Therefore, they can be used as good livestock fodder.

The area sown to hops should not exceed 1,000 *chongbo*, because their cultivation requires a large amount of manpower. But neither should it be less than 1,000 *chongbo*

Hemp and mustard should also be cultivated on a wide scale. Just the seed from hemp amounts to 600 kilogrammes per *chongbo*. This is a very good crop since oil is pressed from the seeds and fibre is obtained from the stems.

Such high-yield crops as rice and maize should be planted on a big scale in the lower areas of Ryanggang Province.

Needless to say, the principle of the right crop in the right
i should be thoroughly observed in the lower zones also. Rice ddies should not be developed thoughtlessly in zones unfit r rice cultivation simply to expand the area of rice paddies s happened at the Amnokgang Co-operative Farm. This farm spent two years turning a wide tract of dry fields into paddy-fields without making a proper analysis of the soil, and another two years restoring them to their original state. The upshot of all this was that no crop was properly raised for four years. As you see, the loss was enormous.

However, it is a good idea to prepare more paddyfields in the areas where rice does grow well. In the same way, more paddyfields should be prepared wherever rice grows well in Kapsan and Samsu Counties. If rice fields are prepared, we can supply as many water-lifting pumps as necessary.

Along with rice and maize, wheat and barley should be widely planted in the lower areas. Beans should likewise be raised on a bigger scale, and great efforts should be made to improve the seeds and turn out over one ton of beans per *chongbo*.

A large area of big mustard should also be planted i Ryanggang Province. Its leaves are eaten as a side-dish, and o and mustard can be produced from its seeds. Even if you g only 600 kilogrammes of its seeds from one *chongbo*, this is s a better crop than rape. The wide cultivation of big mustar co-operative farms after further study of cultivation met will contribute greatly to the living standard of the peop this district.

Another point is that the seed selection should be well.

Good farming is impossible without proper seed se Experience shows that good seed obtained through prope tion can bring a 20 to 30 per cent increase in the ha

At present, however, seed selection is carried ou and the preservation and care of seeds is also neg Ryanggang Province.

As is the case with all areas, and Ryanggang P

particular, it will not do to sow any seed that comes to hand. There is no instance in the plains of a complete crop failure due to the use of somewhat inferior seed even though it may cause some decrease in the harvest. But in Ryanggang Province, a highland area, if seeds are even slightly inferior, crop failure will be complete because the plants will not ripen. Therefore, seeds suitable for this area should be kept in store under all circumstances even if it means that food has to be brought in from other provinces in case of shortages. Only then will you conduct farming on a predictable basis.

In the future, a system of seed selection should be thoroughly established in Ryanggang Province. Each co-operative farm should set up its own seed plot separately and conduct the work of seed selection on a large scale with the help of technicians. And a strict system of preservation and care of seeds should be established, under which seeds are sterilized, stored in a definite place and distributed in a timely way.

The provincial rural economy committee should take concrete steps to implement these measures with the assistance of the Agricultural Commission and the Agricultural Department of the Party Central Committee

Agricultural mechanization in Ryanggang Province should also be energetically pushed forward.

Ryanggang Province has more land under cultivation for each peasant household than other provinces. In Pungsan County, for instance, there is an average of 3 5 to 4 *chongbo* of cultivated land to each peasant household. So supposing that each household has two work hands, it amounts to 1.7 to 2 *chongbo* per work hand. This is quite a large area of land For this reason, seeds are not planted in time and autumn harvesting falls behind for lack of manpower in Ryanggang Province. This affects the crop yields decisively.

In order to ease the labour strain, it is necessary above all to mechanize all farm work.

It is said that in Ryanggang Province mechanization can be introduced on 30,000 out of 90,000 *chongbo* of cultivated land. When mechanization is applied fully to just this area

e, the problem of one-third of the farm land will be set-
. When the already mechanized area of land under direct
te management is added to this 30,000 *chongbo*, the total
ea under mechanization will reach 40,000 *chongbo*.

When this is accomplished, the rest of the ploughed land
can fully be coped with by the rural labour force, and such
farm work as sowing and harvesting can also be done op-
portunely. Moreover, if factory and office workers and students
in the province are mobilized and render some assistance in
sowing and harvesting, the manpower shortage as in other
provinces will cease to be a big problem.

However, you do not turn your attention to mechanizing
agriculture. Some comrades even regard mechanization as a
nuisance, in their failure to eliminate methodless farming habits
traditional in the mountain areas in the past.

No doubt, many complex problems will crop up in mech-
anizing agriculture in Ryanggang Province. It will require a
mastery of techniques, the construction of machines suitable for
the specific conditions of this region, the adjustment of plots
and the construction of new roads. But we can no longer con-
tinue to farm with manual labour alone.

The disposition to farm casually without mechanization i
a manifestation of obsolete ideas. Unless a struggle is wag
against these manifestations, it will be impossible to introdu
farm mechanization in Ryanggang Province. You must clea
realize that the work of mechanizing agriculture involve
ideological struggle, and try to expand the area of land u
mechanized farming to the maximum by employing eve
vailable means.

It must be seen to it that crops difficult to cultiv
machines are planted in the fields where the immedi
troduction of mechanization is hard while crops easy t
anize are planted in the fields where mechanizatio
introduced easily.

At present you grow flax in flat lands utilizing
methods. This being so it would be better to plant fl
where mechanization would be difficult while plant

imum of easily mechanized crop in the flat lands. Of course, I do not mean to say that flax cultivation should not be mechanized. In the future, suitable machines for flax should also be made and as a result, its cultivation mechanized.

Potato cultivation should also be mechanized. This is possible without the need for new invention or a special study since there are already foreign experiences. All that is required is to study the potato planters and harvesters that have already been built and copy them.

With a little more study and effort, it would be quite possible to cultivate such crops as wheat, barley and oats by machine.

Even if we began to mechanize agriculture in Ryanggang Province, we could not mechanize all farm chores at once. However, if just ploughing, weeding and harvesting are mechanized while sowing remains a manual chore, farming will have become much easier than it is now, and it will be possible to do all farm work in time.

In order to carry out mechanization, the state should supply a large number of tractors and other kinds of farm machines suitable for work under the geographical conditions of this region. Ryanggang Province has 500 tractors at present and has asked for only 400 more. It is well within our power to provide them. Tractor repair centres should also be properly established so that repairs can be managed within the province itself. Such things as trailers should be manufactured and supplied by other districts.

However, the trailers used for potato cultivation should be made in the province itself. Other provinces do not cultivate potatoes on a large scale and, therefore, have little concern for the type of trailer used for this purpose and are reluctant to do research on it. So, you should naturally tackle this job by yourselves.

It would be good to assign those who are carrying out investigations on the farm machines needed for cultivating crops like potatoes and flax to the Agronomical Research [illegible] The machines designed here should be manufactured at our

n machinery factories for the present. Measures should be en to manufacture them within the province itself in the ture.

Animal-drawn machines should also be actively employed. yanggang Province has an abundance of cattle and, therefore, t can make wide use of animal-drawn sowers, weeders, harvesters and the like, manufacturing them in large quantities. Carts, too, should be made in large numbers, but oxen should be used for hauling where carts cannot pass. If draught animals are widely used in this way, the problem of haulage which is a drag on farm work can also be solved considerably.

An important thing in transport is to increase the efficient utilization of trucks. If trucks are used more efficiently on the basis of a correct annual transport plan and proper organizational work, the existing trucks will be sufficient to cope with the task of hauling. But if the number of trucks in the service of agriculture in the province really turn out, upon more detailed investigation, to be insufficient, more of them should be supplied.

The work of land conservation and land improvement should be conducted properly.

Although it is said that Ryanggang Province has a larg land area, actually it does not have a very big area of lo lands fertile enough to even cultivate a limited amount maize. Therefore, it is particularly important here to caref conserve and fully utilize the land in the lower areas.

Since you do not carry on land conservation properly, little fertile land there is in the lower areas is washed aw water here and there. There were many good lands in th virons of the Pungsan County seat, but most of them washed away by the floods last year. In Kapsan County large area of fertile land was completely lost. If you c like this neglecting conservation, all the fertile land wi and, in the end, only poor land will remain in Ry Province.

It is necessary for Ryanggang Province to follo song and Pukchong Counties. When

man of the Changsong County Party Committee was assigned to work there, I gave him, as his primary task, the careful conservation of the good land in the lower areas of the county to prevent even an inch of land from being washed away by floods, since the county has very little fertile land. Upon his arrival in the county, he set about building an embankment, getting up at five o'clock in the morning and personally carrying stones in a *chige* on his back. With the county Party committee chairman taking the initiative in this way, even the hospital nurses, to say nothing of the county Party committee functionaries, began to turn out to help build the embankment As a result, land conservation in Changsong County today is effective and, although small in area, the land is efficiently utilized for rice paddies.

As I observed on my present trip to Pungsan, a fine job has also been done in land conservation and land readjustment in Pukchong County Pukchong has not a very large land area either. Its people, however, farm what limited land they have efficiently. Traditionally, fine apples are harvested in Pukchong because its inhabitants cultivate the tree with skill. Good management of orchards reflects a high degree of farming know-how. The people of Pukchong have already restored all the land which was devastated by the overflowing of the Namdae-chon River in 1957.

While the people of Pukchong work their land so well, the people of Pungsan just beyond a hill manage their land carelessly. Why? The reason is that the leading functionaries there show small concern for the work of land conservation and make no effort to carry it out

Party organizations and the agricultural functionaries in Ryanggang Province should draw a profound lesson from this and direct their efforts toward land conservation. It must be seen to that not even a handful of earth is washed away by floods.

A great deal should be done in the way of land improvement also. It must be admitted that the land is more sterile in Ryanggang Province than in other provinces. But it is wrong

omplain day and night of the poor land, instead of trying mprove the soil. From olden times it has been said that re is no poor land for a diligent farmer. That is totally cor- ct. The more assiduously people care for land, the better it ll become.

As everybody knows, our country has a limited area of cultivated land while its population is large. Therefore, we cannot under any circumstances abandon land just because it is poor. Land should be turned to good account and the poor soil should be transformed into a fertile soil. The work of carpeting the fields with new soil and scorching soil should be conducted and plenty of lime should be applied to the acid soil. And the swamp land should also be improved.

At present, Ryanggang Province has 3,700 *chongbo* of swamp land. If it is ditched and drained and levelled up a little, it can all be turned into good land. In order to obtain more land the state is even reclaiming tideland with an investment of tens of millions of *won*. Then, why should we abandon swamp land which can be turned into a usable land provided it is ditched and well cared for?

All farm land in Ryanggang Province should be made fertile through effective soil improvement work.

Now, I should like to speak of livestock breeding.

As has been extensively mentioned in the speeches at th meeting, the development of livestock breeding requires, fi of all, the reorganization of the work of state agricultural a livestock farms and the specialized management of stock far

At present, livestock breeding is not going well no crop growing in good shape because these activities are ca on together on the same farm. For that reason, the crop should be separated from the state agricultural and liv farm and stockbreeding should be specialized. It would visable to allot about 200 to 300 *chongbo* of land to th farm for fodder cultivation, and organize a state cro with the rest of the land or turn the land over to a co-o

ld be good for each stock farm to sp

different species of livestock. At present, pigs, cows, rabbits, and other domestic animals are raised together on one stock farm, with the result that none of them are bred well. Only specialization in different domestic animals will make it possible for us to obtain a wealth of detailed knowledge about each species of livestock and to steadily improve breeding method. The experience of other countries also shows that the specialized raising of one species is more advantageous than raising different species on the same farm.

Rabbits and domestic fowl should be raised in large numbers around Hyesan where pasture land is limited. You had better set up specialized rabbit and chicken farms in Hyesan and, if possible, a specialized goose farm as well. It would also be possible to set up a specialized poultry farm, breeding both geese and chickens if they can be raised together. In this way, the people of Hyesan should be supplied with plenty of chicken, rabbit meat and goose.

In addition, other stock farms in the province with extensive pasture land should specialize in the raising of livestock such as cows and sheep.

Quick fattening method should not be applied to cows and sheep being raised on the stock farms with grazing land, but should be used in the rabbit or poultry farms around Hyesan, even if the state has to supply them with some feed. The introduction of this method makes it possible to produce large quantities of meat in a short span of time.

Farm No. 5 is the oldest state farm in our country, so it is preferable to leave it as it is without dividing it into a stock farm and a crop farm There should, however, be a strict review of its manpower situation. Many of the dependants of the farm employees, we are told, are now idling away their time, not doing anything, they all should be given work. Dependants should be employed, for example, in the potato starch mill and, in turn, a large number of men should be released from there and transferred to farm work.

Livestock breeding on the co-operative farms should also be properly organized.

On the co-operative farms, the stock-raising teams should work on a large comprehensive scale; they should limit emselves to raising breeding animals and distributing the ung. Emphasis should be laid on small-scale collective rais- g, with the workteam as the basic unit. A workteam should aise no more than 30 head of cattle at the most and about 100 to 200 head of sheep.

At the same time, the co-operative farms should give every household domestic animals to raise. In our country, where pasture land is limited, it is a good idea for every household to raise domestic animals.

Cattle, however, should not be distributed to every house- hold. As for sheep, we can give one to each household.

In this way, every farm household should raise one sheep, one or two pigs and about 30 chickens.

Grass-eating animals such as sheep, cattle and rabbits should be raised in large numbers in Ryanggang Province, a mountainous zone.

Since you have not said a word about rabbits at this meet- ing, it appears you are not interested in them; yet, in fact, rabbit breeding would bring you plenty of meat with a smal expenditure of feed. If rabbits are fattened fast, one kilogramm of meat can be obtained for one kilogramme of grain. Th is why, at present, a large number of rabbit farms are bei run in other countries as well.

Poultry should also be raised on a large scale.

In animal husbandry today it is the tendency throug the world to raise chickens extensively instead of pigs. D mentation from other countries shows that they are r chickens on a vast scale.

Mass chicken raising is by no means new to us. K have been well-known chicken raisers since olden time

Chickens are easy to raise and consume very litt With 2.3 to 2.5 tons of unit feed, we can produce on chicken-meat.

Right now we will not give you specific target f ...lopment of livestock breeding. As for sheep

better strive to bring the total up to 100,000 by the end of the Seven-Year Plan.

2. ON THE TIMBER INDUSTRY

Ryanggang Province is the richest timber area in our country. Our Party, therefore, has devoted special attention to the development of the timber industry in this region. The creation of Ryanggang Province was aimed primarily at developing the timber industry here on a large scale.

The Ryanggang Provincial Party Committee, however, has not paid due attention to the development of the timber industry in the past. The worst failing is that the provincial Party committee gives poor Party guidance to the timber industry, as is the case also with other spheres of economic work in the province.

The provincial Party committee substitutes guidance for the timber industry with pressing the lumber stations to turn out large quantities of timber or with giving them a dressing-down when they fail to fulfil the plans.

In particular, the provincial Party committee neglects its work with the cadres in the timber industry. Since the committee has not taught and educated the cadres in the timber industry, confining itself to simply studying them, the personnel in this field are now extremely deficient in quality. A considerable part of the personnel in the timber industry is ignorant of forestry economics; they do not know how to handle machines in their own speciality and do not even know how to organize manpower correctly. This being the case, it is natural that things are not going well with the timber industry.

Party guidance in the timber industry must be strengthened. For that purpose, it is necessary, first of all, to enhance the role of the timber industry department of the provincial Party committee and, meanwhile, radically step up the guidance of the county Party committees to the enterprises in the timber industry.

At present, the county Party committees do not work with the lumber stations at all, on the ground that they are second-grade enterprises, nor do they give any guidance to the lumber camps and felling teams; this is an organizational mistake. The county Party committees ought to work with the lumber stations and assume the direct responsibility of guiding the lumber camps and felling teams in the counties.

To this end, we must set up a timber industry department in the county Party committee or else increase the number of instructors in the organizational or propaganda department in the future, so that they can directly guide the Party organizations in the lumber camps and felling teams, intensifying political work with the personnel in this field. In this context, it would also be advisable for the Party organization of the lumber station, as a primary Party organization confined to the station alone, to be placed under the direct leadership of the county Party committee.

In particular, the Party organizations should, in a decisive way, step up their work with cadres in the timber industry. You should organize short courses frequently for leadership personnel of the timber industry, starting with the managers, chief engineers and deputy managers, in order to educate them in the Party's policies and equip them with economic knowledge and technical know-how; they should always be given active help and systematic education at the work sites themselves so that they can do their work properly.

In addition, the Party organizations should orient the lumber stations properly so that they will concentrate on the lumber camps, the units which give direct guidance to the felling teams.

The rotational felling system should be introduced into the timber industry on a large scale.

The introduction of the rotational felling system is good in many ways. Firstly, it makes it possible to concentrate the use of manpower, equipment and funds, rather than disperse them, and also stabilize the lives of the lumberjacks. And the introduction of this system gives us the possibility of increas-

ing the sense of responsibility of the workers, eliminating speculation in the timber industry and, instead, producing timber in a planned way, since it allows them to plant, grow and cut trees, regarding the lumbering districts as their own workshops. All the lumber stations, therefore, should adopt the rotational felling system.

You should make more efficient use of machinery and equipment in the timber industry.

At present, the utilization of machinery and equipment in the timber industry in Ryanggang Province is very scant. Though there are scores of tractors, their rate of operation is only 30 per cent. Even at the Yupyong lumber station where things are said to be best, only 11 out of 36 tractors, 12 out of 32 sawing machines and 5 out of 15 locomotives are in operation. Since this is the situation where things are said to be going well, after a fashion, it is quite obvious that it must be worse elsewhere. This is a very serious matter.

With such a low rate of utilization of equipment, no country can get along, however great its economic potential may be. The leading functionaries in the timber industry should be totally aware that they are responsible for the extremely low rate of utilization of machinery and equipment.

To increase the utilization of machinery and equipment in the timber industry we must first step up technical studies.

One of the main causes of the present partial operation and subutilization of machinery and equipment in this sector is precisely that the technical level of the workers is low. We must, therefore, give them technological training.

Some people still consider technology to be something mysterious but they need not. A mechanic does not fall from heaven or spring up from the earth. Anyone who puts his heart into acquiring technical training will be able to handle machinery and become an excellent mechanic.

As I have often said, all the People's Army men, from commanders down to privates, endeavour to be skilled in the use of their weapons. In the timber industry as well, technical studies should be intensified among all the people, from manage-

personnel down to the workers so that they are the machines and equipment in their field and handle skilfully.

Along with this, we should strive even more to handle our chinery and equipment with great care.

No matter how good the machines and equipment supplied the state may be, they soon become unserviceable if they are sed carelessly. Operating machines and equipment without proper care represents a survival of the obsolete capitalist ideology. In capitalist society, since all machinery and equipment belong to the capitalists, it is natural for workers to mishandle them. But, in a socialist society, all machinery and equipment belong to the working class and the people and must be taken good care of.

The Party organizations must strengthen ideological and educational work among the functionaries and workers in the forestry section so that they handle machinery and equipment with as great care as they would their own property, and must build up the ranks of the tractor drivers with good people and increase their sense of responsibility.

In the timber industry as in other sectors of the national economy, you should keep enough spare parts in stock for more than three months of normal use, and carry on the repair and maintenance of machinery and equipment opportunely. Only by doing so, is it possible to lengthen the service life of machinery and equipment, while at the same time increasing their rate o operation.

We should also make our own efforts to manufacture mo machines for the timber industry; more state attention shou be directed to the production of machines like sawing machi and winches; and we must adequately build up machine-re bases for the timber industry. It would be advisable for state to organize a committee for establishing repair bases, ilar to those in the mining industry. This committee s set up a medium-sized repair station in each lumber s and a major repair base in such central areas as Hye Paegam.

Furthermore, it is necessary to make rational use of the waterways in the timber industry.

Long ago, we set ourselves the important task of making good use of waterways in timber transportation. I reiterated the importance of this problem at the 1954 national meeting of activists in the timber industry.

As you all know, there are favourable conditions for using rafts of timber on the rivers in the mountainous areas of our country. Our rivers are fast-flowing because the valleys are steep, and they swell during the spring thaw and the rainy season of July and August. Therefore, a considerable amount of timber can be floated from the timber collection sites down the swollen rivers

The use of water power in timber transport benefits the state considerably because it makes work easier and saves a lot of manpower, materials and money. Recently, I saw timber being rafted at Rimyongsu. If such a large amount of timber which is floated down at a single time were to be carried by train, it would require a considerable amount of time to load and unload it, a lot of coal and many freight cars. But rafting timber needs no special equipment, coal or gasoline.

The timber industry workers, therefore, should, in keeping with the Party policy, widely employ the method of floating timber down the rivers in its transport. To this end, water-courses should be improved on time and dams firmly reinforced with concrete so that they will not burst. And timber-raft technicians must be trained in great numbers at the College of Agriculture and Forestry. It would be advisable to give students not only a knowledge of machinery for the timber industry but also to give, as part of the curriculum, a course on the scientific and technical fundamentals of waterway usage in forestry.

If timber rafting is to be successful, we must draw a large number of young people and ex-servicemen into this field. At present, most of the raftsmen are old—their average age is something like 47. This fact stands in the way of the development of the swift rafting of timber.

Formerly, the majority of the workers in the fishing industry were also old, so our Party called upon the young people to set to work in large numbers in that field. This led to a great renovation of the fishing industry. There will certainly be a great renovation of timber rafting if large numbers of young men and ex-soldiers come into this field of work.

In addition, we must improve the supply of labour protection and safety equipment for workers in the timber industry.

At present, the supply of labour protection and safety equipment for the workers in this field is insufficient. On the grounds of economizing, the workers are provided with undersized boots, vinyl raincoats and padded clothing made from staple fibre fabrics. The work in the mountains and the trek back to camp soon wears out their clothes. For this reason, they cannot work properly.

This is not due to insufficient supplies on the part of the state. Enough cloth and sufficient funds for boots have been provided by the state. Failure to supply adequate labour protection and safety equipment indicates that some functionaries still have an incorrect view of the timber workers.

In fact, saving on labour protection and safety equipment did not benefit the state in the least. The workers might have felled many trees but they have failed to increase production due to the fact that they were supplied with carelessly-made clothing and boots which afforded no protection against the cold in winter. The "saving" actually caused a loss to the state.

If the lumberers are to work well, they should first be supplied with durable boots and warm clothing. To solve this problem, we must set up a special factory in Ryanggang Province to produce clothes exclusively for the lumbermen.

This is not so difficult a task. There are many clothing factories in Ryanggang Province, and we could simply assign one of them to specialize in the production of clothing and boots for the lumberers. Thus, this factory must draw up plans to standardize the size of boots, the style, thickness of clothing and the method of sewing and bring up these plans for discussion

with the workers and study them carefully, so that it can provide suitable clothing to forestry workers in a responsible manner.

Heavy-duty raincoats should be made and supplied to the lumberjacks. For this, we should have a special factory producing these raincoats designed for their needs. At present, Ryanggang Province is not even in a position to produce raincoats on its own, so I think it would be better to build a factory in Hamhung or Chongjin to manufacture them exclusively for forestry and fishing workers.

Furthermore, we should improve the processing and increase the utilization of timber.

This time I discovered that since my previous visit, you have cut down on timber wastage to a considerable degree. The Wiyon Sawmill, for instance, has introduced mechanization on a large scale, and is manufacturing dining tables and other everyday necessities in large quantities, by making use of leftover slabs of wood. This is a very good thing

However, the level of timber processing is far short of the demands of the Party In particular, the wastage of timber has not been eliminated as yet

In the Hyesan Kraft Paper Mill good logs are irrationally used as pulpwood We built the factory in Hyesan in order to make use of Ryanggang Province's abundant source of treetops. If we are going to make kraft from good logs, why did we build the factory in Hyesan instead of building it in Pyongyang where there are a large number of technicians and the possibility of the expert guidance? The personnel of the factory say that they are using logs because treetops are in short supply. The timber industry should make itself responsible for this.

The provincial Party committee and the city and county Party committees must strive energetically to develop timber processing further and, in particular, to make good use of the tops of the trees and the leftover slabs.

To begin with, the felling and sawing sectors should make the best possible use of treetops and slabs to turn out greater quantities of goods needed for the people.

e paper mill is fully capable of making furniture and articles of everyday use by effective utilization of waste ials. If it is impossible to make finished goods in certain s, you could produce semi-finished goods and assemble n elsewhere. Take a dining table, for example. It can be mbled after making the legs in one place and the tabletop another.

And you must widely use the treetops in the paper mills. s you mentioned yesterday in your speeches, you can produce s much paper as necessary by using ground pulp made of treetops and drying or freezing it. Therefore, efforts should be made in the field of the timber industry to supply the paper mills with sufficient tops.

To continue. It is necessary to improve forest conservation and afforestation work.

The Party organizations of Ryanggang Province are confronted with the important task of properly protecting and assuring the healthy growth of forests, an invaluable natural resource for our country. As you well know, most of the forest resources of our country are found in Ryanggang Province. Virgin forests are found only in Ryanggang and North Hamgyong Provinces. If you simply fell trees and use them without conserving and planting them, all the forest resources of our country will become exhausted before long.

Forests are a valuable natural resource for the country. Timber is needed in all branches of the economy, includin construction and industry. At present, we rely on wood f more than 50 per cent of our raw fibre materials, and the d ferent kinds of paper, including kraft, are made from wood can be said that forests are equivalent to silk and paper. must, therefore, make active efforts for conservation and forestation.

The prevention of forest fire is most important in pr ing our forests. Once an accidental forest fire breaks great deal of wood is sure to be lost. Of course, trees planted again after the forest fire. But it would take years to create a forest belt by planting trees.

At present, however, forest conservation work is insufficient in Ryanggang Province. Though traffic is brisk on the road leading to Mt. Paekdu-san, not a single sign of "Care For Your Forests" or "Avoid Causing Forest Fires" is found there.

It is true that putting up a sign is a mere formality. But effective use of signs may increase the vigilance of people. At the sight of the sign a person just about to have a smoke may refrain from lighting up.

At present, in Ryanggang Province many airplanes are sent on the lookout for forest fires. But fire watches alone are not enough.

In order to prevent forest fires it is necessary to thoroughly *imbue the entire population in the province with the idea of* conserving the forests. Education in forest protection must be stepped up in the Party organizations and all other organizations—the trade unions, the Democratic Youth League, the Women's Union, the Young Pioneers' Corps, schools, kindergartens, people's neighbourhood units, homes, etc. In this way, all the inhabitants of Ryanggang Province should be taught from childhood to acquire the daily habit of forestry preservation and of taking precautions to prevent forest fires.

At the same time fire-fighting corps should be organized to fight forest fires as soon as they break out and fire-breaks should be constructed in the villages and the county seats.

In order to conserve forests well and ensure their healthy growth you must effectively combat damage by blight or harmful insects. *Firstly, you should* prohibit the wilful snaring of useful insectivores. Secondly, you should spot in good time any ravages of blight and insect pests and regularly spray the forests with pesticides.

The wilful creation of burns should be controlled. It is more profitable to plant trees and create forests of economic value—timber forests or fibre forests—than to open up burns in the mountains *With the exception of plots being opened* up due to the pressing needs of the state, there should not be a single *pyong* of burn.

Along with the work of forest conservation, the work of

ting trees and forests should be carried out in an all-
ple movement. For this it is necessary to enhance the role
afforestation teams that have been organized at the co-oper-
ve farms. It is advisable for the provincial Party committee
sum up the work of the afforestation teams and call a meet-
ng. In the future you should make a point of summing up af-
forestation work each year and awarding a prize and good
clothes to those who have done their work efficiently.

3. ON LOCAL INDUSTRY

In local industry, in keeping with the policy already set forth by our Party, the locally available raw materials and other resources should be used on a huge scale, and the necessities of the local areas should be taken adequately into account. Only then can we tap all the abundant reserves latent in the localities and satisfactorily meet the diverse needs of the people.

Ryanggang Province is enormously rich in raw materials necessary for the development of local industry. Local industrial development will increase the incomes of the working eople and greatly benefit the state through correct utilizatio f flax, timber and wild fruits abundant in this area.

First of all, by processing flax at the right time Ryangga Province should produce large quantities of linen. At pres a lot of flax is ruined due to untimely processing; this m not continue. The flax mills must not spoil flax but proce opportunely, making it possible thereby to turn out more g quality linen fabric for the people.

In local industry, too, treetops should be extensively to make wooden products such as daily necessities an as well as ground pulp to produce plenty of paper. Flax and fibre odds and ends should not be used as fuel bu collected for paper-making.

In particular, the local industry factories in R Province should produce substantial quantities clothes for the population. As everybody knows,

Province is the coldest region in our country, where winter lasts almost seven months. In this region, therefore, it is important, before anything else, to prepare well for the winter.

But it seems that because many people from warm areas have settled in Ryanggang Province, preparations are only made for summer while preparations for the winter are neglected. This means that the people have no option but to shiver with cold in winter. This must not continue.

You must definitely solve the problem of winter clothes for the provincial population. In order to do this, local industry factories should first produce and supply more and better winter clothes, footwear and caps.

Along with this, everyone should fully prepare their clothes for the winter. The state will take definite measures, but you must economize and save money in summer to buy winter clothes for yourselves.

Another important question is the efficient processing of blueberries and other wild fruit.

Blueberries are a well-known local speciality of Ryanggang Province. If you make wine or syrup by processing blueberries correctly, they will be highly popular among the people and you will increase your income considerably.

At present, Ryanggang Province has fine factories but processing is inadequate. In the future, technical guidance should be given to the fruit processing plants so that they can work on wild fruit more adequately

In Pungsan County, for instance, there are plenty of willows. A large number of wicker trunks should be produced with their twigs.

Let me make some brief remarks about geological prospecting.

Ryanggang Province has enormous mineral resources. However, because geological prospecting has been poorly conducted, it can be said that Ryanggang Province still remains virgin land in this sphere. The Party organizations at all levels in the province should work closely with the geological prospecting corps so that more mineral resources can be exploited.

II. ON PARTY WORK

Over the past years, there has been some progress in the work of the Party organizations in Ryanggang Province, but many shortcomings still exist. The main defect in Party work is that bureaucracy and subjectivism are in great evidence, and the Party's mass line is not thoroughly implemented.

Of course, today is not the first time we have talked about this defect.

When we came here in 1958, we set down as an important task of the Party organizations in Ryanggang Province the need to put an end to bureaucracy and subjectivism in Party work and to work properly with cadres and the masses. But you have not adequately carried out this task assigned by the Party. The chief reason why none of the economic work, and that includes agriculture, the timber industry and local industry, is successfully implemented in Ryanggang Province lies precisely in the fact that Party work is not done well.

Bureaucracy and subjectivism in Party work manifes themselves most seriously in work with cadres. As we have al ways emphasized, the work with cadres is the first and for most task of the Party committee. Adequate work with th is a prerequisite to the success of all work. What we mean work with cadres is constantly helping them to work well, ing them systematic education and training, while, at the time, understanding them and observing them at all and selecting and promoting competent cadres.

However, the Party organizations in Ryanggang Pr instead of educating and training cadres, expel them th lessly, alleging that they have slipped up in their wo even dismiss, under some pretext or other, those who a capable of doing their work well if given a little assist

It is no accident that at present many functionar

province are anxious, dispirited and fearful of their superiors. Even when directives inappropriate to actual conditions are given from above, they grudgingly carry them out, fearing that if they did not, they would be dismissed. In cases where they do not execute directives, they falsely report that they have. They only weed and fertilize the land closest to the road, begin harvest in the fields most visible to an observer and then make false reports that everything is finished. The pressure to report high yields is so strong that they have gone so far as to add rotten potatoes to the total yield in their report to higher bodies.

If work with cadres is conducted as is done by you comrades, they will never be able to display creative initiative or carry out their revolutionary tasks properly.

The Party organizations must try to keep cadres on their jobs as long as possible, and avoid removing them thoughtlessly. It would be a grave mistake to think that things will go well if cadres are removed, simply because they have some defects, and new persons are promoted to their posts. A proverb in our country goes, "The good nature of a man's first daughter-in-law is only appreciated when he has his second one." This proverb is precisely applicable to you

However often you may replace cadres with new persons, you will be unable to find any who are faultless when they begin. Most of our cadres are of worker, peasant or intellectual origin who have had no experience in exercising state power and managing a large-scale economy in the past. It is therefore quite natural that they have little capability in their work. In addition, survivals of the old ideas, carried over from the exploiter society of the past, persist in the minds of our personnel. For this reason, some of those who until yesterday were engaged in farm work and today are cadres are apt to manifest a false dignity and make a showy display. Yet, if we dismiss them simply because they are useless, we should have to conclude that there is not a single man who is capable of doing his work. Needless to say, we cannot tolerate those who betray our Party and oppose the state. But, as long as they do not do so, we

ould not indiscriminately dismiss or expel them on the ounds that they have some shortcomings in their work.

Also, we should see to it that leading functionaries work t their posts for five to ten years. A county Party committee chairman, for instance, should be kept to work in his county for ten years, at least. In this way, the cadres should be assured conditions that permit them to make a profound study of their tasks, calmly and deliberately.

Our Party functionaries should open-mindedly teach and assist the cadres of the government organs and all the cadres working in the economic sectors including agriculture, the timber industry and mining. They should constantly educate them so that they can avoid committing errors. This does not mean at all that cadres must not be criticized. When cadres do not work well, we must criticize them without delay. Criticism is a natural method for educating personnel.

Criticism should be made not to dismiss personnel but to make better people out of them. All personnel should thus be properly educated in the spirit of being able to boldly correc their mistakes, without any fear of criticism.

Besides, the Party functionaries should learn to care f the cadres, hold them in high esteem and have regard for th opinions. If the Party functionaries simply reprimand cad act severely towards them and ignore their opinions, then body will approach the Party organizations willingly and form them of how things really stand. This will inevitably to subjectivism in Party work and make it impossible fo Party organizations to play their role properly.

Our Party functionaries should be as kind to cadr mother is to her children, always taking an interest i both in and out of work and promptly understand and untie any knotty problems they may have.

They must be attentive to suggestions of the cad echelon cadres consider their views from many ang they present them. Their views, therefore, must no d but rather studied carefully on the spot. If ust support them and actively

plement them. Even if their ideas do not conform to the facts and are incorrect, you must patiently explain this to the proponents so that they can understand why. Only in this way will all cadres come to the Party committee of their own accord and talk openly about the knotty problems that have arisen in their work, or even about their private affairs.

By valuing the cadres, teaching them and helping them properly in this way, we should train them into excellent people who use their brains in their work, actively advance creative ideas and carry out their assignments independently—not people who are only forced to do what is ordered.

The Party organizations in Ryanggang Province must do away with subjectivism and bureaucracy not only in the work with cadres but also with the masses, and thoroughly put into practice the Party's mass line.

Unless we rely on the masses and win them over, we cannot translate the Party's policies into reality, nor can we successfully push ahead with our revolutionary tasks. The implementation of the mass line is the fundamental guarantee for victory in the revolution and construction. That is why our Party has consistently underlined the need to carry through the mass line.

In the past, our guerrillas emerged victorious in the 15-year long struggle against the formidable Japanese imperialists because they, following the slogan, "As fish cannot live out of water, so the guerrillas cannot live without the people," always relied upon the people, maintained kindred ties with them and enjoyed their active support.

If we are to implement the Party's mass line, we must first listen to the demands of the masses and work energetically to defend their interest. Whenever you have to deal with a problem, you must always take into consideration beforehand the effect it will have on the interests of the people.

Many functionaries in Ryanggang Province, however, are working in a subjective way without accepting the opinions of the masses and without paying heed to whether or not the masses like what they are doing; they dare to infringe upon the

interests of the masses. In fact, you use a deluge of words, stressing the need to carry through the mass line, talking about the Chongsan-*ri* spirit, the Chongsan-*ri* method and the Taean work system, but you do not put it into practice.

In Kapsan County, working on the idea of securing an area sown with potatoes, and disregarding what the peasants thought, the leading personnel gave instructions to grow potatoes on fertile land which had been cultivated with other crops for several hundred years. This seriously affected farming. Previously in Unhung County, too, in July when the potato planting season was over, the peasants were told to plough up the fields where crops had already been planted in order to sow potatoes, on the grounds that 400 *chongbo* of potato plots were still not secured. We are told that when the peasants said that potatoes planted in July would fail, the leading personnel forced them to go ahead with the project, ranting at them for their lack of Party spirit.

When we previously gave guidance to the Party organization of Chongsan-*ri*, Kangso County, we severely criticized the actions of leadership who turned a deaf ear to the view of peasants, dictated to them in a bureaucratic way and thus brought about failures in farming. The leading personnel here, however, have not drawn a lesson from that criticism and still persist in such practices. It is for this reason that farming has shown no positive results and that the Party's policies cannot be correctly implemented.

Moreover, in Ryanggang Province, the leadership personnel forced the peasants to root out the maize in their kitchen gardens on the grounds that they should have planted potatoes or flax; they even compelled them to sell the meagre amount of potatoes reaped from their kitchen gardens to the state using the pretext that they were "grain crops." Where on earth can we find a more bureaucratic act than this? Nobody can feel satisfied if you act in that way.

What is worse, people are not allowed to breed dogs in Ryanggang Province. Of course, this is not the first time I have mentioned this matter. When we visited the district of Kim-

chaek, North Hamgyong Province, in 1958, we sharply criticized the leading functionaries there for having forbidden the breeding of dogs on the grounds that it was a nuisance to hygienic activities And this time in Samjiyon County, we heard the same thing from personnel there. Some comrades alleged that they did so because dogs got mad and bit people When a dog goes mad, that dog should be destroyed, but why should the breeding of healthy dogs be prohibited?

No matter how obedient the people of Samsu and Kapsan may be, they certainly will not feel too happy if you continue to harass them, telling them to plant potatoes in swamps, do away with rice paddies, root out maize in the kitchen gardens, sell to the state all the potatoes cultivated there and give up their dogs. What difference is there between your actions and those of government officials in the old feudal days or at the time of Japanese imperialist rule? If you continue to work in this way, you will become even more divorced from the masses and unable to carry out the tasks confronting Ryanggang Province.

Besides, there are many other instances which show your subjective and bureaucratic way of working As was mentioned in your speeches yesterday, you work out plans at a desk in a subjective way, instead of going among the masses, and then impose them on subordinates in a bureaucratic manner. So, it is obvious that such plans cannot properly be put into effect.

Present here today are the functionaries of the provincial Party committee and chairmen of the county Party committees and the *ri* Party committees. You must know the serious consequences of the subjective and bureaucratic practices you have used in your work in the past, and must not repeat such errors

Our Party's policies for agriculture, the timber industry and all other sectors of the economy of Ryanggang Province are all correct. But, however good the Party's policy may be and however much the measures for its implementation are discussed, that policy cannot be put into practice successfully if the personnel responsible for applying it work in a bureaucratic way and fail to carry through the mass line of the Party.

The Party organizations of Ryanggang Province, therefore,

must definitely rid themselves of subjectivism and bureaucracy in their work and strive with renewed vigour to carry through the mass line of the Party. All cadres must regard as an iron rule in work the championing of the masses' interests and they must go among the masses, listen to what they say, explain and persuade them, and vigorously arouse their voluntary enthusiasm and creative initiative. This is precisely what is meant by the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-*ri* method and it is the basic requisite of the Taean work system.

You cannot keep alive the honour of living in the revolutionary battleground which is dyed with the red blood of the Korean Communists, by simply putting up showy slogans or signboards or building a museum of the revolution. You must uphold this honour through actual deeds, by carrying through our Party's mass line in a more exemplary way than any other province, following the example of the revolutionary fighters. Only by doing so, will you be worthy of living in this area of revolutionary battles.

Now, I should like to say a few words about intensifying the struggle against revisionism.

Revisionism is an ideology that negates the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and denies the need for revolution. The revisionists say that they will suffer from the war which might break out if other people continue making revolution. Thus, they preach desisting both from the struggle against imperialism and from the national-liberation struggle in the colonies.

It is justified that we should fight against revisionism. We have not yet completed the revolution. We have liberated only half of our territory and one-third of our people. The Korean Communists, therefore, are duty bound not only to promote the construction of socialism in the northern half but also to drive the U.S. imperialists out of the southern half and achieve the liberation of our nation.

When half of the territory still remains under the colonial yoke of foreign imperialism, how can we desist from the struggle against imperialism?

We cannot give up the revolution, nor can we stop fighting

against imperialism. No matter what machinations the revisionists may resort to, we must continue with the revolution and resolutely fight against imperialism without letup. In order to continue the revolution, the entire people must be fully armed with a revolutionary spirit.

To this end, our Party members who are responsible for the education of the people must first of all firmly equip themselves with revolutionary ideas. And, in particular, all the cadres and working people, who live and work in this area of revolutionary battles, an area which bears the traces of the bloody struggle waged by our revolutionary forerunners, must arm themselves with the revolutionary spirit more thoroughly than anybody else.

In the field of economic construction, too, we must build an independent national economy by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. To rely on oneself is the lofty revolutionary spirit of the Communists. Only by building an independent national economy through self-reliance can we successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks before us. We must accomplish the revolutionary task of the country's reunification through our own efforts, and we must build socialism and communism throughout Korea in the future. For this, we must lay the solid material and technical foundation of socialism by developing an independent national economy. It would be a different story if frontiers disappeared and communism were realized on a world-wide scale. But, as long as there exist frontiers and each country has its own revolutionary tasks and manages its own economic life, each must have its own resources. Especially, since quite a few people in the southern half are still inclined to rely on the U.S. and the Japanese imperialists, we must hold still higher the slogan of building an independent national economy.

To conclude, I am firmly convinced that you will successfully carry out all the tasks confronting Ryanggang Province by further improving and strengthening your work in accordance with the spirit displayed at this plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee.

officer who does not know how to fight is called a "felt hat" by the soldiers. It is a far cry from being a school master to being a co-operative chairman.

To be a co-operative chairman, you should have a knowledge of soil science which tells you what kind of fertilizer is suitable for which agrotype and how to ameliorate a certain type of soil when it contains mainly such-and-such elements; you should have a basic knowledge of plant and animal growth and a knowledge of the efficiency of farm machines such as tractors and combines. You should also learn how to organize work and how to lead the masses.

No one is well-informed from the beginning. Everyone has to learn. You will become well-informed if you learn from each other. There is no hard and fast rule that only a farmer can become a co-operative chairman. Anyone can become one if he learns.

How do you learn? You should learn from the masses. Without going among the masses, you cannot learn. All of you present here are masters of farming. The chairman should open-mindedly learn farm work from the peasants, while passing on to them what he knows.

It was not because they knew about industry and technology from the first that the cadres who had been engaged in the revolutionary struggle in the past gave guidance in industry. None of them had any experience at running a factory. But we have run the factories and the nation's economy, learning from the start.

Just because cadres should learn from the masses, this does not mean that everyone may draw his own conclusions, which would lead to a state of anarchy. The conclusion should be drawn, after all, by the chairman. To do this correctly, he should be at home in farming and stockbreeding and should have the real state of affairs in his co-operative at his fingertips. To get to know the situation in his co-operative well, he should listen to the opinions of the peasants with willing ears and learn a great deal from them.

After the discussions the chairman should make a scru-

pulous analysis of which views are correct and which not, which views have won general approval and which views have been generally objected to, what good points the ayes have found and what faults the nays have detected. If all he does is to hold forth without listening carefully to other people's opinions, there is no need for discussion at all. Needless to say, decisions cannot be left to others. The chairman himself should make a decision on the basis of the Party's policies, after carefully weighing all the views expressed. This is the way to lead the masses while learning from them.

In order for the management board to do a good job, its members and the workteam leaders should actively help the chairman in his work. The chairman cannot and should not work all by himself. You should consult with and help each other. Things will get nowhere if they are done in such a way as all the responsibility for drawbacks falls on to the chairman and he, in turn, passes all the blame on to the workteam leaders. The chairman should have regard for his subordinates' opinions and guide them kindly in their work; and those below, for their part, should help and advise him so that he can do a good job. It is wrong for a chairman to snarl at his subordinates for no reason instead of feeling affection for them and convincing them of their faults. It is likewise wrong not to give the chairman ready help in his work, regarding him as a horrible man. Up to now the chairman here does not seem to have become such a horrible man. Of course, it is wrong to connive and compromise with each other's errors. Yet, it is also wrong to weaken the unity of people. The important thing is to achieve unity in the comradely spirit of mutual assistance and love.

The *ri* Party committee is largely to blame for the poor showing made by the management board in its work. First of all, the chairman of the *ri* Party committee is as lifeless as frostbitten leaves, and as bewildered as a man who has just been saved from drowning. He acts in a spiritless way, though he has been given concrete instructions by the deputy director of the Organizational Department of the Party Central Commit-

tee and the Provincial Party Committee Chairman to deliver the report at the general meeting of the Party organization today.

The Party committee, if it is weak, can neither back up the work of the management board nor exercise control over it. If the management board fails to work well, the Party committee chairman should call a meeting where he should criticize the shortcomings and set the right course for its work. But the *ri* Party committee, trailing after the management board, is muddling about together.

Figuratively speaking, the county or *ri* people's committee chairman is the oarsman in front while the county or *ri* Party committee chairman is the steersman placed at the stern. What will happen to the work if the steersman dozes off at the stern, leaving the management board alone even when it fails to hold the right course and goes astray.

The chairman of the *ri* Party committee is not the only one to blame. Its members have also done a bad job. There is no reason why the Party organization as a whole should run aground because its chairman fails to do good work. If the Party committee members faithfully carry out their assignments and, when they find a mistake in the work of their chairman, severely criticize him at a committee meeting to correct his error in good time, the Party committee can do its work properly despite poor work on the part of the chairman. The original reason why the Party committee is organized and its members elected is that they should lead the Party organization by displaying collective wisdom, through mutual co-operation, because the chairman, working alone, may make mistakes.

A serious defect in your work is that the Party committee plays an inadequate role as an organ of collective leadership. Though you held a number of committee meetings every year, you dealt mainly with disciplinary matters and failed to discuss the work of the co-operative in a concrete way and give definite assignments to the committee members.

It seems necessary for the committee members to sit together and discuss matters at least once a week, so that the

Party committee may understand everything that takes place in the *ri* and give concrete guidance to the work of the management board.

You take meetings so seriously that you think it is indispensable to prepare reports and resolutions. You need not be so formal. The important thing is to get together promptly to discuss all matters and give proper assignments. Discussions should be held on practical matters such as what is needed for good farming this year, what is most important in making adequate preparations for farming, etc., and concrete tasks should be assigned to all committee members, specifying who is to take charge of helping to repair farm machinery, who is to help carry manure out to the fields, and so on. If you only hold discussions and do not give assignments, no one will feel any sense of responsibility.

You must carry out the assignments given by the committee. Party work is revolutionary work. You cannot become a revolutionary if you would not make revolution without being paid. It is wrong to approach Party work as something you will do only if you benefit from it and will not do if you gain nothing from it. To carry out the tasks assigned by the Party, you should work without resting even though others take rest when the day's work is over.

You should not just give assignments and then neglect to check up on their fulfilment. As for checking up, you should not think that some sort of inspection group has to be organized and sent out to do it. When you have assigned some kind of task to be done by a set time, you should find out how the committee members are carrying them out, and should give proper guidance if they are not done correctly. For example, when a committee member has been entrusted with the task of giving guidance to a comrade who has failed to observe organizational discipline strictly, you should ask the member how often he has talked personally with the comrade and how he has given him guidance; when you have assigned a committee member to the task of directing the blacksmith's work to finish repairing farm machines by a given date, you should

ask the member whether he has done it and, if not, you should see whether there are any bottlenecks, and the committee members should get together once again to discuss necessary measures. In this way the 13 members of the committee should sit together regularly to hold discussions, give assignments, check up on and sum up the fulfilment of these tasks in good time, and, on this basis, hold further discussions to give out new assignments. This alone will make it possible for all committee members to bring their wisdom into play and for the committee to fulfil its role.

The primary Party organizations should also work in the same way as the *ri* Party committee.

Just as we are now regularly taking part in general meetings of the primary Party organizations, before, when we were waging the guerrilla struggle, we used to participate in meetings of the company Party organizations. A guerrilla company was made up of 70 to 80 men, and yet it had no more than 6 or 7 Party members. When a company had instructions from higher up to get ready for a battle which was to take place in a week or about 10 days, the chairman of the company Party organization would call a Party meeting.

At the Party meeting all matters related to the preparations for battle were discussed and tasks assigned. The Party members were given detailed assignments—one comrade was to assume the responsibility for giving guidance to a certain guerrilla who lagged behind and became a burden whenever a battle took place; another comrade was to undertake the task of guiding and helping a certain recruit, cleaning his rifle and twisting strings for his knapsack; yet another comrade was to bear the responsibility for provisions, making parched-rice flour by such-and-such a method; and still another comrade was to take the responsibility for treating a sick comrade so that he would be able to take part in the battle to be fought by the company; the last comrade was to tell stories to the guerrillas from novels based on battles fought by the revolutionary armies and stories about the old-time generals who had fought courageously, organize discussions among the guer-

rillas based on these novels and stories about the guerrilla struggle of the revolutionary armies. Then, the Party members went without sleep to carry out these Party assignments, while all of them carried on their military duties—some standing guard and others going out on scouting missions.

The preparations for battle and for farming are both tasks set forth by the Party. So, there can be no difference in the method of discussing them at the general meeting of the primary Party organization. Every Party member should be given concrete assignments: when there is a man who is work-shy, a certain comrade should be given the assignment of educating him to work conscientiously; another comrade should be given the task of introducing the experiences of other workteams in the preparations for farming; and yet another comrade should be assigned the task of organizing a talk for the co-operative members to discuss the experiences in the preparations for farming carried in newspapers, and so on. All Party members should thus carry out the tasks assigned to them by the Party organization while doing their farm work in an exemplary way.

The Party is an organization. If you merely call on the Party members to play an exemplary role at a meeting, the Party organization will not rise to activity. It will only become active when organizational work is conducted in such a way as to give assignments to every Party member so as to rouse him to activity, and to take stock of the fulfilment of those assignments. The Party Rules states that the Party member should publicize the Party's policies and become a model in the struggle for their implementation. Concrete tasks should be assigned to Party members so that they can carry out the Party's policies. If they all strive to implement the Party's policies, the Party organization will become a dynamic, living organization.

Another defect in your work is inadequate education of the Party members.

It is of paramount importance to raise the level of Party members' communist consciousness. You laid stress on communist consciousness in the course of your conversation with me yesterday. And your speeches at today's meeting have

shown me that many comrades have a low level of political consciousness.

I should like to briefly emphasize only a few points on communist education, since I have talked about it before.

One of the most important questions in communist education is to educate people in the spirit of love for work.

A man who does not like to work cannot be a Communist. A man who loves to live an idle life is a man imbued with the ideas of the exploiting classes. All precious things such as food, clothes and houses are products of man's labour. Without working we cannot even subsist, not to speak of building a good society. As a rule, a man must eat and use what he has earned by his own work. Those who seek to live on the earnings of others are, in the final analysis, people who would like to exploit others.

Why do we hate the landlords and capitalists? Because they live a life of idle ease without working, by exploiting what the workers and peasants have produced by the sweat of their brows. The Communists are opposed to such an idle set of people, and struggle to overthrow the social system where the exploiters rule the roost and to build a society where everyone works and everyone is well-off.

Some comrades think that in a communist society everybody will live idly because everyone will be well-off, but this is a completely wrong idea. True, in a communist society people will be prosperous in a way we can hardly imagine now, but even then there will be no one who eats the bread of idleness. That we will all come to enjoy a life of abundance in a communist society, does not mean that we will be able to live without working, but that when everyone works, the workday will be shorter and work will become easier and, furthermore, joyful, thanks to technological progress. To hasten the building of such a good society, we should work even harder now.

The woman workteam leader who spoke a little while ago was right when she said that we should work harder since we still have to reunify the country. As we are still backward

and have much work to do, we should work harder than others.

We should become a people who hate the ideas of the exploiting classes who despise labour and are averse to work, a people who think it a great shame not to work, who regard work as sacred and most honourable and enjoy work. Only such people can be said to possess a communist ideology.

Our people are industrious by nature. No end of fine examples can be found of our diligent and patriotic people's love for work.

Sometime ago when I went to the Sangyang Agricultural Co-operative with the provincial Party committee chairmen, I met an old woman there from the bereaved family of a person who had been killed by the enemy. She was a model farmer working on the co-operative. She said that the bereaved families of those killed by the enemy had to work harder than others. After returning, I told people about her.

Revolutionaries always emerge from among the fine working people who love work. The families of revolutionaries are ideologically more resolute, and the more ideologically staunch they are, the more they become unassuming and love work.

As I told you once, Grandma Ryom Bo Bae is now well over seventy. Her husband was killed by the enemy while helping the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army; her eldest son who took a direct part in the guerrilla struggle fought bravely and fell in battle; and her nephew was arrested and killed by the Japanese bandits on the charge of having acted as guide to our guerrilla unit on the way to Changpai County, Hyesan and other places on the Amnok-gang River when the unit moved from north to east Manchuria. She herself helped us guerrillas with her whole heart, and during the past Fatherland Liberation War she cooked rice for our temporarily retreating People's Army men in spite of the danger posed by the enemy who was expected to move in at any moment. Indeed, the state should support such a grandmother well.

But she has never once asked for an old age pension or made any complaint. She brought up all her three remaining sons by herself and sent them into the People's Army. When

I went to Ryanggang Province in the spring of 1958, I met her and suggested that she quit work and retire. Her answer was that she would continue to work till the day she died.

What should we learn from this sort of people? We should learn their thinking. Theirs is precisely communist thinking.

Work is hard, and this is true for everyone. But if nobody works because it is hard, who would ever build socialism for us? It is impossible for a passer-by to make our country rich and strong.

We cannot give up revolution because it is difficult. When the men and officers of the People's Army defend blizzard-swept heights without sleep, it is not that it is an easy job. Though it is a very hard task, they do it for the sake of the people, the Party and the country.

When we were waging the guerrilla struggle, the Japanese rogues slandered us by calling us crazy people who were wandering about undergoing hardships for over ten years, uselessly taking along with us a large number of young people when there was no hope of achieving national independence. Indeed, when we did so we were not unaware that it would have been nice to have enjoyed a peaceful family life in a well-heated home. But we were thinking of restoring the country and saving the people at all costs. That was why it was not painful for us to undergo hardships.

Why had we had a hard time of it for nearly 40 years under the Japanese imperialist oppression? It was because our ancestors had failed to make our country rich and strong. If instead of building socialism through hard work now we hand down outdated things to posterity, our descendants will face hardships generation after generation. We have a lot of more work to do not only to enjoy a better life ourselves but also to bring happiness to our posterity.

Work not only brings us a new, bountiful life but makes us competent and staunch builders of socialism. Through work man can accumulate precious experiences in the transformation of nature, and develop his talents. While working we can be educated in the collectivist spirit of helping each other to

overcome difficulties, get rid of the survivals of the old thinking of the exploiting classes who hate to work, and we can arm ourselves with the ideas of the working people who love to work.

Another important aspect of communist education is to teach people the spirit of protecting state and common property.

You still have the bad habit of not taking good care of state and co-operative property as you do your own. As was revealed in your speeches, you never feel bad about how much your chickens might peck at the grain of the co-operative, considering it all right for them to eat their fill. This is proof that you do not care about the property of the co-operative after all.

The landlords and capitalists bled the workers and peasants white only for the sake of their own affluent life with no regard for others.

But our purpose is to make everyone equally well-off, not just a few individuals. Therefore, we own all paddy and dry fields in common and work them jointly and have all our property including cows, horses and farm machinery under common ownership. The common property of the co-operative is not the property of any individual, but is the property owned commonly by all the co-operative members. If every co-operative member cared only for his own property and handled the co-operative's property carelessly, and if he were not at all concerned about how the co-operative farm work is going, because he is not the only one to make a living from it, it is obvious that the co-operative's property could not increase and farming would not go well.

The man who does not care what will become of state and co-operative property as long as he himself is well-off, is, in the last analysis, a man ingrained with the selfish thinking of the exploiter classes. This selfish thinking is bad, quite contrary to communist ideology. As selfishness grows, it may make a man go so far as to betray the Party, the country and the people, not to speak of misappropriating state and co-opera-

tive property for his own interests, and, in the end, degrade into an enemy agent.

This selfish thinking has very deep roots, for it was nourished in the society of exploiting classes over thousands of years. We must continue to wage an ideological struggle against selfishness so as to build socialism and completely remould people's thinking along the lines of communist ideology.

Another important thing in educating the co-operative members in communist ideology is to repudiate conservative idea of clinging to outmoded things and actively cultivate in them the revolutionary idea of caring for new things.

We are now living in an era of revolution. We have cast off all kinds of outworn, rotten ways of life kept up for ages and are building the most progressive society of new type. Unless we cast away the old things boldly, we cannot create the new. Unless we abandon the old system, old ideas, old methods of work and old customs that stand in the way of our progress, we cannot build a new, socialist society.

At present, co-operatives have been formed all over the rural areas and agriculture is operated on socialist principles. We must boldly improve all farming and management methods to suit the advanced socialist co-operative economy, and quickly do away with old ideas and customs. We must fight ceaselessly to create the new against the old that hinder our onward march. The revolutionary spirit of striving for continued innovation and uninterrupted advance represents precisely the communist idea suited to our social system.

While intensifying communist education, we must endeavour to develop beautiful morals and manners among the people. Some people think that a Communist is a person who knows nothing but revolution, but they are greatly mistaken. The Communist has a higher morality and has a greater regard for the fine customs of his people than anyone else.

The Communist loves his parents, wife and children, loves his comrades, respects the aged, leads a simple life and is always modest in his behaviour. Disrespect and impertinence

towards the aged is an attitude totally incompatible with the moral traits of the Workers' Party member. Some comrades, instead of kindly looking after the families of soldiers and the bereaved families of those killed by the enemy, behave badly, going to the length of insulting the women of those families. This happens because they lack respect for the people and love for their comrades; it is an expression of the survivals of the old ideologies of the exploiter classes. This is a shameful behaviour contrary to our communist morality.

All such immoral deeds undermine the unity of our people and impede our advance. An uncompromising ideological struggle should be waged against such tendencies and the moral education of the masses should be further strengthened.

All ideological education must be carried on in combination with education in our Party's policies. They indicate the path to be followed by our Party and our people. Figuratively speaking, the Party's policies may be compared to a light that illumines a road at night. A person who is ignorant of the Party's policies is like a man travelling on a dark night; he cannot tell if there is a path ahead or not, which path is rough and which even, and so may possibly stumble or fall into a dangerous pit. If he carries a lantern or a flashlight with him, he can find the path and pick his way along a smooth shortcut without going astray into a rugged path.

Our Party's policies are clearly set out in the Party's documents: decisions of the Party Congresses, of the Party Central Committee and the Party Presidium.

Party policy study is obligatory to every Party member. Our Party's policies, based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in our country, define the path we must follow. The study of our Party's policies and Marxism-Leninism will enable you to fight on courageously without losing hope for a happy future and confidence in victory under any adversity.

In the days of Japanese imperialist rule, many people were quite hazy as to when the Japanese rogues would be defeated and Korea would achieve independence. People who failed to make a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation could

not foresee the defeat of Japanese imperialism, nor could they have faith in victory.

But those who possessed a Marxist-Leninist understanding could see the doom of Japanese imperialism and our people's victory as clearly as if looking down from the top of a high hill. Those who lacked foresight and vacillated became depraved, while those who continued with the struggle looking ahead into the future with faith in the truth of Marxism-Leninism emerged victorious.

If everyone fully studies the essence and correctness of the Party's policies in relation to their own actual conditions, and goes on fighting along the path indicated by the Party, he will surely be victorious.

In conclusion, I would like to tell you that the Party members should further strengthen their unity. The Party members must consciously unite because they adhere to the same ideas of communism and struggle for the same goal. We should surmount a multitude of difficulties in order to build socialism and advance to communist society. Difficulties cannot be surmounted unless the Party members trust each other and are firmly united. The one million Party members must all unite, and in the *ri* Party organization, all the Party members must also have an identical mind and purpose.

When a shortcoming is revealed, it must be criticized and rectified on time and when there are differences among the Party members, you should overcome them promptly by waging a day-to-day struggle through education and persuasion, whether by calling a committee meeting to discuss them or by having individual talks. If shortcomings accumulate and differences grow bigger, they will become difficult to solve and it will be hard to ensure unity.

The *ri* Party committee and primary Party organizations should always strengthen criticism and self-criticism in the Party and thus rectify shortcomings in time and overcome differences, and should direct great efforts to ensuring the ideological unity of the Party members.

The Enlarged December 1959 Plenary Meeting of the

Party Central Committee set forth an important task of bringing about a fresh, greater upsurge in socialist construction. Now, more than ever, our co-operative members are confronted with the important task of turning out larger quantities of grain, meat and vegetables and raising the living standard of the people. Just as we brought about a great upsurge in socialist construction in the course of the all-people struggle to carry out the decision of the Plenary Meeting of December 1956, we must also achieve a great, new victory in the struggle for implementing the decision of the Enlarged December 1959 Plenary Meeting.

I believe that all of you, united more closely around the Party Central Committee, will carry out with honour the tasks set out for our peasants by the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting.

In farming, the per-unit-area yields indicate a steady increase annually. Animal husbandry has also developed considerably in comparison with the past. This is a result of the successful struggle which all the peasants in the county, upholding the Party policy, have waged to develop agriculture to a more advanced level.

You have achieved great successes in building local industry as well. Following the June 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, local industry has made rapid progress. In Kangso County there are now provincially-run factories such as a ceramic works, an integrated machine-building plant, a chemical works and a knitted-goods mill; also, nine county-owned factories including a foodstuff plant, a knitted-goods mill, a building-materials factory, an ironware factory and an honoured disabled veterans' factory for daily necessities. Such local industry factories turn out various daily necessities and thus greatly contribute to the people's well-being. Further, many housewives entered the factories and joined the ranks of the working class, and are developing into fine socialist builders.

As mentioned above, you have registered great successes in your work in the past, but you have also had quite a few shortcomings. You have many shortcomings particularly in the guidance of agriculture.

As I said at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization, much manpower and money have been dispersed on tasks of secondary importance, whereas in agriculture today, all energies should be concentrated on farm work including grain growing.

Moreover, both the operation of the co-operative economy and the guidance of work are unplanned. It is a well-known principle that the socialist economy can be operated only in a planned way. But owing to the unplanned, haphazard operation of the co-operative economy, much labour and money have been wasted.

Even more serious is the fact that the socialist principle of distribution has not been strictly observed. The work done

by the co-operative members has not been accurately assessed. Equal shares have been distributed to all regardless of whether work was performed or not, which has given rise to many loafers on the job. With idlers increasing, even those who used to work well have come to shirk their work, and quite a few persons have developed a desire to go where the job is easy and yet earns them many work-points. As a result, less manpower has been assigned to farm work which is toilsome and, consequently, plans for agricultural production have not been carried out properly.

Although per-*chongbo* yields have risen annually, many co-operatives and workteams have not weeded in time and not faithfully carried out the Party policy on giving priority to grain in allotting crop areas, which has resulted in a failure to produce more grain even though it could have been done.

Why have things come to this? Is it because our peasants did not have enough zeal? No, it is not. The principal reason is that the county Party committee has not properly directed the county people's committee which is responsible for the guidance of agriculture. The county people's committee has not carried out its work properly because the county Party committee has failed to give it correct guidance.

At present the county people's committee bears responsibility for directly organizing and guiding the life of the co-operatives. Previously the county people's committee guided the co-operatives and individual peasants through the *ri* people's committees. Last year, however, the co-operatives were amalgamated into one for each *ri* and the *ri* became a unit of production. True, the *ri* people's committee as a form of power organ remains, but the chairman of the *ri* people's committee at the same time holds the post of chairman of the co-operative, and the *ri* has practically become a production unit. It is therefore wrong for the county people's committee to try to give guidance in production through the *ri* people's committees. Just as the *ri* people's committee did before, so should the county people's committee organize and guide production directly.

The county people's committee, however, has not directly guided the *ri* people's committees which are production units, but instead, conducted its work by sending down resolutions and written orders and urging them to submit statistics. This is an outmoded way of guidance ill-suited for the new, changed circumstances.

The county people's committee should not think that there is another intermediary echelon under it. You should know that at present the county is the terminal unit which is administratively responsible for production. The functionaries of the county people's committee should personally go down to co-operatives and help them draw up their farm production plans, guide them in technological matters, and give specific guidance from the standpoint of assuming responsibility for their production.

The county should directly answer for whether a co-operative thrives or not, or for whether the work of its management board goes well or badly. The county should hold itself responsible for the development of the productive forces at the co-operatives and for increase in the peasants' incomes. For this purpose, farm machinery should be replenished, and guidance should be given so as to improve the farm machinery and soil and to organize labour rationally. And the county should also give concrete guidance in making correct distribution to the peasants and boosting their incomes.

It was already suggested at an enlarged plenary meeting of the North Hamgyong Provincial Party Committee in March last year that the people's committee should perform its work in conformity to the new, changed circumstances. Nevertheless, the county Party committees have not taken measures for strengthening the work of the county people's committees. So, this problem was taken up again and definite measures were taken at the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee some time ago. If the issue had been ignored and had not been considered at the Enlarged December Plenary Meeting, even more serious shortcomings might possibly have appeared.

A bureaucratic and formalistic style of work still persists n the guidance of the countryside because outmoded work nethods have not been discarded. Plans which are someone's ›wn brain child are imposed upon the peasants without the ılightest regard for their interests. The field was planted to ·ed beans, then it was ploughed up to plant maize on the pre-.ext of turning it into a fodder field, and then once again it vas ploughed up to plant vegetables, with the result that nei-her red beans nor maize nor cabbage was reaped. Moreover, ıow much manpower and seeds must have been wasted and ıow much pain it must have caused to the peasants because he field was ploughed up as many as three times.

All this labour, seed and material are funds of the co-opera-ives and common property of the co-operative members. And hough they caused great losses and suffering to the peasants oy doing this, the functionaries of the county or provincial people's committee have no regrets. This is a wrong attitude, *'eeling no sense of responsibility for whether the peasants are* vell-off or not.

What on earth have the bureaucrats gained from such hap-ıazard guidance of the co-operatives? Waste of labour, waste of co-operative property, no crops—nothing. There is one *hing, though, that the bureaucrats have earned at the expense* of the people's interests. It is the fact that they were able to report to the Minister of Agriculture that the area planted to vegetables was brought up to the mark. In other words, they earned personal distinction for themselves

At the Yaksu-ri Co-operative there were unpaid taxes in kind carried over from the time of individual farming, and at present nobody even knows the whereabouts of all the default-ers of the taxes in kind. Yet, the county demanded unrea-sonably that the co-operative pay the back taxes in kind. This s like demanding compensation *for a lost donkey from the* person who has come to pull out the pole the donkey was tied to, simply because the man who stole the animal cannot be found. It is all very well for the chairman of the provincial or county people's committee to collect all the arrears of taxes

in kind carried over from the past and receive a letter of thanks, but does he not have to think of the hardship it causes the people?

Bureaucrats do not care about people, law or democracy. To draw up a plan of agricultural production, wide democratic discussions must be held among the co-operative members, and the projected plan should be approved by the county people's committee and passed at a general meeting of the co-operative members or at a general membership meeting of the *ri* Party organization. Then, the plan becomes a lawful document. No individual can change the plan at will. The bureaucrats, however, change the agricultural production plan as they like and arbitrarily force the co-operative members to do what is not provided for in the plan, causing them great losses. This is a flagrant violation of democracy and a disorderly act running counter to the law.

They instruct the peasants to plant industrial crops, and then do not purchase them in time, and so sugar beets, for example, are used for cattle feed. Since olden times, the cattle of our country have not been fed on sugar beets. There is no need to plant sugar beets just to feed cattle. In that case, it is only the peasants who suffer the loss, after all.

The county people's committee has no right to take manpower away at will from the agricultural co-operatives to use it here and there. The county people's committee chairman, however, acts like a king who ignores the law. He is always mobilizing manpower at will for constructing a school, building roads, and what not.

Mobilization of the labour force must also be done according to a plan. For example, if the Chongsan-*ri* Agricultural Co-operative is supposed to send out 50 work hands to some other branch this year, then some compensating measures should be taken, either by taking this fact into account in mapping out the production plan, or by socially mobilizing an equivalent number of people to help with the farm work in place of the absent 50 persons. What will become of agriculture if you simply take away work hands at will while taking no respon-

sibility for production? You assign huge production quotas, and keep on taking away work hands. And how do you expect them to fulfil the plan? If you mobilize manpower, you should do so when farm work is off season, or else you should take some sort of measures to make up for the mobilized work hands.

We have not formed agricultural co-operatives for the county to do what it likes with them in this way. Unless a decision is made by a general meeting of the co-operative members or a general membership meeting of the *ri* Party organization, nobody is allowed to change the co-operative's plan.

The question of thoroughly eliminating bureaucracy was already raised long ago. As early as February 1952 when the war was on, we energetically propounded this question, and later, at the April 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, we again discussed this question. Since then we have continued to struggle against bureaucracy. And why does the county Party committee tolerate such bureaucracy? As long as bureaucracy is as excessive as this, you cannot say that the county people's committee is working as a genuine people's power.

A genuine people's power should, first of all, bear responsibility for the socialist economy. And why does the county people's committee fail to endeavour to increase the profits of the co-operatives, to raise the living standard of the peasants and enhance their ideological consciousness?

Individuals were responsible for the economy at the time of individual farming, but in the socialist co-operative economy the management board and the county people's committee should bear the principal responsibility. There is no need for the county people's committee if it is not going to work responsibly to augment agricultural production and raise the living standard of the peasants.

There must be definite improvements in the work of the management board, as well as in the work of the county people's committee. As I have already mentioned this at the gen-

eral membership meeting of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization, I will not repeat myself. In improving the work of the management board, too, it is important to do away with bureaucracy, cast aside the habit of doing things haphazardly by rule of thumb and strengthen the collective leadership of the management board.

Working without a plan is a big fault of the county people's committee and the management board, it could be said. The county people's committee and the management board are working for the most part without a plan. If there is a plan, it is no more than one devised subjectively by a few persons. It is not a plan formulated on the basis of a correct calculation of the means of production and manpower, but one drawn up on the basis of a subjective desire of the county people's committee chairman or a few other persons.

In his speech a little while ago, the chairman of the county people's committee said that the county imposed upon the *ri* the plans forced upon it by the province, but it should not be forgotten that the county had also submitted subjectively prepared plan estimates to the province. Of course, there are second bureaucrats sitting at the province, who not only fail to verify carefully what has been submitted by the counties, but also make further additions to it according to their own subjective desire and then send it down to the counties. Working under plans drawn up in this way is in no way different from working without a plan at all.

Not only in agriculture, but also in local industry work is done without a plan. In constructing a factory, calculations should also be made, to begin with, of the amount of money needed, of the amount of materials and manpower required, and detailed plans should be formulated as to where and how to get the materials and manpower.

Nevertheless, you try to build a factory without such a plan and, consequently, a host of problems arise. When the county people's committee chairman says he wants to build a local industry factory, the bank may advance a loan of money. Now, what is to be done with money only, if materials are

not obtainable? Because materials are not available, the timber intended for making carts is all used up and the bricks supplied for the construction of another factory are diverted to it

The country has a limited supply of materials and labour. If materials specified in the plan are diverted for another purpose, the result is that work cannot progress according to the plan. If you build houses with the timber intended for carts, it becomes impossible to make carts and, consequently, the transportation plan which has been drawn up in anticipation of the carts cannot be fulfilled either. As for manpower, too, you have no alternative but to take it away from the co-operatives, for you cannot go anywhere else to ask for it inasmuch as it is not included in the plan. Consequently, farming goes amiss. Since plans are all drawn up on a co-ordinated basis, if one target is not fulfilled, other work will be impeded to a great extent.

Thus, you have failed to make carts as instructed, making it impossible to settle the question of transportation, and you left the fields unattended, causing a great loss to grain production. This is what it cost to build a local industry factory. How, then, can it be said that you have done the right thing?

If you want to construct a local industry factory, you should plan it in advance. You should have an accurate plan and layout as to where manpower and materials will be obtained from on which site and on what scale and how it will be built.

Even when the state builds a factory, the State Construction Commission examines whether the factory site is suitable or not, if the plans as to materials, manpower and funds have been drawn up accurately, if the layout is correct, if work is done according to the layout, and so on.

In building a local industry factory, too, a careful investigation should be made, a detailed plan should be drawn up to build it well, and there should be inspection and control over the execution of the plan.

Under socialism, it is impossible to operate the [illegible] without a plan. The county should naturally have [illegible] for

everything, such as for agricultural production, for local industry and for capital construction.

Those plans should be worked out not according to any individual's subjective thinking, but on the basis of mass discussions. Agricultural production plans, for instance, should be drawn up through broad discussions at general meetings of the agricultural co-operative members; then they should be co-ordinated at the county level; finally they should be discussed and passed at the county Party committee and the county people's committee. And those plans which need the approval of the province should be submitted to the province, and those which are subject to approval by the centre should be submitted to the centre. A plan mapped out in this way is a law, and it should be obligatorily carried out.

And organs and functionaries at all levels should have work plans. Since you work without any plan, you call meetings even at night whenever you feel like it and make noises a if something serious has turned up.

The county should draw up its own work plans, and shou communicate to the ri what concerns the ri functionaries the plans. Everybody should know what he is supposed to and when. Only then will he be able to make advance pre rations and have the time to think it over. If you wake up ple from their sleep at night for a meeting, how can the r ing ever go right? Is there not an old saying that the plan should be formulated in the spring and the day's in the morning? Furthermore, how can we, who are liv socialist society today, work without a plan?

The plan the county has at present is one that h prepared for form's sake to show people who come do above for inspection. What good is it? We should r combat the tendency to work without a plan in this

Our Party entrusted the county people's comm the task of responsibly guiding the national econo county. The county Party committee, therefore, s urally help and control the county people's commit responsibly.

The county Party committee, however, has failed to give the proper guidance needed to correct the bureaucratic work style of the county people's committee functionaries through strong criticism and to improve the work of the people's committee in conformity to the new circumstances. Although the Party should play the leading role in all work, the county Party committee has failed in the discharge of its guidance function This, I think, is a great weakness in the South Pyongan Provincial Party organization.

Of course, there have also been notable achievements in the work of the county Party committee. That is, the county Party committee under the guidance of the Party centre has formed the ranks of the cadres with the nuclei of the Party. It is not because bad people are ensconced in the county Party committee or in the county people's committee, or because *ri* Party committee chairmen, co-operative chairmen, primary Party committee chairmen or workteam leaders are bad people, that various shortcomings are revealed at present. Their records, too, show that they are mostly comrades who have been faithful to the Party in the past and have long been fighting for the implementation of the Party policy. In other words, it can be said that the ranks of Party nuclei have been formed with good comrades. We saw this from the talks we had with cadres of the county Party committee for a few days, and also sensed the same thing in the course of attending a general membership meeting of the *ri* Party organization

The county Party committee, however, has failed to work properly with the nuclei who have been united in this way. The departments of the county Party committee have not been roused to full activity, and the work with the county people's committee and with the social organizations such as the Democratic Youth League and trade unions has not been conducted in a proper manner.

Like the county people's committee, the county Party committee, too, has failed to reorganize its work in keeping with the new, changed circumstances

What are the new circumstances? The county Party com-

mittee's guidance is concerned primarily with rural Party organizations. And since the countryside has been entirely transformed on socialist lines, all peasants have become collectivized, socialist working people and all Party members in the rural areas have come to work in a collectivized, socialist agriculture. In other words, all peasants have become builders of socialism, and our Party members are now working among the peasants who are working and living in a socialist way.

Unlike the time of individual farming, everything is now being done collectively. Particularly, the peasants, like the workers, have for a long time participated in collective labour for the realization of irrigation and electrification, and thus have got tempered. And as the tasks of irrigation, electrification and mechanization are successfully carried out, a great change is taking place in the labour and entire life of the peasants. The technical standard of the peasants has risen, and so has their level of consciousness.

The merger of the co-operatives with the *ri* as the unit has brought about a still greater change in the life of the peasantry. With the extension of the scope of the co-operative economy, the scale of co-operation of people in production has become greater and the economic life of the co-operative has become more complex.

The whole life of man changes primarily with the change in his working life. Since such a great change has taken place in the peasants' working life as compared with the time of individual farming, the consciousness of people has changed and so has their way of life. Accordingly, the methods of leading those people should also be changed.

What, then, is the change the new circumstances specifically call for in the work of our county Party committee? First, from the viewpoint of the Party organizational system, the county Party committee should become the terminal leading body under the present conditions where the *ri*, merged into a co-operative, has become a production unit, even though our Party's terminal leading body was at the sub-county or *ri* level before. After the Party centre, the provincial Party com-

mittee, and the county Party committee there is only the production unit.

The *ri* Party organization has the character of the primary Party organization at the production unit. Therefore, the county Party committee should not just send down decisions and directives to the *ri* Party committees and remain collecting statistics. Its functionaries should personally go down to the *ri* Party committees and organize work for them, and directly conduct educational work, too.

The county Party committee, asserting its own importance as a leading body, wants to create a large number of departments. That is wrong, however. Now it requests the establishment of industrial and agricultural departments, pleading that it is short of departments, and for some time has even been suggesting that a department for co-operative organizations be created. The Presidium of the Party Central Committee, however, has not approved it.

In my opinion, this seems unnecessary. It will do well for the organizational department to take care of all personnel affairs. If the agricultural department of the county Party committee deals with the rural cadres, the organizational department will have nothing to do. The county people's committee will take care of the work of directly organizing and operating the economy. What is the use of industrial and agricultural departments as long as they do not take upon themselves the job of the county people's committee? It is advisable to select and place three economic instructors at the county Party committee, one with economic knowledge enough to deal with finance and planning, another versed in industry and yet another familiar with agriculture, and let them work directly under the county Party committee chairman to assist him in technical and economic matters.

What is the important task of the county Party committee? It is to firmly build up the *ri* Party organizations at the production units, always educate the Party members in Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary traditions of the Party, and bring the Party policy home to the Party members, so

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and meet the agitators and, together with them, organize reading sessions and give lectures for the masses.

Only by so doing will they be able to get a clear idea of the masses' level and effectively conduct educational work in a language intelligible to the masses. If they fail to do so and simply call up the *ri* Party committee chairmen or summon the agitators to give them instructions or short courses and send them back, things will always be done perfunctorily and the Party policy will not get to the masses. In guiding the local industry factories, too, the county Party committee instructors will do well to go down personally and conduct work just as in the case of guiding the *ri* Party organizations.

This alone will enable the county Party committee to know the cadres of the *ri* Party organizations well through work, educate them and have the core elements in hand.

At present the *ri* Party committees do not know well how matters stand with the workteams in their own *ri*, and the county Party committee is even more ignorant of the affairs at the *ri*.

The county Party committee should have full command of the cadres of the *ri*. Each instructor of the organizational department should take charge of a definite number of *ri* and guide them at all times. Suppose the organizational department has five instructors and the county has 20 *ri*, then each instructor should be responsible for the guidance of four *ri*. If the organizational department does not have enough instructors, it would be wise to enlist instructors from the propaganda department.

Suppose a *ri* has 15-20 cadres who are Party members, such as the *ri* Party committee chairman, the co-operative chairman, the primary Party committee chairmen and others, then their number for four *ri* is no more than 60-80. If the instructor meets three comrades every day to have talks and give education, he can give concrete guidance to all cadres of the *ri* once a month. Then, the county can understand the cadres of the *ri* as well as they do their own palms and take the *ri* affairs in hand correctly.

Each instructor of the propaganda department should also take charge of several *ri*, always meet the propaganda workers of the *ri* and know and educate them, and endeavour to steadily raise their political level.

If the county Party committee does its job in this manner for some 3-4 years, it will be well acquainted not only with the cadres but also with all Party members of the *ri*, and will be able to develop more nuclei from among them.

If the number of core Party members grows in every *ri* and they play a vanguard role among the masses, a great change will take place in the work of the *ri* Party organizations as a whole, and the masses as a whole will become active.

The keystone of Party work is work with the cadres. It is of prime importance to know and educate the cadres all the time and develop large numbers of nuclei.

At present, however, the county Party committee takes upon itself the administrative work that properly belongs to the county people's committee, and its organizational and propaganda departments play the role of a documents section whose function it is to compile statistics and prepare reports.

We should ensure the work of the county people's committee by bringing its Party members into action. How can the county Party committee, which has a much smaller staff than the county people's committee, take upon itself the work of the latter? As for compiling statistics, it is also good to compile only those which essentially belong to the Party's functions and to leave the others to the county people's committee.

There is no need at all to prepare many kinds of statistics and reports. It is necessary to give practical guidance so as to be able to grasp the actual conditions at lower units without reading the reports. At present, however, the province harasses the comrades at lower units by incessantly urging them to make reports which it does not even glance at, leaving them no time to attend to their proper jobs. I have heard that last year you worked out and submitted 63 reports and 24 kinds of statistics to the provincial Party committee. That is all unnec-

essary, however. All that is required is to submit statistics on Party members once a year; matters that need to be reported regularly, too, primarily concern inner-Party affairs such as admission to and expulsion from the Party; and the rest will be cases when something especially serious has happened and you need to inform the upper body about it. There is no need to report in writing all such things as could just as well be communicated verbally or by telephone.

The useless paper work should be dropped. However hard one may try it is impossible to increase production with a pencil at a desk. The thing is to give concrete guidance to stir the masses to action. Perfunctoriness should be renounced and work should be done in a substantial manner.

To strengthen the work of the county Party committee, it is essential to give precedence to political work in every matter. Precedence for political work is always required in carrying out an important revolutionary task, be it the development of agriculture or of local industry.

Quite a few comrades take the precedence of politics merely to mean holding conferences or organizing lecture meetings when a task is raised. Indeed, holding conferences to discuss the task and organizing lecture meetings to explain the Party policy to the masses are all political work and important ways of giving priority to politics. But this alone is not enough.

To keep politics ahead of other things, it is necessary, first of all, to give the functionaries of the county Party committee and the county people's committee and the Party members on the farms and at the local industry factories a thorough understanding of the essence of the immediate revolutionary task set forth by our Party and the ways of carrying it out.

And the Party members should be induced to discuss in full more concrete methods of implementation of the task, go among the masses to explain the Party policy and bring it home to them, and widely discuss with the masses the concrete ways of fulfilling the task. On the basis of such discussions, detailed assignments should be given to each Party member.

In short, precedence of politics means bringing all the

Party members and the masses to thoroughly understand the Party policy, have mass discussions about the ways of carrying out the revolutionary tasks and to be actively mobilized for the implementation of the revolutionary task with a high degree of political awakening.

All work can be carried out only when the masses are on the move. The reason why the masses remain inactive is that they do not know the Party policy well and lack a correct understanding of the guiding principle in their action.

Orders and instructions alone cannot bring the masses into action. Nothing can be attained as long as you only force it upon them in an administrative way without fully explaining the meaning of the revolutionary task ahead and without teaching them clear-cut ways of implementing it.

In Party work administrative methods should not be applied, but the methods of persuasion and education should be used under all circumstances. The main reason for unsatisfactory work now is that the county Party committee does its work in an administrative way, arbitrarily dictating the masses without caring whether or not they understand.

Since our Party is the advanced detachment which fights for the interests of the masses, it should become a model for the masses, persuade and educate them and stir them up to carry out the Party's policy.

To set Party members into action, they should always be given assignments and educated in accordance with their levels. As long as a Party member is not given a Party assignment, he cannot fulfil the role of a Party member and is detached from Party work. A Party member, therefore, must be given a specific Party assignment, even if it is not a big task, and must be tested, tempered and educated through its execution.

Education of Party members should be concrete. It is improper to force a comrade who is shy of working by saying: "Work hard, comrade! See?" It is advisable that you, taking into full consideration the level of consciousness, environment, character, taste, etc., of the person you are dealing with, teach

him point by point, beginning with simple matters and then gradually turning to complex matters Since the basic aims of education are to rouse Party members to the revolutionary struggle, education must always be conducted in connection with the immediate revolutionary tasks, in connection with the merits and shortcomings of their actual deeds.

Another thing I want to mention is that the county Party committee should strengthen collective leadership. If the county Party committee and its executive committee are to fulfil their roles properly, they must strengthen the system of consultation so that collective wisdom may be enlisted in all work.

When a decision or instructions of an upper Party body are received, an executive committee meeting or a consultative meeting of the county Party committee should be called, and the contents of the decision or instructions and the concrete ways of putting them into effect in accordance with the actual conditions of the county should be discussed. If the task concerns mainly the county people's committee, a meeting of the Party organization of the county people's committee should be called and collective discussions should be held again. Following that, a county people's committee meeting should be held to discuss the co-ordinated opinions, the Party policy should be explained and brought home to all the masses, regardless of whether they are Party members or not, the concrete ways of struggle should be taught and assignments given to them in order to commence work immediately.

After the county people's committee has organized work in this way, the county Party committee should go down to the *ri* to make sure the work is done. The county Party committee should thoroughly explain the substance of the task and the ways of its fulfilment to its instructors and send them down to the *ri* to explain clearly, together with the *ri* Party committee chairman, the content of the revolutionary task and the ways of carrying it out to all the Party members in the *ri*

This the county Party committee chairman cannot manage all by himself. The Party committee which is a body of collective leadership should get into action and so should

its executive committee. All functionaries of the county Party committee should be brought into action.

Yet another important thing is the intensification of education in the Party policy to raise the cadres' level of guidance. To guide the masses, it is necessary to have an adequate knowledge of the Party policy so as to be able to tell them about what they do not know and always show them the right path to follow. And you should learn ways of coping with complex problems correctly in accordance with the Party policy when they appear.

Only when the instructors of the county Party committee go down to the *ri* and assist the *ri* Party committee chairman in his work, and have the ability to correctly solve the complex problems which the *ri* Party committee is unable to settle, will they be able to play the role of an instructor in the true sense of the word. At present, county Party committee instructors fail to give much help to the *ri* Party committee in its work.

The most important way of raising the level of the instructors is to acquaint them well with the intentions of the Party centre by exhaustively explaining to them, in the first place, the decisions and instructions of the Party Central Committee. The Party policy is always the guiding principle of our action and the criterion to tell right from wrong. If you know the Party policy well, you can tell what conforms to the Party policy and what does not in the course of guiding the work down at the *ri*, and show the right direction to the masses.

How can it be said that an instructor is qualified as such if he, who is supposed to have come down to give guidance, fails to answer when he is asked about the Party policy, and to give a clear-cut answer when he is asked to tell right from wrong when some kind of problem arises?

Since our revolution is developing every day, our thinking, too, makes progress and so does the Party policy. The Party centre studies the continuously developing realities of our country and frames new policies to suit them.

Our Party's policy is an application of Marxism-Leninism

to our country's realities. One can neither write, nor guide work without studying our Party's policies, no matter how many Marxist-Leninist books he may have read.

The instructors should study the Party policy systematically and know a new policy in good time whenever it is set forth by the Party. A good knowledge of the Party policy is essential to broadening one's mental vision, to finding the right way of looking at things, and carrying on one's work with conviction and daring.

The instructors of the Party Central Committee are on a higher level than the comrades at the county Party committees not because they have been chosen from among those who were county Party committee chairmen. Among them are comrades who were county Party committee chairmen before, but there are many who were not. The instructors of the Party Central Committee are on a higher level than the functionaries of the county Party committees because they are well aware of the intentions of the Party centre.

The Party centre sums up the experience of all the activities of our Party, but the county Party committees have only the experience of work within the county limits. True, it is natural for the functionaries of the county Party committees to have a broader view of things than the *ri* cadres who are in charge of the work of the *ri*, since the county Party committees sum up the experience of work on the county level. But if we do not discuss and study the Party policy every day, we shall become ignorant of even the experience of the county level, to say nothing of the experience of the struggle of the entire Party, and shall eventually find our perspectives too narrow to lead the cadres of the *ri*.

At present the Party centre pays great attention to the education of the instructors. The Party leadership promptly acquaints the instructors with the Party policy.

Before, persons such as Pak Chang Ok ensconced in the Party leadership used to tell only what they copied from foreign newspapers and magazines without making the Party policy known, and so education of the instructors was unsatis-

factory. Even in writing an article, they used difficult terms and marshalled many propositions of various kinds. To the uninitiated eye, such an article appears to be impressive, but, in fact, it is hollow and empty. It amounts to making noises merely with empty words without the least knowledge of the substance of Marxism, and is tantamount to licking only the rind of a watermelon without so much as tasting its meat to find out whether it is sweet or bitter. What good is it to play with words using difficult terms without knowing our Party's policy when all our work is associated with our revolution? Those who do not know Party policy and the substance of their own work, have no view to call their own, after all, and so they dogmatically copy from others, thereby prejudicing the work. In a word, they are persons who lack *Juche.*

What we call *Juche* means doing everything in accordance with the actual conditions of our country and creatively applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries to suit our realities.

It is the duty of the Korean Communists to carry out the Korean revolution well in conformity to the actual conditions of our country, and that is our way of making a contribution to the world communist movement. Our task is to build socialism in our country and develop its politics, economy and culture for the welfare and prosperity of our people. And how can he who is ignorant of his society, his people, the history and the revolutionary and cultural traditions of his own country, carry out the revolution in a way congenial to his country? And how can he who slights his own things and only praises others' develop his own things?

Once some artists offered to throw away our national musical instruments, saying that they were uncivilized and undeveloped and that it was even impossible to use the musical notation for them. We severely criticized such a view. The Party's policy on literature and art was not carried out properly because a person such as Pak Chang Ok who praised only foreign things was entrenched in the Propaganda Department. Our national musical instruments perfectly suit the

sentiments of our people. So why should we discard them? And it is also untenable to assert that the national musical instruments of Korea cannot be fitted to musical notation. The trouble lies in the wrong ideological viewpoint of making light of our national art.

How can a person who is said to be engaged in the Korean revolution do his own thinking as master of his own revolution if he does not proceed from the actual realities of Korea, and belittles his own things and only copies from others? If one acquires the habit of only copying from others, he will eventually find himself totally devoid of his own thought and will also lose the ability of developing new ideas. Suppose a lazy pupil does not write a composition himself, but always has somebody else write one for him because he dislikes composition, the result will be that he will always be unable to write a composition. The same is true of our revolutionary work. As long as one relies on others and only copies from them without establishing *Juche* in his work, he can display no creative initiative.

Since the question of *Juche* was put forward, a change has taken place in the people's way of thinking. Everybody is now doing his work in accordance with the actual conditions he finds himself in, and so tremendous creative initiative which was formerly unimaginable is now displayed.

We should educate the cadres and members of the Party in such a way as to enable them to display creative initiative. They should have a good knowledge of the Party policy and be able to advance their work by thinking independently when carrying out their assigned tasks. A *ri* Party committee chairman should be able to carry on his job independently in accordance with the Party policy even when he is given no direct guidance and assistance from the county Party committee.

While sending down instructors to the *ri* to constantly help the *ri* Party committee chairmen in their work, the county Party committee chairman should meet the *ri* Party committee chairmen often to acquaint them with the Party policy and initiate them into methods of work.

Further, the responsible workers of the county Party committee should teach work methods well to the instructors. When they have the instructors write a report or a notice, they must also give them an orientation as to how it should be written. If they fail to write well, even after all that, they should kindly teach them by doing the writing themselves. Yet, a certain department chief is said to have rejected a paper written by an instructor as many as ten times without even touching it up once. If that is the case, the instructors cannot make progress.

The county Party committee chairman should make a good study of the commentaries on the Party policy carried in the *Rodong Sinmun, Kunroja, Tangsaenghwal*, etc., and should not keep its knowledge to himself, but should often call the instructors and acquaint them kindly with it before they go down to the *ri*.

The county Party committee chairmen themselves should make unremitting efforts to improve their qualifications. The county Party committee chairman must review his work and generalize his experience. Although the county Party committee chairman does a great deal of work, he fails to make rapid progress because he does not analyse it nor generalize his experience. He should generalize his own experience and publish it in the daily paper of the province or in the metropolitan newspapers; and as for the review reports, the chairman must write them himself on all accounts. The reports should reflect what he is thinking. He must personally write down the contents of the reports, though he may possibly leave the polishing of the wording to his subordinates. This is essential, for it will make him reflect profoundly on the work he has done; and his political and theoretical level will rise and his ability to write will grow because he is naturally obliged to study Party documents more deeply and also to read reference books if he is to write something.

As long as the county Party committee chairman or the county people's committee chairman does not personally prepare for important meetings, but leaves the preparation of

reports and resolutions to others, the meetings cannot be successful and the merits and shortcomings in work cannot be summed up properly. This is all a trite method of work practised by bureaucrats in the past.

In general, the work of theoretically analysing and synthesizing the tasks one has accomplished leaves much to be desired. That is why no lively theoretical debate has developed as to how to apply the Party policy to one's work. To raise the theoretical level of cadres and Party members, an atmosphere should be created of holding lively discussions on the Party policy in connection with their jobs. In the course of such discussions we will develop a profound theoretical knowledge of the Party policy and be able to rid our work of dogmatism. When we first launched the communist movement, we used to have very heated discussions. Through the discussions we firmly established our own views.

All the work we are now engaged in is revolutionary work. It is not an easy task to carry out the Party policy in accordance with the actual conditions of one's own locality. If we endeavour to make a profound study of the Party policy and do our work better, many questions will arise. We must always resolve these questions through discussions, and determine the correct line of action by enlisting collective wisdom.

At present you do not make good use of the newspapers. When we were fighting the Japanese imperialists before, newspapers were very hard to obtain When we got a newspaper in those days, we had repeated discussions on the editorial or the like and conducted education with it for a long time. Newspapers merely piled up on the desk will be of no help in our work.

To strengthen the work of the county Party committee, it is necessary to efficiently activate social organizations such as the Democratic Youth League and the trade unions. The Democratic Youth League and the trade unions are organizations which all assist our Party. Such working people's organizations play an important role in linking the Party with the masses.

The Democratic Youth League organizations play a gre part especially in the countryside. There are many comrad among the Democratic Youth League members who have strong revolutionary and class spirit as the Party memb and are very loyal to our Party. These comrades are c nuclei. These activists should be energetically mobilized for fulfilment of revolutionary tasks. It is very good not only impel the enthusiasm of youth for production, but also acti ly mobilize them to carry out the cultural revolution. I necessary to encourage the activity of the Democratic Yo League organizations properly in elevating the technical educational levels of youth and in intensifying their commu education.

In conclusion, I should like to say a few words about intensification of communist education of our Party mem I shall not recapitulate the content of communist educa here because I have already spoken about it many times. should endeavour to acquire not only Marxist-Leninist th but also the revolutionary spirit and moral qualities befi a Communist.

ber Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee and strengthen the guidance of agriculture, thus bringing about a new, great advancement in the production of grain and other agricultural produce.

I wish you new, great success not only in inner-Party work and in the guidance of the people's committee, but also in the struggle for the development of our national economy following the present meeting.

general meeting, we saw to it that the *ri* Party committee had a full and collective discussion about it and made it thoroughly known in advance to the primary Party organizations and all Party members. Consequently, all the Party members, already ideologically mobilized through the sub-unit meetings and the general meetings of the Party organizations, attended the *ri* Party general meeting with a clear understanding of what defects were to be pointed out and what tasks for remedying them would be set forth at the meeting, and everyone could express his views without reserve. The report to the general meeting was prepared personally by the *ri* Party committee chairman with the scrupulous help of the comrades of the guidance group and, as a result, it turned out to be an accurate and analytical report. Thus, the arrangements for the general meeting of the *ri* Party organization were made rather satisfactorily.

Until then, in many instances the general meetings of the Party organization in this *ri* were also arranged and conducted in a perfunctory manner. As often as not, tasks sent down by the centre by way of the provincial and county Party committees were mechanically imposed at the meetings. Meetings would be called without preparing the Party members ideologically, the *ri* Party committee chairman would deliver a report that was his own brain child, and a few people would make prepared speeches, which is then followed by passing resolutions through without let or hindrance. That was all. Nothing will come of meetings of this kind, no matter how often they are held.

It is necessary to hold substantive Party meetings in order to adopt concrete decisions consistent with local conditions on the basis of synthesizing the constructive suggestions of the Party members and to bring into play their conscious enthusiasm. Therefore, we began by teaching them clearly how to hold a really fruitful, and not a perfunctory, Party meeting. All meetings held in the *ri* and county during our guidance served as patterns of intensive, substantial, and well-arranged meetings.

Drawing on the experience gained in the course of our guidance of Chongsan-*ri*, we chose another six *ri* in the county,

which we continued to guide. We called a consultative meeting of the county Party organization with the participation of all comrades of the guidance group, the cadres of those *ri* and the officials of the county Party committee for the purpose of summing up the data obtained while guiding the work of the *ri* Party organizations. At this meeting we heard reports and exchanged views on the results of the guidance of Party work in Kosan-*ri*, Taesong-*ri* and Yaksu-*ri*. As a result, it was thoroughly revealed that as regards Party work and farming, other villages had exactly the same shortcomings as those found in Chongsan-*ri*. This confirmed the complete validity of the conclusion we had drawn after our guidance of the work of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization. Inasmuch as every *ri* showed common defects and its causes were similar, we could put forward the same corrective tasks and at the consultative meeting we could also outline the direction for the county Party committee to take in guiding the *ri* Party organizations.

Meanwhile, the general meeting of the primary Party organization of the county Party committee was held successfully. Instructors and cadres of the county Party committee debated the work of the committee earnestly. Every instructor could criticize the department heads, vice-chairmen and chairman and boldly bring all defects to light. As a result, the meeting defined all the more clearly the concrete ways and means of improving the work of the county Party committee.

On the basis of holding a general meeting of the primary Party organization of the county Party committee and a consultative meeting of the county Party organization in this way, it was arranged that a plenary meeting of the Kangso County Party Committee be held This was also attended by the chairmen of all county Party committees in South Pyongan Province.

The plenary meeting was to make a profound analysis of the shortcomings that had been revealed thus far in the work of the Party organizations in Kangso County, and gathering all the valuable views put forward by the Party members and masses at various meetings, take measures for a radical improvement of the Party's organizational and ideological work as well as of

its guidance to government bodies and its work of economic guidance.

We assisted the chairman of the county Party committee in personally drawing up the report to the plenary meeting, and we saw to it that all the expected participants at the meeting were informed beforehand of the articles of the draft resolution. Thanks to such arrangements and ideological mobilization, the plenary meeting of the county Party committee also proved a big success.

We took steps to make thoroughly known to all the *ri* in this county, including those to which no guidance group had been sent, the conclusion drawn at the general membership meeting of the Chongsan-*ri* Party organization and the resolutions adopted at the plenary meeting of the county Party committee.

Brief though the time was—no more than 15 days—the results of our guidance work have been very great. These results were achieved not because the guidance group members ran about busily, but because they gave ear to the voices of a large section of Party members and the masses and brought their creative zeal into full play. Such results can hardly be accomplished if, as has been the case hitherto in the county Party committee and *ri* Party organizations, Party functionaries only bluster at people without knowing the actual state of affairs and feelings of the masses, and perfunctorily call one meeting after another at which people gather, raise their hands without really understanding what is being discussed, and then disperse.

We ourselves, too, learned a great deal in the course of guiding the work of the Kangso County Party Committee. We came to know more exactly what is hindering the masses from being accurately informed of the Party's policies, and why the tasks put forth by the central authority are not properly solved at lower levels. Unless we remove the root causes of these defects, we can neither satisfactorily implement the decisions of the Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held last December nor can scale the eminence of socialism at an early date.

Now, let me tell you what the successes and defects in the work of the Kangso County Party Committee were and what lessons we have drawn in the course of our recent guidance.

Since the Third Party Congress great changes have taken place in our Party work as a whole—from the centre down to the city and county Party organizations. Particularly, great advances have been made in eradicating dogmatism and formalism and establishing *Juche*, as well as in improving the methods of Party work.

Our Party work began to develop in conformity with the demands of the Korean revolution and the specific realities of the country. Our Party members gradually became able to take an independent view of the problems of our revolution and construction and to deal with them in keeping with our own actual situation, instead of trying to follow others blindly as they had done previously. We are people who are making the Korean revolution and have undertaken a mission to contribute, by so doing, to the world revolution. Therefore, in order to fight in the van of the Korean revolutionary movement, we must know, before anything else, about Korea, about the history and the realities of our country and know how to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism properly to the realities of Korea. This our Party members have become firmly aware of. That, we can say, is a tremendous achievement.

Also, since the Third Party Congress, the Party's ideological system has gradually been established among Party members. Particularly, in the course of the struggle to expose and smash the anti-Party factionalists, their Party spirit was tempered as never before and the unity of ideas and will in the Party was cemented It is not too much to say that the intentions of the Party centre have been grasped by all Party members and the masses, and that the whole Party has never been so closely united around the Central Committee with such a singleness of will and purpose as today and that never before has our Party enjoyed such unqualified prestige among the people as today.

Considerable results have also been attained in the work of

class education. Our Party members can now clearly distinguish friend from foe, their consciousness of hating the enemy and defending their class interests has been enhanced. The spirit of waging uncompromising, principled struggles against any phenomenon contrary to their class interests is prevailing. A Party member living in Yaksu-*ri* was severely criticized at a Party meeting for having been treated to a dinner at the home of a rogue, a former member of the "peace maintenance corps," and thus become indebted to him, and another Party member was criticized by his comrades for manifesting bourgeois ideology when he rented a room to a visitor to the spa. All this helps to raise Party members' class consciousness.

The Party members and the masses of the people have also become highly vigilant against counterrevolutionaries. Fearing the watchful eyes of the people, those who seek to calumniate our Party and do harm to our system find it difficult to operate at present.

By and large, the revolutionary mass viewpoint has also been established among our Party members. Anyone who abuses the authority of the Party or infringes upon the interests of the masses is called to task severely for it. Party members are now deeply conscious that they can serve the revolution only when they become faithful servants of the masses because the revolution is for the good of the masses and it can be accomplished only by relying on the strength of the masses.

The zeal of the Party members to continue the revolutionary traditions of our Party is likewise high. Whenever they encounter difficulties, they recall how revolutionary forerunners fought against Japanese imperialism in the face of all difficulties and hardships, from which they derive strength and courage. Today every Party member constantly steels his Party spirit, taking as his model the ideas, style of work and moral traits of the anti-Japanese guerrillas who explored the path for the restoration of the fatherland at the cost of their blood.

The positions of Party nuclei have been built up to a considerable extent. The cadres at county and *ri* levels are very sound. In all Party organizations the core ranks are made up of

reliable comrades of good social origin, who have served the Party and the revolution from the time of the agrarian reform and who fought valiantly during the time of retreat, never yielding to the enemy.

Members of bereaved families of patriotic martyrs who remained faithful to the revolution till they died on the scaffold at the hands of the enemy; peasants who, camouflaging themselves, ploughed the fields by moonlight in their devoted endeavours to increase grain production during the war despite enemy bombings; ex-servicemen who, at the risk of their lives, fought for the fatherland in the battles to rout the aggressors —they are all fine people who can develop into nuclei of our Party. The core of Party organizations at all levels is made up of such comrades who are true to the Party and the revolution, and this constitutes our important asset and guarantee of victory. The anti-Party manoeuvrings of Ko Bong Gi and his ilk to give prominence to the "influential gentry," and to rely on them for work in the rural districts, have been totally crushed.

As you see, we have scored really great achievements in our Party work.

Then, why is it that a number of defects still find expression in our work? The unity of the Party has been strengthened, people have learned how to distinguish friend from foe, bureaucracy is much less in evidence than before, everyone is eager to inherit the revolutionary traditions, and ranks of cadres are composed of stable comrades. For all this, why does our Party work still fall short of the level required by the Party Central Committee?

There are two major reasons. One is that educational work is still so poor that Party members have an insufficient understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the policies of our Party, and the other is that organizational work has been done unsatisfactorily with the result that each Party member cannot work actively.

Our Party members are now all eager to work, upholding the Party centre, but the fact is that they do not know how

to work and, therefore, fail in their work. Their enthusiasm and spirit are very high, but they are not acquainted with principles and methods, hence the clumsy outcome of their work. Our Party members and cadres can carry out the directives from above in a mechanical way, but they are unable to analyse things independently in accordance with the line laid down by the centre and to carry on their work to suit their specific conditions.

And the role played by each Party member is inadequate because Party assignments are not given in a scrupulous manner. A Party member, whoever he may be, must always fulfil his duties as required by the Party Rules. For this, the conscious efforts of Party members are most essential, but the proper assignment of work to them is also necessary. All Party members should be enlisted in Party work and each member roused to constant activity. The leading and guiding role of our Party can be assured as it should be only when all its members, without exception, play a vanguard role in the revolution and construction.

We have also achieved tremendous results in the economic sphere since the Third Party Congress. We have completed the co-operativization of agriculture and completely reorganized private trade and industry throughout the country; and built local industry extensively, thereby even drawing a large number of housewives into production. Now there is no one who exploits others, all have become socialist working people.

In a short space of time following the war, we completely rehabilitated the ruined national economy and laid the foundations for industrialization, and we are successfully carrying on the technical revolution in the countryside.

In Kangso County, for instance, irrigation has been completed in the main and electricity has reached every *ri*. Each home has a wire-broadcast receiving set and many have radios. Mechanization has made considerable progress. The county now has 45 tractors, and will have another 100 this year. This will ease the manpower shortage and lay a solid foundation for the speedy development of agriculture. In addition, the county has

built a base for stockbreeding which it did not have before, and gained a wealth of experience in applying advanced methods of intensive farming, including the cold-frame rice seedling method.

Till now we have also built many dwellings and attained great successes in carrying out the cultural revolution. Chongsan-ri village alone keeps two schools, and junior middle school education has been made compulsory there. A number of local-industry factories have also been built, with the result that the county which previously had only two factories runs ten at present, turning out a variety of goods.

We have thus made great progress in the economic field in a brief span of time. Yet the economic work, too, is far below the level required by the Party Central Committee. Why? The reason here, too, is that functionaries suffer from a low level of preparedness, not because they are bad people. They are very eager to work, but owing to their lack of a correct understanding of the Party's economic policy and of knowledge of how to manage a planned economy, they only disperse their work, failing to grasp the main link, and achieve little success though they keep themselves busy.

In the final analysis, Party work does not go well because our Party members lack proper knowledge of Marxist-Leninist principles and of work methods, and economic work is not carried on successfully because our functionaries know little of the economy and technology. The basic cause is the same, I should say.

Considering that the Party's organizational and political lines are all correct, its economic policy is likewise correct and the people, upholding the Party's lines, are all working hard to carry out its policy, the only trouble is the low level of our functionaries. The cadres' knowledge and ability are too poor to cope with the tasks facing them. Is this an accident? No. It is an inevitable outcome of the unusually rapid rate of our economic development.

Our national economy has a very high rate of progress. What we have accomplished in economic construction in the

six years after the war could hardly be achieved even in scores of years under the capitalist system. We have advanced in a spirit of taking ten steps while others take one.

Our economy has developed in this way, but we can hardly expect people's knowledge and capacities to improve as rapidly. A large number of specialists and technicians with higher learning are required if we are to run successfully such modern industry and large-scale co-operative farming as we have today, but we are in great need of such personnel. And it takes four or five years to complete the college course. Industrial output can soar 40 odd per cent a year, but it is almost impossible for a man to learn in one year what needs five years to learn. We shall be content only when all cadres acquire the knowledge equivalent to a college graduate, but unlike other things, this is something that can hardly be attained in a year or two.

Of course, it is true that our Party, since immediately after liberation, has devoted much effort to overcoming the shortage of technical personnel and even during the war, it did not leave off the training of cadres for a moment, and has already trained a great many. And last year, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee decided to set up many more colleges and took appropriate measures. That was a timely step, we can say. But not yet enough, we are now studying the question of setting up technical colleges in large factories and on large farms to enable the workers to study while working.

However, these measures alone are insufficient to solve the problem. We cannot remain idle for four or five years, waiting for specialists and technicians to issue forth. Then what is to be done? What should we do to cope with the situation at a time when the level of knowledge of our functionaries fails to catch up with the comparatively high level of our economy, when there are still many who have just rid themselves of illiteracy? The basic solution, of course, would be to promote the cultural revolution vigorously, but at this moment, how are we to overcome this bottleneck which constitutes the root cause of all shortcomings in our work? The reorganization of our sys-

tem of work and the improvement of our guidance methods are the only way out, I think.

It will be many years before every cadre at the *ri* level has attained the standard of a specialized school graduate, and every cadre at the county level that of a college graduate. Therefore, we must break through the immediate bottleneck by establishing an appropriate work system whereby the centre helps the province, the province helps the county, and the county helps the *ri*. In particular, it is necessary radically to improve the method of the county's guidance to the *ri*.

Owing to our changed circumstances, it has become an ever more urgent demand to improve the system of work and the methods of guidance. In the rural *ri*, entirely new circumstances have been created now, while the cadres there lack experience and ability. As a result of the completion of co-operativization and the establishment of the socialist system in the countryside, everyone now works together on the co-operatives, whereas in the past all the peasants, including Party members, lived within the bounds of the private economy. This has given rise to the need for a change in the peasants' ideological consciousness, the need for guidance of the co-operative economy by cadres fully armed with communist consciousness.

At present, most of the cadres of each *ri* are people who have been selected from among the local peasants. They are all good comrades, but they are still too immature politically, ideologically and practically to educate the peasants in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the lofty morality of collectivism and to build up the large-scale socialist economy successfully Therefore, in my opinion, there is no other way than for the cadres at a higher level, the county cadres, personally to visit the *ri* and educate the peasants, organize and mobilize them for the implementation of the Party's policy, and aid in the work of the *ri*.

The material and technical foundations of agriculture have also been considerably strengthened Formerly, only hoes and sickles were used, but today pumps are operating everywhere and tractors are working the rice paddies and dry fields This

demands the high cultural and technical levels of the peasants, and requires technicians to undertake technical guidance at agricultural co-operatives. With the promotion of the technical revolution in the countryside, this demand will become still more pressing. But our agricultural co-operatives have few technicians. Therefore, the technicians at the county should personally go down to the co-operatives, help the peasants raise their technical level and assist them in farming. There is no other alternative.

As a result of the merging of co-operatives, the *ri* has become a big unit of agricultural production and the work of the *ri* has become complex and diversified. In the past, each household possessing one or two *chongbo* of land constituted a farming unit, but now the farming unit is the agricultural co-operative of each *ri* embracing an average of 500 *chongbo* or more of land and over 300 peasant households. Formerly, each peasant managed his own husbandry, but now we cannot go a step forward unless the *ri* directly manages and operates this large-scale economy in a planned way. The co-operative economy can fully display its advantages only when we carry out such planned management well. But our *ri* cadres are quite at a loss what to do with a mountain of work at hand, because they have little experience in the management of a planned economy and lack a knowledge of economics and have a low level of preparedness.

There is now tremendous work to be done in the *ri*. It is very complex—producing much grain, growing industrial crops, raising livestock, breeding fresh-water fish, conducting trade, carrying out the technical and the cultural revolution and so on and so forth.

How can we expect success, if all this is left only to the chairman of the *ri* people's committee or to a few members of the management board of the co-operative? These days, matters are such that no one goes to the *ri* personally to organize, teach and aid in its work, but all visit there with brief cases under their arms, each of whom only demands or directs, "Have you applied much compost?" "How have you built pigsties?"

"Why don't you do fish breeding?" "Why doesn't the procurement work go smoothly?" "How is housing construction going on?" "How about health and hygienic work?" "Build the school quickly!" "Run art circles!" and so on and so forth. Many "dignitaries" such as management bureau directors, section chiefs, and chairmen flock to the *ri*, each acting as a taskmaster and only harassing the *ri* people's committee chairman. How can he alone deal with all this?

Guidance methods should be corrected decisively. Though new circumstances have been created, the work system has not yet been reorganized to suit them. How then should we reorganize the system of work and improve the methods of guidance?

First of all, the work system of the county people's committees should be reorganized. The question cannot be solved as long as the county people's committee "guides" the *ri* only by frequently sending down official dispatches, only by issuing directives to do this and that and demanding statistics of all kinds. Any number of official dispatches and directives may be sent down to the *ri* to accumulate, but what is the use of them if the *ri* lacks the capacity to organize their fulfilment? Yet, we cannot bring forward the question of abolishing the county people's committees and allocating all their functionaries to the *ri* to strengthen its work force. It is almost impossible for every province directly to guide and control some 300 *ri* without the media of the counties. Therefore, the only way out is for the personnel of the county people's committee to go to the *ri* and help its functionaries organize the work, instead of trying to give guidance while remaining in the county seat.

It is desirable that they personally go to the *ri*, have talks with the peasants, synthesize the opinions of the management board members of the co-operatives and draw up plans for them, instead of pressing them for plans which they do not know how to formulate. Only in this way can the management board members learn planning. They cannot learn it even in a hundred years if they are simply urged to map out

plans in a hurry, as is now being done. Workteam leaders, who cannot even do sums properly, should not be pressed to submit complicated statistics; you had better go down, grasp the actual conditions and compile the statistics yourselves. Instead of just telling them to organize labour rationally, it is better to go and do it for them.

In this way the county people's committee should responsibly organize the work of the *ri* on all those questions concerned with continually developing the productive forces and promoting the technical revolution in the countryside, increasing the incomes of the peasants and improving their living standards, carrying out the cultural revolution, defending the gains of the socialist revolution and taking care of the common property of the co-operatives.

Now that a *ri* forms a production unit, a county people's committee with 20 *ri* under it has only to organize and manage these 20 production units well. The chairman of the county people's committee, considering himself the manager of a big factory, should regard the agricultural co-operative in each *ri* as a workshop of his factory and mobilize the functionaries of the county people's committee, giving meticulous help to the *ri* work. The county people's committee should assume the full responsibility for the work of all co-operatives in the county, each of them, of course, being run on a self-maintaining basis. Previously, the county people's committee was not keenly concerned whether farming was going well or whether the peasants' living standard was actually improving, and it considered its duty done when it had collected statistics and reported impressive figures to higher bodies, collected taxes and mobilized the peasants for road building or repairing. Now this absolutely will not do. In the days of the private peasant economy it could manage somehow or other in that way, but it will no longer work now. Today the county people's committee should not assume the attitude of a third party but a party directly concerned in the affairs of each agricultural co-operative. Only then can the county people's committee perform its functions in conformity with the new circumstances.

The county people's committee should in reality play the role of the lowest administrative body. At present there is, in form, the *ri* people's committee, which performs certain administrative functions, but it has been doing nothing in particular. In effect, it would be correct to regard the *ri* as a production unit rather than as an administrative unit. Therefore, the county people's committee should not try to concentrate its main efforts on guiding the lower administrative bodies, but should primarily perform the function of organizing the work of the agricultural co-operative in each *ri* which constitutes the production unit.

For this purpose, it is necessary to re-examine the apparatus of the county people's committee itself. It has hitherto been a miniature replica of the provincial people's committee. It would be better to replace the system of section chiefs and various other heads with that of instructors Or you may call them organizers instead of instructors. I think it preferable to have farm organizers, stockbreeding organizers, etc, and set up a system of work under which the organizers go to the agricultural co-operatives directly and help them organize farming and stockbreeding.

Now let me refer to the work of the county Party committee.

The system of work of the county Party committee, too, should be reorganized immediately in keeping with the new circumstances. The county Party committee has thus far worked thinking that it has another leading body under it. But the leading organs of the Party comprise the Central Committee and provincial, city, and county Party committees, and directly under the county Party committee are the primary Party organizations, the basic organizations of our Party Even the primary Party organizations in some big *ri*, where *ri* Party committees have been formed, are under the direct control of the county Party committee, and the *ri* Party committee, as stipulated in the Party Rules, is only meant to assist the county Party committee in the latter's guidance of the primary Party organizations After all, the county Party committee is the low-

est leading organ of our Party and should directly lead all primary Party organizations in the county. This should be clearly understood first of all.

The county Party committee should regard the *ri* Party organizations as big cells and give them direct leadership, but it tries to lead them through the *ri* Party committees, and no wonder things do not go well. The county Party committee should perform its own duties in a correct manner, instead of sending one official dispatch after another and writing notifications day in and day out, as if it had some other leading body under it.

In fact, the chairman is the only full-time functionary in a *ri* Party committee, and the rest are farmers—co-operative members who must earn work-points to have their share. Under these circumstances, if so many dispatches and notifications are sent down, who will read, analyse and execute them? The *ri* Party committee chairman can never cope with them all by himself. As a result, he detaches quite a few persons from production and puts them to work as if they were full-time functionaries, and then unscrupulously gives them some work-points in reward for what they have done in the way of Party work.

The county Party committee should perform the functions of directly organizing and leading the work of the *ri* Party committee, bearing in mind that the latter is now the Party cell of a big production unit which is different both from the *myon* Party committee of the past and from the *ri* Party committee at the time of the private peasant economy. In other words, the county Party committee should lead the *ri* Party organizations in the same way as the Party committee of a big factory does the workshop Party organizations or as the regimental Party committee in the People's Army guides the battalion Party organizations.

First and foremost, the county Party committee should do its organizational work well. To do so, it should clearly understand the substance of the organizational work it has to perform. If you think that organizational work means simply call-

ing meetings, sending documents, writing notifications or doing odd jobs for the chairman of the county Party committee, you are mistaken. In a word, organizational work means rousing all Party members to action for the implementation of the Party's policies. To organize the activities of the Party, to mobilize the members, nuclei and cadres of the Party for the carrying out of revolutionary tasks and to activate the masses—this is organizational work. This is what the county Party committee is required to do in relation to all primary Party organizations in the county.

I have long since pointed out the necessity of wiping out formalism in Party work, but it still remains, and this can also be traced to poor organizational work. The key to breaking the pattern of formalism lies nowhere else but in drawing all Party members into Party work and getting them to conduct their activities consciously. When only a few cadres busy themselves with Party work, while the bulk of the Party members are not involved, it is quite natural that Party work should be shallow and ineffective. Formalism will be eliminated once and for all only when all Party members regard Party work as their own business and delve deep into it, do their part at their posts, adhere to Party principles and work devotedly for the implementation of the Party's policies.

The Party's propaganda work is inseparable from its organizational work. Without thoroughly educating Party members in the Party's policies, and without widely explaining and propagating them among the masses, Party members cannot play their vanguard role in the struggle for carrying through the Party's policies, nor can the creative energies of the masses be mobilized. Therefore, the county Party committee should effectively conduct its propaganda work, along with its organizational work. If this is done well, everything will proceed smoothly.

What is important in improving the work of the county Party committees is to put an end, once and for all, to administrative methods of work. In essence, sending down official papers and issuing orders and directives are methods alien to

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Party work. What is fundamental in Party work is not this sort of administrative method but persuasion and education. We must not bluntly dictate to people, demanding that they do things irrespective of their ability. The more complicated and difficult the work is, the more must the people be awakened and shown the right direction. Only then will everyone move in that direction with confidence. The Party should patiently educate its members and awaken the masses in that manner.

You should have frequent talks with Party members, give them lectures, induce them to read books and direct their meetings, in such a way that all Party members will have a clear understanding of the intentions of the Party centre, will uphold the Party's policies wholeheartedly and go through fire and water to carry them out. Such is Party work, political work. By giving precedence to politics, which we always call for, is meant first doing this work well, followed by other work. When political work is done well, administrative work will naturally go well.

But the county Party committees themselves have failed to conduct the Party's organizational and political work satisfactorily. Take the Kangso County Party Committee for example. Putting aside this work, its proper function, its organizational department has spent much time preparing notifications and statistics. I was told that, last year alone, the Kangso County Party Committee submitted 63 reports to the provincial Party committee. Why were so many reports needed? There are 26 counties in South Pyongan Province, and if each of them were to submit 63 reports, the provincial Party committee chairman would have to read 1,638 reports a year. This would mean that he should read four to five reports every day of the year for 365 days, not even taking a day off. How can the provincial Party committee chairman read all that? It is impossible. So there has to be someone else on hand, whose job it is to inform him only of the important ones among them. If so, why waste time writing so many reports, instead of reporting only important matters from the start?

As for statistical reports alone, the organizational department of the Kangso County Party Committee submitted 21 returns last year. This means that the chairman of the provincial Party committee has to read annually as many as 621 statistical reports from the county Party committees. I just looked over the reports and found that most of them were on rowing and various other campaigns, whereas few were on such essential matters as Party life.

As you see, the organizational departments of the county Party committees are not doing what they ought to, but are engrossed in paper work and play the role of a secretariat for the county Party committee chairman. All work reports and speeches he delivers are also prepared by the organizational department. The county Party committee chairman rarely prepares his own reports. For years I have not come across a single article in *Rodong Sinmun* that was written by a county Party committee chairman.

The situation is very serious. The organizational department of the county Party committee must be getting all Party members on the move and activating primary Party organizations, but, on the contrary, it has been reduced to a documents section preparing reports and statistics day and night, to a secretariat in charge of clerical work for the county Party committee chairman. A secretariat of this sort, not provided for in the apparatus plan, seems to have been set up in many places; large or small, it seems to exist everywhere—in provincial Party committees, in each ministry, and power organ. All this is the noxious aftereffect of Ho Ga I's style of work. It is a habit formed in the days when Ho Ga I, who did not even know the Korean language properly, had an important post in the Party centre and his companions were provincial Party committee chairmen. In those days, many people thought that was the way to do Party work, and even the county Party committees were influenced by it. That was in the past, but why should the county Party committee, and none other, work in this way even now, long after Ho Ga I's crimes were exposed? The county Party committee cannot lead the primary Party or-

ganizations in that manner. Instead of simply doing desk work, its functionaries should go down to the lower levels and organize the activities of Party members.

The propaganda departments of the county Party committees, too, act in a crippled manner. Their staffs do not go down to have talks with Party members and educate them, and to inspire the masses to carry out economic tasks, but think it sufficient for them simply to call up people and make speeches to them. The propaganda department of the county Party committee has been reduced to a propaganda department which is sedentary and gives short courses only. Regardless of time, it summons agitators to attend one short course after another. None of the agitators in the *ri* are full-time workers, all of them are engaged in farming. Nevertheless, the propaganda department just summons them at random. Why can't they go down to the *ri* and give short courses on the spot, showing people, by the way, a model of what a lecture should be like? They do not do this but just hang around their office, so that they cannot help but be estranged from the life of Party members and divorced from reality.

The Party members and the masses perform unconditionally whatever the county Party committee instructs them to do, regarding it as an instruction of the Party Central Committee, a task they must carry out at all costs in the interests of the revolution. When told to attend a short course, they set everything aside and attend it without fail, however busy they may be. This is an expression of their boundless trust in and loyalty to the Party. How good our Party members, our masses are! If we educated such good Party members, such good masses, in a proper manner and roused them to voluntary action, nothing would be impossible for us. We could even level mountains and fill the sea. The root cause of all shortcomings lies nowhere else but in our own failure to give correct leadership.

The work of the county Party committees should be reorganized so that all their functionaries will go to the *ri* Party organizations and conduct organizational and propaganda work

for them. Today when the whole Party is firmly united around the Party Central Committee and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses is running high, our socialist construction will be further accelerated if we improve the work of the county Party committees in that way and also reorganize the work system of the county people's committees, and if all the cadres at the county level go down to lower units and directly organize and aid in the work of the *ri*.

As there are 35 personnel in the Kangso County Party Committee, three of them can take charge of and assist in the Party work of two *ri*. Three are enough to make a close study of the Party members and cadres in two *ri*, guide all work knowing the situation there like the palm of their own hand. Besides, the Kangso County People's Committee has 113 personnel, and when they are divided among 20 *ri*, every five or six of them will take charge of each *ri*. Adding together the functionaries of the county Party committee and the county people's committee, seven or more persons can go and help each *ri*. This is a great force. If the cadres at the county level are thus grouped and go and help the *ri* in their work, it will ease the shortage of personnel, which is a big headache for our countryside where the socialist system has triumphed, and will bring about a great change in our rural work.

According to the actual conditions I have found in the course of my recent visit, there is no need for a county Party committee to have industrial and agricultural departments. What is the use of keeping the industrial and agricultural departments in the county Party committee when the county people's committee has such departments? The organizational department of the county Party committee can handle all cadres of the economic branches as well. In my opinion, we had better dismiss the idea of instituting co-operative organizational department in the county Party committee, too. Because such economic departments have been instituted, they tend to act for the administrative bodies and employ administrative methods in their work. All that is required is to make the economic departments of the county people's committee function properly

and to exercise Party control over them. It will suffice if the county Party committee has organizational and propaganda departments and conducts political work well. However, in order to guide and control the county people's committee in its fulfilment of the Party's economic policy and to assist in the dissemination of economic and technical knowledge among Party workers, it is desirable for the county Party committee to have two or three economic instructors. It would be most ideal if college-graduate specialists could be allocated for this purpose, but where such cadres are not available, those Party members who have some knowledge and experience in economic and technical affairs may be selected and allocated. As for the educational department of the county Party committee, I think we had better maintain it for the time being, until the work of the Democratic Youth League organizations is strengthened. The educational department of the county Party committee, too, may be abolished some day when the Democratic Youth League is able to give effective assistance in the functioning of schools.

In improving the method of leadership it is very important to strengthen the system of collective consultation and to establish correct working relations between the county Party committee and the county people's committee.

The county Party committee is a body of collective leadership which assumes full responsibility for everything that takes place in the county. Some people seem to think that since the county Party committee is not to act for the county people's committee in its activity, it should confine itself to Party organizational and ideological work and to the discussion of personnel matters, and should not take up other questions. This idea is wrong. Both the plenary and executive committee meetings of the county Party committee can and must take up any problem if need be. Only thus can the county Party committee perform its functions as a collective leadership body in the county.

Propagation of the Party's policies and the mobilization of the masses for the struggle to carry them out; education of

Party members and working people in communist ideology; training, selection and allocation of cadres; maintenance of social order and the safeguarding of revolutionary gains from enemy encroachment; acceleration of the technical and cultural revolutions; working out a local plan for the national economy; capital construction; rational organization of labour; and the principal orientation in financial expenditure—all these are questions which should be collectively considered by the county Party committee. Under the collective leadership of the county Party committee, the county Party committee chairman and the county people's committee chairman should divide the work, the former conducting Party work and the latter administrative and economic work. Here, the highest leading body should be the county Party committee.

The county people's committee, in all its work, must receive the guidance of the county Party committee. It is quite erroneous to think that the county people's committee can function, bypassing the county Party committee, because administratively it is under the provincial people's committee. The county people's committee cannot exist independently of the guidance of the county Party committee. All economic establishments, interior service organizations, judicial bodies and social organizations in the county, too, cannot work independently of the guidance of the county Party committee.

Just as the Presidium of the Party Central Committee leads at the centre and the provincial Party committee leads in the province, so the county Party committee must exercise overall leadership in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the county. All establishments and organizations in the county, without exception, must be subject to its leadership.

I emphasize this again because we have recently observed in a number of places the grave phenomena of working arbitrarily, in separation from the collective leadership of the Party. Such was the case in the Kangson Steel Plant. Its manager remained outside the control of the factory Party committee and ran a one-man show, paying no heed to the opin-

ions of others, with the result that at one time the work of the steel plant nearly went amiss.

During our recent stay at Chongsan-*ri*, we could see how much harm the Kangso County People's Committee had done by turning a deaf ear to the opinions of the Party and the voices of the peasants and by issuing orders in an arbitrary manner. At first it instructed the peasants to plant red beans, then to plough up the fields and plant maize and, in the end, forced them to plough up the fields once again to plant vegetables. This led the peasants to do the backbreaking work of turning up quite a large tract of land over and over again, without even being able to harvest the vegetables, which were planted too late. At a time when rice transplanting was at its height and weeding was overdue, the county people's committee made no scruple to mobilize the peasants at random for the building of a hotel and roads.

All this resulted from the failure of the county people's committee in its work to rely on the collective leadership of the county Party committee and to have regard for the interests of the masses.

All work must be organized and carried out along the line laid down by the county Party committee through collective discussion. The county people's assembly, too, must be guided by this line, and once a decision is adopted at the people's assembly, it becomes a law. No one is entitled to revise or violate it. All particulars of the local plan for the national economy—agriculture, local industry, capital construction, work organization, financial expenditure, etc.—should be implemented unconditionally once they are approved by the county people's assembly after the collective deliberation of the county Party committee.

The county Party committee should always check and control the fulfilment of the national economic plan, and discuss and decide upon flexible measures to remedy any defect in work. The county people's committee, acting upon the decision of the county Party committee, should carry out corresponding measures, and the Party organizations in the

county should render active assistance to guarantee their fulfilment. If things are done in this way, success will be assured not only in economic work but also in all other activities in the county. The system of collective leadership by the county Party committee should be firmly established on such principles.

There are two requisites for strengthening collective leadership by the county Party committee: first, to build up the body of collective leadership in a proper way and second, to enlist the wisdom of the broad masses.

It is important that the county Party committee be formed of competent cadres who are loyal to the Party. However hard one may try subjectively to be loyal to the Party, he cannot be loyal in practice if he does not enjoy the confidence of the masses and does not know how to work. That is why the Party committee must be composed of people who possess a strong Party spirit, enjoy public confidence and have ability; and workers of all branches should be represented in the county Party committee Only then can it ensure collective leadership satisfactorily in the Party's organizational and ideological work, in economic work, in the struggle against counterrevolutionaries and in all other activities.

The most important thing in collective leadership is to bring into play the wisdom of the masses and gather their constructive opinions in a timely way. No excellent idea can be born of discussions by only a few members of the county Party committee, even if they meet and hold discussions all the time. New and bright ideas can emerge only when committee members mingle with the masses, live with them, and listen to their sincere opinions before making deliberations.

Dynamic and creative wisdom is always found among the masses. Of course, fragmentary and immature as the opinions of the masses may be at first, it is the duty of Party workers to grasp them in good time, and supplement and systematize them through collective consultations. The Party's leading bodies should then disseminate among the masses the opinions thus summarized and systematized, and lead the masses to fol-

low them. This is precisely what constitutes political leadership, living leadership.

The great upsurge in socialist construction following the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the building of over 1,000 factories in only a few months by tapping local reserves, and the twofold increase in the number of machine tools in one year through the let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement—all these are models of the able collective leadership of our Party Central Committee. Great strength can be displayed only by a collective leadership which relies entirely on the masses, draws at all times on their wisdom and strength, learns from them and teaches them.

In the performance of the functions of collective leadership by the county Party committee, it is important to cement comradely unity among its members, and particularly unity between chairmen of the county Party committee and the county people's committee. In the case of a factory, too, things will go well only when the Party committee chairman and the manager work hand in hand and are in rapport with each other. If the chairmen of the Party committee and the people's committee are to work successfully in close unity, they should be modest and frank with each other, and respect and help each other in a comradely way. There can be neither unity nor co-operation if they ride the high horse, look down upon the other and assume such attitudes as, "You may know politics but not practical work" or "You may know practical work but not politics." If anyone regards only his own views as best and does not respect, or even ignores, the views of others, collective wisdom can in no way emerge nor collective strength be displayed. As the saying goes, a general without an army is no general. Collective leadership requires of necessity the pooling of wisdom and strength of your comrades, and to do so everyone should learn from and teach each other, and help each other in a comradely way. When a comrade puts forward a certain view, hasn't he some basis for it, however insignificant it may seem? Then, his view

must not be turned down point-blank but must be studied carefully, and efforts should be made to pick out its rational kernel, even if the view is not entirely correct. Only when everyone takes such an attitude to each other, can opinions of Party committee members be readily co-ordinated into well-refined collective views, and a Party committee function actively as a united body of collective leadership.

It seems that there are now many places where cadres at the lower levels are not closely knit together. In quite a few places they seem to be united outwardly, but actually they are not, they are not ideologically united. This is true of the counties as well as of the *ri*. True, it is more undesirable for cadres to connive at each other's shortcomings and practise nepotism, but it is also very harmful for them not to maintain comradely unity but to be at loggerheads. Such phenomena should be decisively eradicated.

Although the chairmen of the county Party committee and people's committee should respect each other's views, *those of the Party committee chairman should carry more* weight. The two should discuss matters together, but the *county Party committee chairman should always make* the final decision, since he generally has a greater vision and a higher level of political knowledge The chairman of the county people's committee works mainly with administrative and technical personnel of that committee, whereas the county Party committee chairman is able to hear the voice of the broader masses and synthesize their views better, because he personally leads the Party workers. A Party committee chairman who performs Party work properly can always find the right course by bringing into play the collective wisdom of the Party members and the masses, though a Party committee chairman who works formalistically cannot, of course, do so Therefore, it is unjustifiable for a county Party committee chairman to brandish the authority of the Party and put on superior airs; but it is even more impermissible for a county people's committee chairman not to accept the views of the chairman of the county Party committee

I have one more thing to add in regard to Party work, that is, the question of improving the political and practical level of county Party committee instructors.

At present the level of instructors of provincial, city and county Party committees is very low. Here is an example. While we were in Kangso County to guide the work of its Party committee recently, we heard a report of an instructor from the provincial Party committee. He gave an account of how he had fulfilled an assignment, but however hard we tried, we could not make out at all what he was talking about. How could this comrade, whose account was so incoherent that we could hardly understand him, explain Party policy to the people and direct work at the lower levels according to it? His title was instructor, but how could he guide Party members and the masses when his level was so low? This is a very serious problem. If one is to play the elementary role as instructor, he should at least be able to analyse problems raised from below, distinguish between right and wrong and take appropriate measures, but our instructors pitiably lack such ability. This is the real state of affairs, but in the Kangso County Party Committee, its chairman, vice-chairmen and department chiefs pay little attention to elevating the level of instructors.

For instance, when a department chief wants to have an instructor draft something, he should give him an outline of its idea and content and teach him how to write it, and when the draft is completed, he must appraise and correct it meticulously, thus facilitating the improvement of the instructor. But he does not do so, but only orders him to draft it, and simply rejects it, saying it is no good. A certain comrade is said to have made such rejections no less than ten times. The instructor who wrote it did not know what was wrong and how, and only struggled with the task by himself; so, good writing will never come of this, and he will not be able to advance an inch in this way. Piling demands on an instructor without teaching or assisting him will never help to improve his level.

The most important thing in developing instructors is to acquaint them thoroughly with our Party's policies. Once they have a good knowledge of the Party's policies, they can analyse and tackle all problems with confidence and lead the masses along the right path.

Our Party policy is Marxism-Leninism applied to the concrete practice of the Korean revolution and is the guide to all our actions. To know it is tantamount to possessing a yardstick. All phenomena can be measured by this yardstick. Only when you have judged whether or not an issue is in accord with the Party's policies and what path should be taken to carry out these policies, can you distinguish right from wrong, adhere to principles and correctly solve the problem at hand. Therefore, instructors should be helped consistently to maintain *this guiding principle firmly* and *random requests designed* only to find faults should not be made. Without a correct understanding of the Party's policies, they cannot analyse things and, accordingly, cannot detect shortcomings, much less can give active political guidance to Party members and the masses, as instructors should.

In the past even instructors at the Party centre did not know the Party's policies well. Ho Ga I just kept all Party policies secret and was unwilling to let Party workers know about them. This practice was completely done away with only after the Third Party Congress. Since then, it has become a rule to inform cadres and all instructors without delay of any decision taken by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, except those that are highly confidential. A change has taken place in the work of instructors at the Party centre since they have come to have a clear understanding of the intentions of the Presidium and have grasped the Party's policies. Only when the Party's policies are grasped in this way, can you possess a broader political perspective, form your own views and advance firmly along the right path. I do not mean that such a change has never taken place in local bodies, but rather that it is still insufficient.

There is at present not a single domain, not a single branch

which the Party's policies do not clearly cover. Take our industrial policy, agricultural policy, commercial policy, policy for the development of transport and policy for education and culture, or the line of struggle against the counterrevolutionaries—none of them is ambiguous. Once you have systematically grasped these policies, you can surmount any barrier and confidently advance in all affairs. This, of course, requires that you must make the Party's policies your own; merely to memorize the phrases is of no use. The instructors should be given a correct understanding of the essence and motives of the Party's policies, and only then can they act positively and stand unwaveringly, no matter which way the wind blows. It is no use to teach them the Party's policies mechanically as pupils used to be taught Chinese characters, who could understand the symbols for *Heaven* and *Earth* only when the latter was placed after the former, and the former before the latter.

Also, knowledge of the Party's policies must be comprehensive and exhaustive. Party work can hardly be discharged if one's knowledge of Party policy is such that one knows the industrial policy of the Party but is ignorant of its agricultural policy, or knows its organizational line but not its economic policy. Herein lies the difference between the Party worker and the specialist or technician engaged in other fields. At present among our Party instructors there are many who know organizational work but are ignorant of propaganda work, or vice versa, and who are totally ignorant of economic and technical matters. This must not continue. The Party committees at all levels should direct primary attention to broadening the political horizons of Party instructors and imparting the Party's policies to them profoundly and systematically, for it is they who are in contact with the masses most frequently and mobilize the Party members directly.

Now I should like to speak about economic activities, especially ways and means of eliminating shortcomings in agriculture.

First, the major shortcoming is that, though the co-opera-

tives have been amalgamated, their management has still failed to keep pace with this and, consequently, the level of planning in the co-operatives is very low, and they fail to grasp the main link in their work.

Our agricultural co-operative, as a large socialist collective economy, requires planned management. If planned management goes amiss, spontaneity raises its head. During our recent guidance, we found quite a few instances in which the co-operative management board failed to run the co-operative economy properly and to have a good grip of the overall work of the co-operative with things left to develop spontaneously in various aspects. What was even more serious was that the management board only spread its work about and dispersed the already limited rural manpower over various things, neglecting to implement the Party's policy of laying the main emphasis on grain production.

Grain is the basic crop in agricultural production in our country. Livestock breeding and all other work depend on the successful cultivation of grain. It should be borne in mind that by an agricultural co-operative is meant a farming co-operative. Of course, it may carry on sidelines in addition to farming; and it should do so actively. But it would not do if the co-operatives were to fail to concentrate on agricultural production and dispersed their force to such an extent as to be unable to draw a line of distinction between the main task and subsidiary tasks. At present, they have all sorts of work-teams for construction, fishing, oil extraction, rice hulling and polishing and flour milling, and many hands—sturdy young and middle-aged men at that—are assigned to various jobs other than farming. This is wrong It is a dangerous trend for an agricultural co-operative to concern itself exclusively with secondary occupations. In Chongsan-*ri*, for instance, a great deal of manpower was allotted to branches of secondary importance last year, and many persons were separated from agricultural production. This was precisely what happened at the Hwanghae Iron Works, where at one time steel production, its main task, was neglected and manpower, materials and

funds were dispersed. Such phenomena should be eradicated, and the main force of the co-operative should be concentrated on agricultural production, especially on the production of grain.

And the level of planning in agricultural co-operatives should be raised decisively. In the past target figures were set at random, but now efforts must be made to work out realistic and dynamic plans, taking the rural productive forces into full account. A plan should not be mapped out on the basis of the subjective desire of management board members. Plans must be drawn up on the basis of creative suggestions of the masses of co-operative members, after exhaustive discussions by the masses. But it should be borne in mind that once a plan is adopted by the unanimous will of the co-operative members, it becomes a law. Neither the chairman, nor the workteam leader, nor anyone else can revise or violate it arbitrarily. Discipline has been extremely loose so far in this regard, but this should definitely be corrected. A co-operative economy embracing hundreds of peasant households and hundreds of *chongbo* of land cannot be managed planfully, nor can various manifestations of spontaneity be checked without establishing strict discipline in planning.

Second, a serious defect is that distribution is not made correctly according to the socialist principle and the material interest of the peasants is not stimulated. Despite my recent repeated warnings and emphases on this score, things are not yet going well.

The socialist principle of distribution according to work done is now being grossly violated in agriculture. It is honoured in words only, not in practice. There are even serious cases of grain piling up in warehouses and distributed little by little in equal amounts, as though rationed. Even in those places where distribution is conducted in some way, work-points are assessed so inaccurately that strictly speaking, it is hard to say that distribution is made according to the socialist principle.

Most important is the fair assessment of work-points. It

is the prerequisite to correct distribution on the socialist principle. But at present the assessment is done in an extremely unfair, unprincipled manner. There is a tendency to give undeservedly many work-points for easier work on the ground that it requires skilled labour.

Here is an example. A man who idles away his time carrying a pair of pliers with him is given 1.5 work-points simply because he is an electrician. If he had a heavy workload and worked as hard as other co-operative members all day long, it would be another matter. But this is not the case. Though there is nothing special to do, an electrician is kept in vain, and is mechanically given 1.5 work-points every day. How unfair this is! Take another example. The members of the fishing team, too, are unconditionally given 1.5 work-points a day. There are no grounds for saying that fishing is more important than farming and, moreover, there is very little fishing to do on most agricultural co-operatives. So, the fishing team crew do their job leisurely, enjoying their boating before the wind It is absurd to readily give these people the highest work-points every day. The case of mechanization workteam members is similar. Their work-points should be assessed, taking into full account what sort of job they have actually done today, how laborious the job is, how much skill is needed to do it and how much work they have performed. It is unfair to give them the highest work-points simply because they belong to the mechanization workteam. With things handled in this manner, 1.5 work-points are given indiscriminately even to a man who, with nothing particular to do, only strolls about all day long, blueprints in hand, supposedly for mechanization. The situation is really serious. Who would display enthusiasm for arduous farm work under such conditions? Before people are aware, all the shrewd and sleek people in the co-operative have quit the basic work and taken up the so-called skilled work, which is more facile while bringing them more work-points. The result is that farm work is left to pliable, hard-working women.

What should the agricultural co-operatives put stress on

of 4 tons per *chongbo* and forwards it to the province, the province raises it to 4.2 tons and forwards it to the county, which adds another 300 kilogrammes to make it 4.5 tons and submits it to the *ri*, where it is converted into a round figure of 5 tons. Such a practice in working out agricultural production plans should no longer be repeated. Instead of thus boosting the figures again and again with pencil and paper, the endeavour should be made to increase actual harvest by increasing the peasants' enthusiasm for production.

As I emphasized at the Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee last December, how could one possibly expect all our peasants to be already communist? It will be a long time before they are fully armed with communist ideology. When the level of the productive forces and the consciousness of the peasants are low, how can we boost production without material stimulus to the peasants? To make light of the principle of material incentive, while claiming that we are building socialism, is a violation of the elementary principles of Marxism-Leninism. We must resolutely combat such phenomenon.

I think that all our functionaries must also take a correct view of the agricultural tax in kind. Some people seem to think it better to raise the tax in kind a little higher, but there is no need to do so at present. Only when the rate of the tax in kind delivered to the state is low, can the agricultural cooperatives accumulate more for themselves and their members receive a greater share and benefit, and only then can their zeal for production be increased. We are now in a position to do so, and that is why we have boldly reduced the rate of the tax in kind.

Why then did we set the high rate of 25 per cent when we first instituted the system of tax in kind? Because it was inevitable under the circumstances at the time. Our country was then agrarian, and agriculture had to shoulder many burdens. Of course, this rate was very low as compared with pre-liberation days when half of the harvest was taken as farm-rent by the landlords, more was taken away outrageously by the Jap-

anese rogues under the name of grain quota delivery, and so on. That is why the peasants, who had become masters of land thanks to the agrarian reform, heartily welcomed the institution of the system of tax in kind from the start. When they were given land free of charge and freed from all exacting taxes and levies, and asked to pay only 25 per cent of their harvest while keeping the rest for themselves, the peasants said that their life had taken a new turn. We fought the war and developed our industry by virtue of the tax in kind paid by the peasants. But the situation is different now. Our country has turned into an *industrial-agricultural state*, and has secured enough assets to further develop its industry and to render powerful assistance to agriculture with accumulation coming from industry alone. True, industry has long been assisting agriculture, but now the time has come for industry to render more comprehensive assistance to agriculture so as to accelerate the technical revolution in the countryside, lighten the peasants' work and increase their incomes. Proceeding from these considerations, we have taken measures to reduce *the rate of the tax in kind to 8.4 per cent on an average*, and even to completely exempt some co-operatives from it.

Since this has been decided by the Supreme People's Assembly, the relevant law should be properly implemented. However, we found in Kangso County that serious consequences had been brought about by incorrect fulfilment of it. The rate of the tax in kind was reduced to 8.4 per cent of the harvest envisaged in the state plan, but the target figures themselves were set too high last year and, consequently, the burden *of the tax in kind on the peasants was not so much reduced.* Thus they were not given great material incentive. Therefore, *we must set reasonable targets* and levy exactly an 8.4 per cent tax in kind from this year If the amount of grain delivered to the state in the form of tax in kind is insufficient, the state may purchase grain from the peasants at a proper price. Now that there are neither individual peasants nor individual traders anywhere and everyone is included in the socialist economy, all the surplus grain of the co-operatives

and of their members is bound to be procured by the state. There is no other channel of transactions.

The question is whether the state should collect the grain without compensation in the form of tax in kind, or purchase it. Today with huge accumulations from industry, the state can fully purchase it. It is therefore absurd to worry about the rate of the tax in kind being too low. With a continued increase in agricultural production, the rate of the tax in kind will decrease further still, and it will be totally abolished in the not too distant future.

We must correct the misconceptions of functionaries concerning the agricultural tax in kind, so that the law is enforced accurately. If the peasants' living standard improves and their enthusiasm for production rises, it will be good for the peasants, good for the workers and for everyone. Frankly speaking, prior to the Five-Year Plan, the peasants' living standard was somewhat better than that of the workers, but now it is worse than the workers'. This is mainly because agriculture lags behind industrial development which is proceeding at a rapid pace. We should therefore vigorously push forward the mechanization of agriculture and render active assistance in consolidating the agricultural co-operative economy and improving peasants' living standard in accordance with the clear-cut policy already set forth by the Party.

Further, we must see that there is no infringement upon the interests of the peasants. If we prejudice their interests by improper work with them, it will not only bring political losses but also dampen their enthusiasm for production, thereby causing economic losses as well.

We have functionaries who make no scruple to infringe upon the interests of the peasants and have no compunction when they inflict losses upon them. Such practices must be stopped once and for all. Take vegetable growing, for example. They tell the peasants to grow vegetables, and lots of them, but when vegetables become plentiful, they try to cut the price and even become reluctant to procure them. There were cooperatives which suffered losses because they could not dis-

pose of their tomato harvests last year. This is a very serious matter. If things go on like this, who on earth will grow vegetables? No one wants to take a loss after putting in so much work.

The Ministry of Light Industry, too, encouraged the cultivation of sugar beets in various areas, but failed to purchase them, as it should have done. If the state does not buy, there is nowhere to sell today. So, the peasants of Taedong County, South Pyongan Province, for instance, could not but use the sugar beets for cattle feed. The peasants had made painstaking efforts to grow sugar beets, as requested by the state, only to feed them to their cattle Could there be any peasant who would be pleased at this? It is wrong to set an unreasonable plan, but when more than enough vegetables have been harvested because the state has set the production target too high, then the state must buy and sell them even at a loss to itself. If there are surplus sugar beets because of the inadequacy of the processing facilities, the state must buy the surplus beets even if it has to allot them for cattle feed. Although the Party centre has repeatedly underscored this point, there are still functionaries whose actions are at variance with the intentions of the Party.

All this is no accident It is a manifestation of the ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism in the minds of some functionaries. Only by making a clean sweep of these survivals, will it be possible to do away with such practices as infringing upon the interests of the peasants, and to carry through the Party's mass line.

I should like to stress once again that it is more important to raise the peasants' zeal for production than to collect a few sacks more of grain as tax in kind or stint a few pennies in grain procurement. When the peasants' zeal for production rises, output will grow; when agricultural output grows, it will be good because agricultural co-operatives will be consolidated, good because the peasants' life will become affluent, and good because the state will have more grain reserves Nothing would be more welcome than this.

To unite with the people and lead them to carry out the revolution so that they lead a happier and fuller life—this is the aim of Communists, and how can we attain this aim without respecting the interests of the people? All functionaries, particularly those of the county Party committees and the county people's committees who are in closest touch with the peasant masses, should be perfectly clear about this point.

Such is roughly the main questions which have come to my notice in the course of guiding the work of the Kangso County Party Committee.

In the work of Chongsan-*ri* and Kangso County, we have seen the typical situation of the rural *ri* and counties in our country today. The lessons and conclusions drawn therefrom will be of immense value in reorganizing the work of the *ri* Party committees, the management boards of the agricultural co-operatives and county Party committees and people's committees in order to make new advances in our socialist agriculture. I propose to the Presidium that intensive guidance work for all counties and *ri* in the country be organized on this basis.

To reorganize the work of the Party and government bodies in the county and improve the management of agricultural cooperative economy is the pressing demand of our present-day countryside, where the socialist economic system has been established and the technical and cultural revolutions are being pushed ahead. Let us make fresh, great progress in our socialist countryside by improving the system of work and method of guidance in conformity with the new circumstances!

ON THE SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

Concluding Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea
August 11, 1960

1. ON THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

At this Plenary Meeting the Central Committee of our Party has presented the programmatic tasks of the technical revolution and raised the question of improving and intensifying the training of technical personnel.

The technical revolution, as you know, is an undertaking of great significance in the history of our country; it is the most fundamental revolutionary task set by our Party in socialist construction at the present time.

We Korean Communists and the rest of our people have already done a really great deal of work. We have waged a national-liberation struggle against Japanese imperialism and beaten off an armed invasion by U.S. imperialism, and today we are carrying on a revolutionary struggle to achieve the reunification and independence of our country. Following liberation, we effected a democratic revolution in the northern half of our country, wiping out the remnant forces of Japanese imperialism

and feudal forces. We also victoriously completed the socialist revolution, abolishing capitalism and co-operativizing small production. All this was a struggle to put an end to oppression and exploitation and create a new, free and happy life for the people.

Our Party is now confronted with the weighty tasks of further advancing socialist construction in the northern half, while mobilizing the revolutionary forces of the entire people to wage an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle to smash the U.S. imperialist aggressive forces and their stooges in south Korea and win our country's complete liberation and democratic freedom. We must carry out these tasks energetically and continue the revolutionary struggle in order to achieve the peaceful reunification of our country and ensure the genuine freedom and happiness of our people.

The technical revolution is an important revolution to emancipate our people, who have already been freed from oppression and exploitation, from hard and toilsome work, so that they can create more wealth with less effort, and to make the people's life richer and more cultured. For us Communists, who have taken power and are building a new society, this is a great undertaking, a lofty revolutionary task which absolutely has to be carried through to completion.

Had our country been a developed capitalist country, the technical revolution would not have posed a great problem in socialist construction. In the developed capitalist countries the industrial revolution was carried out and industrialization realized long ago, with the result that the people there are producing a great deal of wealth by using machines. It goes without saying that this wealth goes to the capitalists, and the working people are condemned to poverty, starvation and unemployment, but, at any rate, it is a fact that, under capitalism, machine technology has made considerable progress. In such countries, the question of the technical revolution is comparatively easy to solve once the working class seizes power, dispossesses the capitalists of machines and other means of production, and makes them the property of the people.

But in a backward agrarian country such as ours, which has not gone through the stage of normal capitalist development, the technical revolution presents itself as a very important and difficult task once the people have taken power and socialized the means of production.

The means of production we took from the Japanese imperialists, the landlords and the capitalists were actually insignificant. Not a machine was to be seen in the countryside; there were only cattle, *hori*, ploughs and the like. The industrial establishments set up by the Japanese imperialists in Korea were, for the most part, aimed at extracting raw materials and shipping them to Japan. And as for the processing plants, they were only capable of producing semi-finished goods. The Japanese imperialists did not, and could not, build a single establishment in the interests of the Korean people.

The Japanese monopoly capitalists were engrossed only in making huge profits by exploiting the cheap source of labour in Korea and were highly averse to introducing modern machinery. In factories, mills, mines and elsewhere, Koreans did manual labour and carried loads on their backs.

Thus, our country remained very backward technologically and economically, owing to the long years of feudal rule and colonial plunder. It was no simple matter to overcome such historical backwardness, and it required considerable time.

Surmounting all hardships and difficulties, we have put our economy—which had been ravaged twice—back on its feet and further developed it. Nevertheless, the level of technical development in our country is, in general, low, and primitive techniques are still applied widely in agriculture, local industry and various other branches. It is entirely due to the backwardness of our country's productive forces and the low level of its technology that our people are not yet living in plenty, although the sources of exploitation and poverty have been eliminated.

This is why we must push the revolution ahead. We have reorganized production relations along socialist lines, so that all our people may work and be well-off, but this alone is not

enough. We must now develop technology so that our people may work with less effort and earn a lot, and all of them may lead a bountiful life.

Only with the fulfilment of this revolution can we harvest more grain every year, produce more foodstuffs and articles for daily use, boost our catches of fish, produce and construct faster, more and better everywhere, thus ensuring a life of abundance and culture for all our people. This is the obligatory task of the Communists, and only when they have performed it can the Communists claim to have done their duty.

The technical revolution is a revolutionary task which has come to the fore in its turn in the socialist construction of our country. In keeping with the urgent demands of social development, our Party carried out the socialist transformation of our economy prior to its technological reconstruction. That was entirely correct. As a result, broad vistas were opened for the rapid development of technology and it became possible for us to push ahead with an all-round technical revolution, relying on the socialist system. Only by accomplishing this revolutionary task, now the order of the day, will we be able to reach the eminence of socialism and gradually go on to the building of communism.

In our country, not only has a social system which gives a powerful impetus to the technical revolution been established, but a material foundation has also been built for carrying it out.

The Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party stipulated it as the basic line of economic construction to assure the priority growth of heavy industry simultaneously with the development of light industry and agriculture, with a view to laying the foundation of an independent national economy on the war ruins and quickly restoring the deteriorated living standard of the people. Thanks to the fact that our Party's line was a correct one and that our people carried it all the way through, tightening their belts and practising the strictest economy, we were able to heal the scars of war in only a few years' time, lay the foundations for indus-

trialization, and solve in the main the problem of providing food, clothing and housing for the people.

Without the development of heavy industry, industrialization and the technical revolution are impossible. Industrialization itself implies the creation of a heavy industry with the machine-building industry as its core, and mechanization is basic to the technical revolution.

A great revolution can be effected in technology only with the introduction of machines. This holds true for agriculture, light industry, fishing, construction and all other branches of the economy. The manufacture of modern machines and equipment is of paramount importance in industrialization and in the technical revolution. And, for the production of machines, we need iron. It is not without reason that our Party, under the slogan, "Iron and the machine is the king of industry," has been concentrating its efforts on the development of these branches.

As you know, our country had no machine-building industry in the past. There were a few hundred metal-cutting tools in the days of Japanese imperialist rule, but most of them were used only for making spare parts, none for making machines. Now we have created our own machine-building industry, so that machine tools are in operation everywhere and we are able to manufacture and repair machines wherever necessary.

Though we had iron and steel industries in the past, the Japanese imperialists shipped out large quantities of crude iron ore and produced only pig iron and certain kinds of steel, but practically no rolled steel, in Korea. Even these industries were all destroyed in the war. Now, however, we are in a position to satisfy all our needs for pig iron, steel and rolled steel for ourselves.

Electricity, coal, chemical products and building materials are also needed for running our factories and developing our national economy, and we have restored and developed these branches of heavy industry quickly, too.

It is perfectly clear that if our Party had not laid down a

correct line of economic construction, built the firm foundations for an independent heavy industry and created the bases of the machine-building industry by making such tremendous efforts, it would be impossible for us even to speak of an all-round technical revolution today.

Because we have laid the foundations for our heavy industry, we are now fully capable of carrying out any task if we only make up our minds and set to work on it. Lately we have tried our hand at many things, relying on this asset. When we first suggested producing tractors, some people had misgivings and showed a lack of confidence. However, misgivings were replaced by confidence once we started to produce them. Now we are in a position to turn out thousands of tractors a year. People who had never ridden in a car before are now capable of producing so many automobiles. The manufacture of excavators also seemed beyond us at first, but, on producing them, we found that they were, after all, nothing but big mechanical shovels. We have also turned out bulldozers, semi-diesel engines, diesel engines and generators.

When everything depended on the machine tool, the mother of machine production, we launched a mass let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement, turning out more than 13,000 above the state plan in a short period of time, simply by tapping latent reserves. The Ryongsong Machine Plant, for example, produced an 8-metre turning lathe and recently has even begun to build a 3,000-ton press.

We are also in a position now to build large-scale modern factories creditably, using our own designs, machines and materials. As for the restoration of the Hwanghae Iron Works, we say "restoration" because we used its old site, but, actually, it is little different from an entirely new construction. Now, to everyone's amazement, we are building a vinalon factory with an annual capacity of 20,000 tons, on the strength of the achievements of our scientific research, using our own machines, equipment and materials.

We have tried our hand at farm mechanization as well. In accordance with the decision of the Enlarged Plenary Meeting

of the Party Central Committee held last December, this year we have supplied a large number of tractors, lorries and various types of tractor-drawn farm machines to South Pyongan and South Hwanghae Provinces and introduced mechanization there. The results have been excellent and real prospects have been opened up for promoting mechanization at a rapid pace.

In this way, during the past year or two, we have had a go at just about everything that was once considered to be difficult.

In the course of experimenting with the technical revolution, we have rid ourselves of all our misgivings and sense of mystery and have gained the firm confidence that we can achieve anything once we choose to do it. Now that we have made all these tests, we can consider that conditions are ripe for initiating a drive for overall technological renovation in all branches of our national economy.

Just as in the case of agricultural co-operativization where we carried out pilot plans in a few villages and counties first, before going over to the full-scale stage, so in the technical revolution, too, we have made varied experiments and accumulated great experience by now. Therefore, we can now enter the stage of all-round technological renovation.

2. ON MOBILIZING THE WISDOM AND INITIATIVE OF THE MASSES TO CARRY OUT THE TECHNICAL REVOLUTION

Effecting a full-scale technical revolution is a complex and arduous task which can be accomplished only by mobilizing the strength of all the Party and our entire people and surmounting all obstacles and difficulties.

The wisdom and enthusiasm of the members of the Heavy Industry Commission, the managers of the machine plants and

a few others are not enough to guarantee the successful completion of this task. There must be a technical revolution in more than just one or two branches. We have quite a few technologically backward branches of the economy: agriculture, local industry, construction, transport, fishing, lumbering and others. Full-scale technological reconstruction requires wisdom and initiative on the part of the masses. If a long period of time were allowed for its accomplishment, we could do it without much effort. However, we plan to accomplish in just a few years what took the capitalist countries a long period of time to accomplish. This would be impossible without harnessing the creative powers of all the working masses.

We have had good experience in working wonders by mobilizing the forces of all the people in our extensive building of local industries, the let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement, etc. Drawing on this experience, we must dynamically push forward the technological renovation movement in a drive of the whole Party and the entire people, and everyone should come out to participate in carrying out this honourable and worthy revolutionary task.

It is important, in enlisting the creative activity of the masses in the technological renovation movement, to do away with all the mysteries shrouding technology. Because they have lived so long in a backward state, our people may tend to regard machines as rather mysterious things. This is detrimental to the advance of the technical revolution.

Needless to say, the mystery-mongering has been dealt heavy blows and has been almost totally eliminated in the course of the upsurge of socialist construction and of the working of numerous wonders by our labouring masses. However, there still exist die-hards that have survived. We must round up all of them and change their way of thinking.

Then there is another tendency, that of ignoring or underestimating science. Like the mystery-mongering, this, too, holds back our technological development. Machinery itself is a product of the development of science; the technical revolution is inconceivable without science. The technical revolution

is, at the same time, a process of introducing the achievements of modern science in production and popularizing them.

Thus, there emerges the very important question of strengthening creative co-operation in the course of production between the workers who operate the machines and the technicians who have scientific knowledge. Accumulating new and viable experiences every hour and every day in their work, the workers are always racking their brains trying to find ways to produce more with less effort. It is, therefore, natural that they come up with good ideas for technological renovation more often than anyone else. But it is a weakness of the workers that they are familiar only with the machines they themselves operate, and have little knowledge of other related machines and their technical specifications, and they usually know things only by experience, and not well theoretically. To make up for this drawback and to ensure that the workers' brainstorms are incorporated into production, the assistance of technicians is absolutely necessary.

The technical revolution will go forward successfully only when the workers and technicians help each other and learn from each other, when experience and science go hand in hand. It is wrong for workers to refuse the help of science on the pretext of opposing mysticism; it is just as wrong for technicians to get swelled heads, as if they alone were learned, and refuse to accept what is new from the experience of the workers. Miracles can be wrought and the technical revolution bear fruit everywhere only when the workers, peasants, scientists, technicians and everyone else pool their talents and efforts.

In carrying out the technical revolution, it is also necessary to utterly do away with the tendency towards departmentalism.

Today all branches and links of our national economy are closely connected with each other, forming an integral whole. Therefore, should even one branch or link go wrong, it would greatly hamper the all-round technological revolution. Renovation in one branch, as a matter of fact, calls for the co-ordinated assistance of other branches. In order to promote the techno-

nical revolution, overall co-operation must be strengthened among all branches of the national economy, all offices and all enterprises, and all reserves must be efficiently used in the interests of our entire country.

We will be confronted with many obstacles in carrying out the technical revolution, but none can check our advance or break the will of our people to leave backwardness behind as soon as possible.

Our people have lived through the grimmest ordeals of war and the sternest difficulties of postwar rehabilitation and construction. All of our tasks, without exception, have been attended with difficulties, but they have all been triumphantly carried through to completion, thanks to the correct leadership of the Party and the heroic struggle of the people. If we go on with the same stamina and fighting spirit, we will certainly succeed in scaling the peak of the technical revolution.

In fact, we started rehabilitation and construction on the war debris at a time when there was not a single brickyard or cement factory in operation and when all our blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces and all other major facilities were destroyed. The memory of those days is still fresh in our minds.

One day, about a month before the armistice, I called in Comrade Paek Hong Gwon, who was then Minister of the Chemical and Building-materials Industries, and, together with some other comrades, we discussed the problem of building brickyards. The war was still going on, and we could not call in any experts, so we made an estimate by ourselves. But not having any table of standards and not knowing how to make the exact calculations, we were at a loss as to how to proceed. So I asked how many bricks were used in building Kim Il Sung University before the war. They said about 3 million were used. At that rate, I suggested, we would have to set up brickyards in many places as soon as the war ended in order to produce more than 600 million bricks annually because we would have to put up at least 200 buildings as big as Kim Il Sung University every year. All those present opened their eyes in astonishment and doubted that so many bricks would be need-

ed. It was a rough estimate, but a pretty close one, I should say. At present, 700 to 800 million bricks are being produced every year and despite the fact that concrete blocks are also being used, we still fall short of the number needed. We decided to build a brickyard at Kangnam to begin with, but, as the skilled workers had all been scattered, there was no one who could build the smokestack properly. The one put up did not draw well. As there was no help, we called together the scattered skilled workers, and rebuilt the smokestack. Then it was destroyed by enemy bombing and had to be built all over again.

As you can imagine, we were in tight straits economically and our officials were very poorly qualified towards the end of the war. It was not easy even to make a brick; we did not know how to build a smokestack; and, as we did not know how to make an estimate of the number of bricks needed, we were obliged to resort to a crude method of reckoning. It was under these circumstances that we began our rehabilitation and construction.

Well, how does the situation stand now? Everything has changed beyond recognition. Now is the summer of 1960, and it defies all comparison with the summer of 1953, the year the war ended. We have really made great progress in a short period of time.

When the Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party laid down the line of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, and set the gigantic tasks of postwar economic construction, some people sneered, saying that the Central Committee of the Workers' Party was talking through its hat. Quite a few people came out against the Party's line of laying the foundations for our national industry, alleging that there was no point in constructing so many factories at a time when we were pressed for food and clothing. Even some of those who aided us by supplying machines asked why we did not take textiles but only took machines and whether we thought we could live on machines. Really, nobody

cranes and bulldozers; it is needed practically everywhere. But it is not easy to make wire rope everywhere. Therefore, the Heavy Industry Commission should produce and supply goods of this sort in large quantities.

The demands of many branches of the economy for pipes, gauges, bearings, etc., must, likewise, be fully met. And, in the case of steel materials, instead of turning out just any large pieces at random, a sufficient amount of steel materials of different sizes should be produced by installing more rolling equipment and properly readjusting it. Only by so doing can we successfully manufacture diverse kinds of machines and equipment and step up technological renovation in all branches of our national economy.

An urgent problem in developing the machine-building industry is that of specializing the production of castings. I raised this problem once a long time ago, but it has not been solved yet, due to the lukewarm attitude of the workers in the branches concerned. So, I am stressing this question again at this Plenary Meeting.

There is no need to set up a casting shop in every factory. At present, a separate casting shop is set up wherever a few metal-cutting machines are in operation. There is no county farm-machine factory without its own casting shop, and even the repair and maintenance shops, almost without exception, are provided with casting equipment. Since casting is thus done everywhere, factories take up a lot of space, technicians and skilled workers are dispersed, and the quality of castings is not properly ensured; and iron is [illegible] because castings are made unnecessarily thick and cut [illegible] dom. When a cast-

we build a factory, to concentrate our technical forces on ensuring good quality for castings and to reduce iron wastage to a minimum. Moreover, specialization of the production of castings alone will make it possible to put an end to such practices as the workers' pouring iron by hand, using ladles, and carrying materials on their backs as they are doing now. With specialization, we can mechanize the entire process, prevent dust and raise labour productivity markedly.

But the Heavy Industry Commission has not done this, nor has the Pyongyang City People's Committee, claiming that the designing has not been completed as yet. The chairmen of the provincial Party committees, when going back to their respective provinces, must see to it, as a Party task, that the provincial economic committees take concrete measures to solve the question of specializing the production of castings.

Now, I propose that specialization be introduced in the production of spare parts as well, that the work load of the repair and maintenance shop of every factory be lightened and that such shops be simplified.

At present, there is hardly any factory that does not have its own repair and maintenance shop—and a big one, at that. Thus, various sorts of spare parts are made haphazardly. Nowadays it is regarded as a matter of course that a big repair and maintenance shop equipped with many machine tools should be set up when building a factory, and it has become a rule for every factory to make all the spare parts that it requires. We may call this a hangover of the capitalist way of organizing production, wherein every factory owned by capitalists produces in an arbitrary manner. There is no need to organize production in this way under our socialist economic system.

It is far more effective to produce and supply in a comprehensive way those spare parts needed in common by various factories, while equipping the repair and maintenance shop in a simple manner at every factory to produce the specific spare parts needed exclusively by that factory. Only by so doing can we make the most intensive and effective use of machine tools and save much social labour. At present, in the many repair and

maintenance shops of our factories, the utilization rate of the equipment is very low; and labour productivity is likewise low and there is much waste because repair and maintenance shops in each place undertake for themselves the production of bolts, nuts, coupling devices and other parts.

It is advisable to change the organization of production at an early date so that standard parts may be turned out in specialized factories. Take screws, for instance. How convenient it would be if each factory could order standard screws from specialized factories, instead of going to the trouble of making screws of diverse specifications at its repair and maintenance shop whenever they are required! This would make it possible to produce several times as many screws with the same amount of labour and materials and markedly raise their quality as well. The repair and maintenance shops in the factories should make only a few kinds of specific parts, using a small number of machine tools and workers, and rely on the specialized factories for other kinds of parts to repair their equipment regularly. Some factories might even be operated from the start without their own repair and maintenance shops.

Such standardization and specialization of the production of spare parts would not only be instrumental in raising the utilization rate of equipment and economizing on labour and materials, but would also be highly advantageous in improving the work of designing, raising the quality of machines and bettering technical management. We must energetically push forward the work of specializing the production of parts as well as tools, jigs and other implements, and of making simpler repair and maintenance shops in the factories.

Another point I would like to emphasize in regard to the machine-building industry is the need for the large-scale introduction of the stamping method. At present the cutting method is mainly employed, while stamping method is rarely used. Here, too, I think, a change is needed.

The application of the cutting method requires many processes. Moreover, iron is wasted, precision is not properly ensured and the process is slow. But when the stamping method

is employed on a large scale, a lot of work can be done quickly, far fewer machine tools are needed, iron wastage is reduced and high precision is ensured. We suggested that this method be introduced extensively, and functionaries in the machine industry have promised to do this but have not yet done so. We must boldly carry out what we have decided to do and even now we must start popularizing the stamping method widely.

We are able to manufacture any number of presses on our own all over. So far, through the let-one-machinetool-make-machinetools movement, we have mainly increased the number of metal-cutting machines. Now we must launch a movement to produce more presses. Various presses, large and small, including those of 100 and 500 tons, must be made and the Heavy Industry Commission must supply the steel necessary for their construction. Only then can farm machines, machines needed in local industry and various other pieces of equipment be turned out faster, better, and in larger numbers.

One of the most urgent tasks we must tackle in technological renovation is to improve our work of designing. Our Party gave close attention to the training of designers even under the most difficult conditions of war, and it vigorously pushed this work ahead particularly in the postwar years. As a result, many designers have been trained and we are now able to design and turn out for ourselves precision machines, heavy machinery and other kinds of machines and equipment whose designing and production were beyond us in the past. However, our corps of designers still falls far short of the demand. It has, therefore, become a matter of urgency that we make the most effective use of our present corps of designers, while training more for the future.

What measures are required for us to make a rational use of our limited corps of designers? Specialization is needed in this field, too. Since there still is no specialization in the work of designing, our designers must now work on any jobs that are assigned to them. Designing is performed in such a haphazard manner that a designer must work now on one machin

design, now on another, then on yet another. So, each time he is forced to consult books in order to do his job. This costs dearly both in labour and in time, and the designs are not of a high quality either. No strict specialization is now practised in any of our designing institutes, and a single institute draws up designs of every kind.

This way of organizing work should be definitely corrected. To cite an example, the designing of machine tools should be concentrated in one specific designing institute on a national basis. We will decide later where this institute should be located, whether in Kusong or in Huichon. But the suggestion is that the designing of machine tools should, in any case, be specialized at one institute alone and that all the ministries and branches should get the designs of the appropriate standard from this institute to turn out machine tools, instead of going to the trouble of designing machine tools for themselves. Another example is the designing of electric motors. This is being done by different establishments separately, but I suggest that, instead, electric motors, generators and other electric machines all be designed by one institute. This will free the establishments and branches from the need to draw up their own designs for the electrical machinery they need and will enable them to obtain blueprints of motors, generators, etc., of the required size from this institute and to produce them as many as they want.

The Heavy Industry Department of the Party Central Committee and the Heavy Industry Commission should play a central role in taking concrete measures to introduce specialization in the work of designing, on the basis of a correct estimate of the corps of designers available in each branch.

The introduction of the gasification of coal in production, as pointed out in the report and referred to in speeches, is of very great significance in technological renovation in our country today.

During a recess yesterday, I saw a synthetic-rubber tyre, the result of research at Kim Il Sung University. It was quite satisfactory.

For its mass production, however, it is urgent to solve the question of raw materials. Some comrades have proposed the extensive cultivation of potatoes and sweet potatoes to obtain alcohol, that would enable us to produce synthetic rubber. But it is difficult to employ this method in our country, which has a small area of arable land. That is why the Presidium of the Party Central Committee was against the proposal for using arable land to obtain raw materials.

Our country has inexhaustible deposits of limestone. We must make carbide from the limestone to obtain alcohol. This is the only way. In the future, we must continue to follow the line of obtaining carbide, in accordance with our domestic resources and our actual conditions.

However, this requires a lot of electricity, so it is of particular importance that we gasify coal by using oxygen instead of electricity.

Moreover, our power supply is insufficient at present, so we cannot turn out as much fertilizer as we want. Once the question of the gasification of coal is solved, we will be able to compound ammonia and produce any amount of fertilizer without using electricity. The solution to the questions of extracting alcohol and making rubber from it, of compounding ammonia to produce large quantities of fertilizer for higher yields of grain and other crops, of using domestic coal in metallurgy to save on coke, as well as the solution to many other questions, depends, to a great extent, on the gasification of coal Therefore, those who solve the question of the gasification of coal will make a great contribution to the development of the national economy of our country and are patriots who will earn the well-deserved esteem of all our people.

But, in the past two or three years, we have never gone beyond the talking stage and, in practice, very little progress has been made in the research work for this field The State Planning Commission, giving one pretext or another, has failed to vigorously push ahead with research work on the gasification of coal. This is not correct. Once an orientation has been decided upon, it should be followed without vacillation The et-

forts of scientists and technicians should be enlisted and all the necessary conditions provided to solve the question of the gasification of coal.

In the renovation of our technology, we should place great emphasis on chemicalization. This will assure the quickest solution to our problem of consolidating raw-material bases for light industry in our country.

Above all, a boost should be given to the work of laying foundations for the production of synthetic resins. When the vinyl chloride factory now under construction is put into operation, raw materials needed for making various new kinds of articles for daily use will be produced and high-quality materials supplied for construction, as well. At present, our scientists are very eager to work, but they are not being given proper assistance by the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade. All the apparatuses and reagents needed in research work must be provided and measures taken to solve, in a timely and satisfactory way, the technical questions which arise in the production and processing of synthetic resins.

Moreover, we should make every effort to accelerate the construction of the vinalon factory. When the construction of this factory is completed, not only will fine synthetic fibre be turned out, but an important basis for our country's chemical industry will be laid. All branches should make the utmost effort to ensure the completion of the construction of the vinalon factory ahead of schedule.

Another important task is that of developing an electronics industry. It is a serious defect that we have no such factories in our country as yet. During a visit to a foreign country, I had an opportunity to inspect a factory of this kind. We, too, can build and operate such a factory, and it is high time that we did so. We must create and develop an electronics industry in the near future, thus opening up a new phase in technological renovation.

2. ON THE MECHANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

I would like to refer briefly to the mechanization of agriculture.

While making a tour of the Changsong, Pyokdong and Sakju areas recently, I pondered over how we could step up mechanization in the mountain regions. Large tractors, even if supplied in great numbers, cannot be used effectively in such places where the plots are all small, the fields are dotted over with stone heaps, many of them sloping, and the villages are far off. They may be of service for hauling, but are not suitable for field work in those areas. And, since the distance to be covered is great, lorries are more serviceable than tractors for hauling. It is no accident that the rate of utilization of large tractors allocated to the mountain regions is very low. What, then, is to be done? Medium-sized tractors must definitely be built in large numbers and supplied to those regions. In fact, large tractors are almost useless there.

If we manufacture a large number of 10 or 15-h.p. tractors and send them to the mountain regions, ploughing can be fully mechanized even on fairly small plots. We should test the 10 or 15-h.p. tractor which the Kim Chaek Polytechnical Institute designed for use on sloping land. If it turns out to be efficient, we should see that tractors of that type are produced as soon as possible.

Hauling, farming and many other types of work in the mountain regions can be mechanized when more lorries are supplied and medium-sized tractors of this kind are sent there. Medium-sized tractors can be used without any problem for hauling on comparatively narrow, rugged paths. A 10-h.p. tractor can haul a load weighing a ton and a 15-h.p. tractor can easily do a load of 1-1.5 tons. Medium-sized tractors, if used in proper combination with various tractor-drawn farm implements, will make it possible to mechanize all work such as ploughing, planting, inter-row cultivation, weeding and harvest-

ing. Tractor engines can also be especially used to provide power for thrashing, cutting and processing fodder and pumping water.

Up to now, bringing mechanization to the mountain regions in a short period of time posed a problem, even though we could ensure rapid mechanization on the plains. Now, however, we have a definite prospect that, if medium-sized tractors are used extensively, mechanization will be possible even in the remote mountain areas.

Mechanization of our agriculture will benefit us in many ways. The peasants will be able to get in big harvests of grain and industrial crops, even while working with ease; part of the cattle used as draught animals will be improved to provide us with milk and beef; and the problem of fodder for meat production will be solved by cultivating two crops a year. Therefore, nothing can be more beneficial to the welfare of the peasants and the rest of our people. Mechanization must be carried out any way.

The sooner agriculture is mechanized, the better. We first began mechanization on the plains, but now we must push ahead with all-out mechanization everywhere, both on the plains and in the mountain regions. We must allocate a considerable number of large tractors to the plains and small ones to the mountain regions, thus ensuring mechanization in all parts of the country. It all hinges on turning out tractors and other farm machines speedily in large numbers.

Enhancing the role of the farm-machine stations is still an important question in the mechanization of agriculture. The utilization rate of farm machines is still very low. Tractors stand idle in the garages of quite a few farm-machine stations after the spring ploughing. It is a very serious matter for machines to stand idle while a shortage of work hands holds back timely weeding and the peasants are working with their hands and carrying loads on their backs. If tractors are kept just to be looked at instead of being used, we might do better to pin up a picture of a tractor on the wall and look at it.

Once valuable machines are supplied by the state, they

should not be left idle even for a short while, but should be kept in constant use. If all of us study the matter and display initiative, we can do all our work with machines. Rice, maize, wheat, barley, potatoes and other crops can all be grown by machines, and all the work, including ploughing, harrowing, planting, weeding and harvesting, can be mechanized. Arguments that broad-furrow planting can be done only by draught animals and not by tractors and that this or that kind of work can hardly be done by machines all stem from bigotry. In order to advance technological renovations, we must do away with such bigotry, and think and act boldly.

The workers at the farm-machine stations must continue to make serious efforts to mechanize as many kinds of jobs as possible and ease the peasants' work to the maximum They should never tolerate keeping any machines idle. Only by so doing can the farm-machine stations honourably fulfil their role as bases of the technical revolution in the countryside.

3. ON THE MECHANIZATION OF LOCAL INDUSTRY

The question of mechanizing local industry holds an important place in the technical revolution today. In this regard, I would like to say a few words only about the food industry which is its most backward branch.

As pointed out in the report, it is very urgent that we produce soy sauce and bean paste in large quantities by industrial methods and guarantee their smooth supply to the entire population including the peasants. Moreover, these two products should be something truly out of the ordinary, even more delicious than those made by individual families for their own use.

The food industry has the responsibility of making and supplying appetizing foods in convenient form to the working people. There are many things to be done in this field at present. For example, large quantities of flour have been supplied

recently, and it would be very convenient to make vermicelli with it and distribute them. However, this kind of work is not being done. In Pyongyang, nobody organizes such work, even though some of the equipment at the Cornstarch Factory is lying idle.

Factory and school cafeterias make only bread and serve it every day, although they could serve a varied menus without difficulty if they just made a vermicelli ricer or a device for making dumplings. Workers and students complain that they are fed up with bread, and small wonder! Why do those concerned not think of serving different menus that appeal to us Koreans, making vermicelli, dumpling soup, stuffed dumpling and so on? How can those people who are disinclined to do even such an elementary thing profess to carry out the technical revolution? They must do away with old habits once and for all and lend culture to the table by processing foodstuffs better.

The processing of maize by industrial methods is a matter of urgency. Yesterday, together with some other comrades, I visited the Cornstarch Factory to make a study of the processing of maize, which is very important because it provides us with starch, glucose, edible oil, etc. We should devote our special efforts to quickly solving the problem of separating embryo buds from maize and extracting oil from them.

We have 700,000 to 800,000 *chongbo* of maize fields. If each *chongbo* yields two tons, we will harvest every year about 1.5 million tons of maize. Maize is said to have an oil yield of 3 per cent. So, from only a million tons of maize, we can obtain 30,000 tons of edible oil. In the case of bean oil, we get only 50 kilogrammes from a *chongbo* of bean field. Therefore, in terms of oil, a million tons of maize is equal to 600,000 *chongbo* of bean fields.

We must lose no time in building factories to separate embryo buds from maize and extract oil from them. If you find it difficult to come up with a new design, you had better set up small-scale factories similar in structure to the Pyongyang Cornstarch Factory. Only when we have definitely solved this problem and gone in for cultivating various other oil-bearing

crops in a big way, extracting large quantities of oil, can we successfully accomplish, within a short period, the task set by the Party of supplying our people each day with 20 grammes of edible oil per capita.

Meanwhile, the food industry should continue to give close attention to widely acquiring and processing the food resources abundant in the local areas.

This year there is a shortage of alcoholic beverages in Pyongyang and many other cities. Only the people of Changsong County have had enough, and they have even supplied large quantities to other districts. This is explained by the fact that the people of that county, faithfully carrying out the Party's policy, have been steadily developing an industry for making alcoholic beverages from such wild fruits as haws, wild strawberries and wild pears since last year.

There is no region in our country that does not have mountains, and no mountain without such fruits as wild grapes, mountain cranberries, haws, wild strawberries and wild pears. Not only that. We have planted many fruit trees and are constantly expanding our orchards. We must pick all these fruits in time and develop industries for processing them everywhere on a full scale. In this way we will be able to produce, at low cost, various kinds of good wines, fruit syrups, dried fruit and canned fruit of high quality to meet the people's needs

4. ON IMPROVING THE TRAINING OF *TECHNICAL PERSONNEL*

In closing, a few words on the training of technical personnel.

With the rapid progress of our socialist construction, the demand for technical personnel today is greater than ever before. Our Party has put a lot of efforts into training the nation's technical cadres all along and, especially, last year it raised the

number of our institutes of higher learning from 20 to 37 and set up a great many specialized schools.

Why, then, is our need for technical personnel so great at present? Because our country's industry and agriculture are developing at an unprecedented rate and the technical revolution is being accelerated very fast in all branches of our national economy.

At present new techniques are urgently required and great numbers of personnel equipped with modern technical know-how are needed in all parts of our country. We cannot make headway without producing greater numbers of competent technical cadres more quickly by completely revamping the training of our technical personnel.

To keep the training of our technical personnel up with the rapid pace of the development of our country's productive forces and of the technical revolution, it is important, first of all, to direct the attention of the whole Party to this matter, and to turn all conditions and possibilities to the best account.

Indeed, it is a matter of no small importance that we increased the number of institutes of higher learning by 17 in a single year. It took courage to take such a daring measure, but we still have a long way to go. In order to effect an all-round technical revolution and to turn our country into a developed industrial state in the coming Seven-Year Plan period, we must expand the ranks of our technical cadres radically.

The regular institutes of higher learning are not enough to do the job, so we must set up many technical colleges in the large factories, mines, enterprises and agricultural and livestock farms so that our working people can study while on the job. We must also vigorously develop correspondence courses and evening schools so that many working people can become technicians within a short period of time. At the same time, we must continue to launch energetically a whole-Party, all-people movement aimed at equipping all Party members, young people and women with more than one technical skill.

Many shortcomings have to be overcome and a tremendous amount of work done to improve and strengthen the training of

our technical personnel along these lines. All possible forms and methods must be applied and all reserves tapped to train a large number of technicians.

We must carry on with vigour both the technological renovation and the training of technical personnel. No matter how many machines we produce and supply, they will give us no help if we do not have any machinists. The kind of technicians we need most urgently and in the greatest numbers are mechanical engineers.

In the future, when ten tractors are allocated to each agricultural co-operative, it will need to have at least one technician versed in machines. It will also need an electrician, an agronomist and an expert in animal husbandry. This means we must send four or five technicians to each co-operative, or about 20,000 to the agricultural co-operatives throughout the country. We can provide all the rural areas with tractors within the next five or six years, but we can hardly train so many technicians in the existing engineering and agricultural colleges alone. This is why we intend to train technical personnel everywhere, by employing supplementary methods consistent with the actual conditions of our country.

Here is an instance illustrating how urgently technicians are needed. Lately, on the initiative of the Party, more than 5,000 agronomists were sent to the countryside. A change has already been noted in the agricultural co-operatives to which they were allocated. You must understand that the presence of a person equipped with modern science and technology in the village exerts a very great influence on the farm work of the co-operative.

Even an assistant engineer who has been graduated from a specialized school plays an important role, to say nothing of an engineer with a college education and a lot of experience. One assistant engineer allocated to an agricultural co-operative in Changsong County, a young girl who had been graduated from the Charyongwan specialized sericulture school, brought about an innovation in silkworm raising as soon as she got to the co-operative. Formerly, the co-operative had gathered 17

kilogrammes of cocoons from every 100 grammes of silkworm eggs, but the figure rose to 34 kilogrammes after this girl got there. No sooner had young assistant engineers fresh from the specialized technical schools been sent to local textile factories than they boldly undertook such tasks as making wooden power looms and motorizing textile equipment on their own. This is what the assistant engineers are doing, and still bigger innovations will surely be effected one after another in all places when a competent engineer is sent to every co-operative and factory. It is, therefore, necessary for our schools, factories, mines and farm and fishing villages to devote every effort to training more good technicians faster.

And, as is pointed out in the report, the ideological education of our technicians should be constantly strengthened. Needless to say, our technicians, as Red intellectuals whom either the Party has re-educated or we have newly trained, vigorously support our Party's policies and devotedly serve the revolutionary cause of the working class. Particularly, our technicians have been further tempered ideologically in the course of the upsurge of socialist construction and the dynamic development of the Chollima Movement. However, there are still some individuals who, for lack of the necessary revolutionary spirit, waver or hesitate when confronted with a difficult task. In order to prevent such things from happening, we must unremittingly conduct communist education among our technicians and educate them in our revolutionary traditions.

The technical revolution and the training of technical personnel are both, in the final analysis, aimed at completely eliminating the historical backwardness of our productive forces and at turning our country into a rich, powerful and advanced industrial state in a short period of time. Only when these tasks are successfully accomplished, with the mobilization of the whole Party and the entire people, will it be possible for our working people to free themselves from arduous and toilsome labour and create more wealth with less effort and for us to turn the northern half more rapidly into a veritable paradise for the people. Only then will the basic task of the Korean rev-

olution, that of achieving our country's reunification and complete national independence, be more quickly and victoriously carried out.

I am firmly convinced that all Party members and working people, upholding the decisions adopted at this Plenary Meeting, will work devotedly and fulfil with credit the programmatic tasks of the technical revolution, which is of decisive significance in our socialist construction at the present time.

LET US CREATE LITERATURE AND ART SUITABLE TO THE CHOLLIMA AGE

Talk with Writers, Composers and Film Workers

November 27, 1960

Today I would like to make a few remarks to you about the problem of developing our literature and art.

Our literature and art have a long historical tradition. We have had beautiful songs and dances from olden times. After liberation our literature and art made rapid progress, and now they are blossoming magnificently. Today our art really deserves the distinction of "golden art."

In past years our writers and artists have done a great deal of work, upholding the Party's policy on literature and art. I greatly appreciate the efforts you have made in your dedicatec struggle to develop our national art, which had been under the heel of the invaders so long, into what it is today.

However, we cannot be satisfied with the successes we have already achieved. Our life is advancing rapidly and the eople are asking for a more beautiful and dynamic art.

Currently, our literature and art are lagging behind the eveloping life of our people and are failing to keep up with eir demands.

People are right when they call our age a Chollima age, they consider themselves infinitely blessed to be living working in this great era.

We are struggling in all spheres of socialist construction

in the spirit of taking a hundred steps while others take ten, and running a hundred *ri* while others run ten. In fact, the Chollima spirit has become the life creed of our people.

Maintaining the grand Chollima advance for several years, we have built the basis of socialist industrialization and laid firm foundations for the construction of a rich and powerful socialist country. Though we cannot say as yet that we are living in affluence, our people are free of the worries and anxieties about food, clothing and housing, and everybody enjoys a happy and promising life. By the time we have braced ourselves once more and have fulfilled the Seven-Year Plan, our country will have become an advanced socialist industrial state and the people's standards of living will be dramatically improved. Our achievements are great and we have a bright future ahead of us.

Naturally, our literature and art should forcefully represent this great, creative life of our people who are rushing ahead in the Chollima spirit. Our literature and art should depict the meaningful life and heroic struggle of the people of the Chollima age and vividly express their hopes and desires.

To our regret, however, our literature and art fail to truthfully reflect the spirit of our age and to give a vivid representation of the sentiments and aspirations of the builders of socialism.

First of all, there are very few works based on the vibrant daily life of our people. The traditional opera, *Tale of Chunhyang*, is all very well, and so is the play *Admiral Li Sun Sin*. We should, of course, have a good knowledge of our past. But what we need more urgently is the present rather than the past. Even when we use the past, we should start with the subjects directly associated with the revolutionary struggle of our people today.

For education in the revolutionary traditions and class education, we should continue to create many works that represent the indefatigable battle of our revolutionaries during the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the heroic struggle of our people at the time of the democratic revolution, the Fatherland Liberation War and the postwar rehabilitation and construction.

Quite a few of the works which have dealt with these subjects have been successful. And those works have contributed greatly to educating the working people in the communist revolutionary spirit.

And what we lack most right now are works which portray today's realities. We have very few works of art which portray the new heroes our Chollima age has produced. Our writers and artists exalt the heroes of the past, but they fail to see the heroes of today who are creating a new, meaningful life. This is one of our contemporary writers' great weaknesses.

Of course, it is true that it is far more difficult to depict the life and heroes of the present than to depict the life and heroes of the past. Life today has a more complex and diverse content than in the past. Much study and effort are needed to give an adequate representation to the complex and rich contents of our contemporary heroes' life. But if we can succeed in producing an excellent work of art about today's realities, it will be able to play a far greater role in the education of the working people than one that depicts the past.

All works of literature and art should, after all, serve to teach our people of today how to live, work and struggle. That is why writers and artists should pay more attention to contemporary reality than to the past. The more closely a work portrays actual life, the more valuable it can be.

A certain foreign writer said to us that the play *Admiral Li Sun Sin* is often staged in Korea, but the Korean people's Fatherland Liberation War must have produced many a Li Sun Sin. I think he was right when he said so. In our contemporary times, there are numerous patriots who are wiser and braver than Li Sun Sin.

We can find new men everywhere, and our literature and art should represent them. Many Chollima riders work in factories and enterprises such as machine-building plants, metallurgical works, textile mills, etc., and in the countryside and the fishing villages. At present, Chollima workteams alone number more than 850 and model agricultural co-operatives, over 1,000. The Chollima riders are all admirable heroes of our

day. The trouble is that our writers and artists fail to recognize today's real heroes.

The film art is notably backward in literature and art. As a means of mass education the movies have a very important position. Our cinema, however, is at a low level. There is no film which has portrayed our heroic working class and also none worth seeing which has depicted our peasantry.

We accomplished the revolutionary task of co-operativizing individual farming and rooting out exploitation and poverty for good in the countryside in the brief span of only four to five years. But there is not a single film that records this great change. True, a film has come out which depicts the efforts of the workers of the Ryongsong Machine Plant to produce machines and equipment for the Hwanghae Iron Works. But it is not satisfactory. I will not mention the defects of this film. Many works based on our realities should be produced, and we should not mind a few shortcomings in them

Lately, I have thought a lot about how to help our cinematic art portray the meaningful life and struggle of the new men of our times, of the heroes who have come from the working people and of the Chollima riders. If we produce even one good film of this kind, it will greatly encourage our working people and become a powerful weapon to educate thousands, even tens of thousands, of people to become new men

In producing films that cater to the demands of our times, it is most important to truthfully reflect the struggle between the new and the old and vividly show the superiority of the socialist system which opens up broad and unlimited vistas for the people.

These films should emphasize the idea that it is not machinery but men that play the decisive role in production. The films should give prominence to the Marxist-Leninist outlook that a meaningful life is created not by the strength of one or two eminent persons, but by the struggle of millions of working people who are conscious of their historical mission. The hero of such a film should be portrayed as a typical new man who is cheerful and optimistic, a man who does not [illegible]

to difficulties and has a very strong will to move forward. We should skilfully depict a course of life in which a man, once subjected to humiliation and oppression, labours devotedly in the face of ordeals and succeeds at the end due to his strenuous efforts and moral improvement.

In our country there are now countless people who are qualified as heroes of this type. Our Chollima riders numbering thousands and tens of thousands are all heroes of our era, smashing all that is backward and creating a new, good society by their heroic struggle and creative labour. And it is most regrettable that there is not a single film which represents the Chollima riders.

Indeed, there are also shortcomings in the performances of our actors and actresses in our films, but that does not seem to matter much. There are people who say that no good films are produced because the studios do their work poorly, but that is not the case. The job of the studios is mainly the technical side of the production and not the ideological content of the films.

The main point is the ideological content of the films, which is very poor.

For instance, I saw a film which handled the love problem. It had no ideological content at all; it was quite insipid. It will not do for us to depict love for love's sake. Love for love's sake is a manifestation of naturalism. It has no educational value for us and, what is more, it can be rather harmful.

Love between men and women of a new type must serve the noble aims of the revolutionary cause, and be closely linked with the struggle for victory in the revolution. Our films, therefore, should hit out at the decadent love of those who forget the revolutionary cause and indulge only in personal enjoyment, and should exemplify the noble and beautiful love of a new type of young people who are waging a heroic struggle for the great aims of socialist construction, helping and leading each other forward.

The question of ideological content should be settled first of all by the scenario writers. No good film is being turned out

because the scenario writers fail to write good works. If the scenario writers turn out good scripts, there is no reason why good films cannot be produced even though the studios have some failings and shortcomings. The trouble now is in the scenarios.

The musical setting is also largely responsible for the low quality of our films. Scenes of valour ought to be accompanied by songs that are stirring and full of hope. But they are not. Because inappropriate songs that do not correspond to the scenes on the screen are thrown in haphazardly, the audiences are not impressed.

Our music, too, is lagging way behind reality. It fails to express truthfully the great forward movement of our people who are rushing ahead like the wind. There are no good new songs being turned out for our Chollima riders to sing vigorously and cheerfully. Blue water runs across the mountains and the rivers to wet the paddies and dry fields; tractors and lorries work the fields and carry the loads in place of human hands and feet, still we do not hear lively and beautiful songs which sing the praises of this epoch-making change in the countryside.

The music-and-dance epic *Our Glorious Fatherland* is indeed a big piece of work, but it is a medley, and not a great unified work. There is no ground whatever for complacency merely because a work like this has been created.

Songs must be composed to suit the sentiments of the people. When a battle is on, songs suited to the battle are needed, and when work is being done, songs appropriate to labour are needed. Songs sung when rice seedlings are bedded out should be different from those hummed when earth loads are poled in pairs, though both are work songs. Thus, only when songs suitable to the given occasions are sung, can the soldiers fight valiantly and the workers and peasants increase production. There can be no one song that well suits every place and time, and only those songs which reflect the spirit of the times and suit the given circumstances can appeal to the hearts of people.

This is not a time to sing only the pear-blossom ballad. To-

day, more than ever we need joyful and stirring songs which rouse people to creative labour. When people sing encouraging, stirring songs, they forget weariness and fatigue.

People are fond of the *Chollima March* because it has reflected the spirit of our era and is in keeping with the sentiments of our people. *A New Song Flows Out of the Village Across the River*, sung in the way they sing the western provincial ballad, appeals to me. It has a Korean flavour, and encourages us when we hear it.

The *Weavers' Song* and *Song of the Well Side* are also good. However, we cannot sing just these few songs all the time. We should have many new songs. But when we hear many of the new songs that have been turned out recently, such as the *Song of Smelters* and *Song of Machine Workers,* we do not feel anything new, because they are all rehashes of old tunes in one way or another, and there is little to choose between in their melodies.

In songs, too, the important thing is the ideological content.

A song for song's sake is of no use, and those which merely sing the praises of nature are also of little value. True, songs which eulogize the beauty of nature please people. But more valuable are songs which give expression to the earnest life of the people and their struggle for the attainment of their great aims. The attitude of singing the praises of nature alone, keeping aloof from social life, is an expression of naturalism or the art-for-art's-sake doctrine and it harmfully influences the working people to abandon the struggle.

The people like songs of a high ideological standard. Only those songs which the people accept, love and sing with pleasure are useful; what is the use of songs which only a few experts understand and like? The ideological viewpoint that art can be understood only by experts, is fundamentally wrong.

The people are the real critics of art. No critic is wiser than the people. Works that have passed the judgment of the people should be regarded as good works, and those which have not, as bad ones. Novels, poetry, music, cinema and all other

arts should be intelligible to the masses of the people and should serve them.

There are certainly shortcomings in the work of our literature and art at present. All our people are racing ahead in the spirit of Chollima riders, and there is no reason why the scenario writers or composers alone should lag behind. Our writers and artists, too, must, and can, ride Chollima to create great works. The question is to eliminate the shortcomings in this branch as soon as possible.

The principal defects in the work of literature and art are, first, that the writers and artists still have not deeply grasped the Party's policies, second, that the writers and artists fail to delve deeply into the life of the people; and, third, that the organizational leadership in this branch is poor.

All our writers and artists want our people to build socialism faster and better so they can live more happily, and they support our people's Chollima Movement. However, the Chollima spirit is not well embodied in the creative activities of the writers. This, after all, is proof that our writers have not yet fully accepted the Chollima spirit, and that they are not breathing the same air as the masses of the people. If you accept the Chollima spirit, you should turn out works which express the same spirit.

First of all, I think that our writers and artists need to make a serious study to determine the ideological roots of their failure to grasp the spirit of the times properly. The trouble seems to be that our writers do not, after all, have a profound grasp of the Party policy.

The vanguard of our people is our Party. Without knowing the intentions of the Party well, it is impossible to have a correct understanding of the great forward movement of our people. One cannot really understand our realities simply by going into the factories or the countryside at random without deeply studying the Party policy. Only those who are firmly armed with our Party's policy can distinguish the new and the old and correctly discern the essentials among the complexities of reality. Hence, before anything else, writers and artists

should make a deep study of our Party's policy to understand its revolutionary stand and scientific, Marxist-Leninist attitude and methods in relation to the realities.

Our literature and art should by no means depart from the interests of the revolution and the Party's line, nor should they tolerate those elements which cater to the taste and liking of the exploiting classes. Only revolutionary literature and art based thoroughly on the line and policy of the Party can truly enjoy the love of the masses of people and become a powerful Party weapon in educating the working masses in the revolutionary spirit of communism.

All the lines and policies of our Party have proceeded from our country's realities and are an expression of the interests of our people. The Party policy is embodied in actual life through the practical struggle of the toiling masses.

Only literature and art born of the realities and closely linked with the practical activities of the masses, can become a truly Party and revolutionary literature and art. Only realistic works of literature and art which give a vivid and profound portrayal of actual life, can appeal to the hearts of people.

Writers, therefore, should know the realities well and delve deeply into the life of the masses of people.

As long as writers and artists remain sitting in Pyongyang, nothing will happen. The life and struggle that impassion people can be seen only when one visits factories and can be experienced only when one goes to the countryside. A good knowledge of realities can be obtained only when you keep constant contact with the workers and peasants and delve deeply into their life.

You should carefully observe the life of the workers and peasants. But observation alone is not enough. Our writers and artists should plunge daringly into the flames of the workers' and peasants' struggle and acquire the ability to view actual life with the same feelings the fighting workers and peasants have. Only then can they be called writers and artists who have experienced the life of our people, only then can they create

ɔrks which enjoy the love of the popular masses and serve em.

Without knowing the people's life well, you cannot truthlly depict our realities and correctly represent the thinking, ntiments and features of the new man of today.

Young people of today are different from those of the past, ıd old people are also not the same as those of days gone by. ɔr can actors correctly portray the new men who are conantly changing and developing, unless they dig into the reities.

What our writers and artists should be particularly conrned about today when they go down to factories or farm llages, is discovering a new type of men and making a good, ·tailed study of their life. If our writers make a good picture the happy and worthwhile life of a Chollima rider, it can good material for the education of thousands and tens of ousands of working people.

At present our Party exerts great efforts to educate and mould the masses. School education or propaganda and agitaɔn alone are not enough for this purpose. Only by mobilizing l forms of literature and art such as novels, poetry, plays, the nema and music—which are excellent means of mass educaɔn—can you effectively conduct the work of educating and moulding the masses.

In particular, those works which portray Chollima riders e very good means for carrying out our Party's policy of lucating people through positive examples

Of late, our Party has made some change in methods of lucating people. While in the past the emphasis in the educaon of people was on criticism of negative phenomena, promience is now given to positive examples.

We have also stopped carrying satires in the newspapers he satires are a practice imported from abroad, and they do ɔt quite agree with the natural idiosyncrasy of the Koreans 'e have thrown them into the dustbin of dogmatism as an lucational method which consists only in dredging up the peole's defects. Our newspapers carry exemplary facts and mov-

ing, praiseworthy episodes instead of satirizing, educating people with them.

Following the March 1958 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, the guardhouse system in our People's Army was abolished and the internal regulations were also revised. This guardhouse system, also, does not agree with our people. People should be educated not by forcible methods, but by persevering persuasion and positive examples.

What is the result of the abolition of the guardhouse system? Some time ago, I visited People's Army units and had talks with soldiers. At that time, I asked a first sergeant if there was any violation of discipline after the abolition of the guardhouse system, and he answered there was none. So I questioned: how could it be possible that there had not been even a single case of violation of discipline in two years? Then, he admitted that there had been one such case: a private used to doze off at every meeting. So, the first sergeant, thinking that it was because he did not let his men have sufficient rest, sent them to bed early. After that, he said, no comrade ever fell asleep at a meeting.

Later, I visited a certain brigade on the east coast and asked the same thing. An officer answered that there had been a case of violation of discipline. According to him, a private had slipped out secretly at night to see his girl friend and then returned. So I said that if the political workers had delved deeply into the life of the soldiers and had worked for timely solutions to problems which had been worrying them, such a case of violation of discipline could have been prevented beforehand.

People are liable to commit errors and reveal shortcomings because everyone has survivals of the old ideas. It is alien to our Party's policy to forsake those people who have obsolete ideas, who have committed errors. Our Party has consistently followed the policy of remoulding people who have obsolete ideas into new men through persevering educational work.

Communist society cannot be built by the strength of one or two extraordinary men. To build a society in which all the

working people can live a life of plenty, everyone should be brought into activity. We should continue to educate and remould all the working people so they may accept the cause of socialism and communism as their own and struggle voluntarily for it.

Under our social system today, anyone can become a communist new man. Under our system, one who follows the wrong path is an exception; the absolute majority are on the right track. So, help them a little, and they can all become fine Communists. Unless everyone is remoulded along the communist lines in this way, the complete victory of socialism cannot be achieved and communist society cannot be built.

In our country a mass movement for educating and remoulding people is now under way. Even young girls have turned out to educate and remould people, declaring with confidence that all people can be remoulded except the class enemies.

Thus, even the hopeless delinquents in our country are being remoulded. There is even a case of a merchant's wife who was remoulded and then reformed her husband who was in a rehabilitation house. She visited her husband once a week to educate him, with the result that the merchant became repentant of his evils and, at last, went so far as to tell his wife where he had buried gold rings and other articles of gold, which, he said, she should dig up and offer to the state.

When we see that even people who have committed serious crimes can all be remoulded in this way, it goes without saying that those who are a little unruly could be educated and remoulded.

As for the families of those who ran away to the south, the Party pursues the policy of accepting and educating and remoulding all of them except a handful of vicious elements. The Party has also sternly criticized the attitude of unwarrantedly suspecting the returned prisoners of war, and directs people to treat them warmly. Comrade Chin Ung Won, a smelter of the Kangson Steel Plant, is a returned prisoner of war. This com-
... who initiated the Chollima

erate organization which covers all branches of literature and art, and for the Party to give direct guidance. It seems necessary to unite groups of writers, composers, dancers, etc., in the General Federation of Literature and Art as before, to make them work collectively under the leadership of the Party.

At present various branches do not receive mutual education and mutual criticism, and each is going its own way. Whatever branch of literature and art is working by itself will fail to see its own shortcomings. What is wrong can be detected only by others. A composer thinks his work the best, but when others listen to it, they can find shortcomings of which the composer is not aware, and can give good advice.

It is necessary to organize symposiums frequently. It will be good to invite workers, peasants and students, too, to the symposiums. Writers seem to hold such meetings rather often, but composers do not. The workers and peasants can make good suggestions about songs, too.

Literature and art can also be developed rapidly only by drawing on the strength of the masses. The strength of a few professionals alone will yield no results.

It is necessary to have many correspondents everywhere. Since the correspondents always live among the masses, they could write rather better works than the professional writers who are confined to their office rooms. There are many middle-school and college graduates working in factories. Give them a little help, and they, too, will be able to write works. The mistaken idea that professional writers alone are able to write scenarios should be cast aside.

The viewpoint that only the professionals can compose music is also wrong. Workers or peasants can all write music. Compositions by workers and peasants who have insufficient training in music, may have defects which conflict with musical standards. If such defects are corrected by the professionals, they will be all right.

As you all know, there are now dramatic sketches and other works created by local circles of amateur artists which are better than those produced in the capital. There are also

very excellent works among those produced by schoolteachers in the farming districts. It is because these works have been born of real life.

Many of the songs which the anti-Japanese guerrillas sang were produced by the guerrillas themselves. Of course, they were not artists; none had attended a conservatory. Many of them were working youths who had only the knowledge of a middle-school graduate at best; there were but few college graduates. The revolutionary songs which we are singing today are the natural and truthful representations of what they felt in their life and struggle.

All this testifies to the fact that there is nothing mysterious about writing scenarios or music, and that not only can workers and peasants take part in literary and artistic creation, but that, without their active participation, there could be no efflorescence of a really popular art.

We have many talented writers and artists. If all writers and artists make sincere efforts, upholding the Party's leadership, they will be able to rapidly develop our literature and art to fit in with our era.

The writers who have accumulated much experience in literary and artistic activities should personally stand in the vanguard and lead the young people forward. Of course, they should lend an open ear to the opinions of the young people, too. They should always hold lively, collective discussions and give active support to all constructive opinions.

The Party will do everything in its power to help you in your work. I sincerely hope you will bring about an epochal turn in the development of literature and art by waging a more energetic struggle to carry through the Party's policy on literature and art.

was difficult and that was mysterious. So, I had a talk with the workers. I told the workers: The June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee passed a resolution to expand the food-processing industry and the production of daily necessities; the people should be supplied with various tasty but cheap foodstuffs as well as good-looking and handy daily necessities in quantity; to do so, various types of machine should be turned out in larger quantities; and all factories and enterprises should also increase production of daily necessities; not a single machine should be allowed to stand idle; machines should be worked at a faster rate without letting them stand idle even for a moment, and more goods should be turned out. When they heard me, the workers said they felt qualms of conscience; they had so far been actually keeping many machines idle and inoperative, which was a very grave matter.

Factories under the First Bureau did not carry out the Party's decision on maximum utilization of equipment. Consequently, hundreds of machines were lying dormant, and thousands of additional machines which could have been turned out were not produced. They say that Factory No. 26, for instance, can turn out 2,500 looms, 500 boilers and 70-80 roving frames besides fulfilling its assignments for munitions production; sometime ago Factory No. 65 fulfilled its production plan for the current year; and the Huichon Machine-tool Factory has committed itself to manufacture 2,300 metal-cutting tools all by August 15. So far, however, those factories have not turned out more, although they could have, and have not endeavoured to work all their machines.

What stands in the way of exploring latent reserves and forging ahead apace? Nothing but passivism and conservatism. Passive elements and conservatives hold us back, both at the Ministry of Machine-building Industry and at the machine factories. This applies also to the electrical, metallurgical, cement, construction, and all other branches.

Comrades, what tremendous harm the anti-Party factionalist elements and conservatives have done to the field of construction! The rascals lurking there distorted and delib-

-ly failed to carry out the construction policy of the Party forth at the January 1956 Conference of Builders. When the [illegible] gave instructions to introduce assembly-line methods in nstruction, the anti-Party elements and conservatives did ery dirty trick, saying it was contrary to reason, and in-[illegible] When they saw the Ministry of Light Industry in-[illegible] assembly-line methods in construction, they said: May -e confounded buildings collapse with a crash! That's how the anti-Party elements and conservatives went to hinder progress of our revolution.

The Party fought resolutely against the anti-Party fac-[illegible] elements and conservatives and endeavoured to carry [illegible]gh its construction policy. When the rascals had been [illegible] out, construction went ahead in a fine way. Since the [illegible]ber 1957 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Com-[illegible]ttee, a great change has taken place in construction. There a great disparity between the building speed of 1956 and [illegible] of 1957 and 1958. In Pyongyang, the builders have re-[illegible] to erect dwellings for 20,000 families with the funds, [illegible]ials and manpower intended for 7,000 flats.

We could undertake as many more construction projects we want now if only we had enough cement. But passive [illegible] have made their nest in the field of cement, too, and blocking our way. So the Presidium of the Party Central [illegible] has taken measures for eliminating this sluggish [illegible]y in that branch and producing cement in large quanti-[illegible] If we just overcome conservatism, 2 million tons will rtainly be turned out next year.

Also, when the Party gave instructions to complete the [illegible] of the Hwanghae Iron Works by May Day this [illegible], the conservatives said: How can such big blast furnace [illegible] coke oven be built by May Day? To ask for such a thing [illegible] even knowing all about it! So, we told them: We claim [illegible] particular knowledge and we are not technicians, either. [illegible] one thing we know well. What is it? That is, the revolu-[illegible]ry principle that when the working class resolves to come in response to the call of the Party, nothing is impossible;

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erately failed to carry out the construction policy of the Party set forth at the January 1956 Conference of Builders. When the Party gave instructions to introduce assembly-line methods in construction, the anti-Party elements and conservatives did every dirty trick, saying it was contrary to reason, and infeasible. When they saw the Ministry of Light Industry introduce assembly-line methods in construction, they said: May those confounded buildings collapse with a crash! That's how far the anti-Party elements and conservatives went to hinder the progress of our revolution.

The Party fought resolutely against the anti-Party factionalist elements and conservatives and endeavoured to carry through its construction policy. When the rascals had been thrown out, construction went ahead in a fine way. Since the October 1957 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, a great change has taken place in construction. There is a great disparity between the building speed of 1956 and that of 1957 and 1958. In Pyongyang, the builders have resolved to erect dwellings for 20,000 families with the funds, materials and manpower intended for 7,000 flats.

We could undertake as many more construction projects as we want now if only we had enough cement. But passive elements have made their nest in the field of cement, too, and are blocking our way. So the Presidium of the Party Central Committee has taken measures for eliminating this sluggish tendency in that branch and producing cement in large quantities. If we just overcome conservatism, 2 million tons will certainly be turned out next year.

Also, when the Party gave instructions to complete the construction of the Hwanghae Iron Works by May Day this year, the conservatives said: How can such big blast furnace and coke oven be built by May Day? To ask for such a thing without even knowing all about it! So, we told them: We claim no particular knowledge and we are not technicians, either. But one thing we know well. What is it? That is, the revolutionary principle that when the working class resolves to come out in response to the call of the Party, nothing is impossible;

if the passive elements and conservatives are repelled and the activists are mobilized, it is possible to do anything and make rapid progress. What happened in the end? The position of the conservatives who were so outspoken in asserting the impossibility of the project was totally discredited and the Hwanghae Iron Works was completed before May Day.

In the production of ferro-coke, too, there were impediments from conservatism. Conservatives said: How could we do things which even advanced countries were unable to manage well? Should we do only what others do, and not what others cannot do? What is wrong with the Koreans doing something ahead of others?

When I visited Factory No. 65 recently, some people also said: This is a Soviet norm, and how can we do it? So I told them as follows: At present the Soviet economy is greatly advanced and the Soviet people are well-off, but our lives are difficult now, and we should advance faster than others to become well-off as soon as possible; why should we make it a point to stick to Soviet norms? What is wrong if we Koreans produce two while the Soviet people make one? Do not loiter unnecessarily in the shadow of Soviet norms, I said.

Nothing is impossible if we think boldly and set to work daringly, putting our faith in the might of the masses. We should smash the passivism and conservatism that stand in our way always insisting that even the advanced countries have not dared to do what we are doing, that nobody has ever tried to do it.

Conservatives do not move about with the words "passive element" or "conservative" inscribed on their foreheads. They pay lip service to "innovation" and "Chollima," but back down in practical acts and work. In the struggle against conservatism, therefore, it is necessary to learn to distinguish who is conservative and who is not.

In making continuous advance and uninterrupted innovation at this time, it is important to smash conservatism decisively. The entire Party should be mobilized to wage an energetic struggle against conservatism.

2. ON THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE WORK OF SOCIALIST EDUCATION

Now, it is an important question to further consolidate the socialist gains we have won.

Socialist transformation has been completed in our country. In towns and countryside, socialist economic forms constitute a system that holds undivided sway. This represents a great victory for the socialist revolution. But the consciousness of people is still very backward, even though the economic forms have all been transformed along socialist lines. Lots of individualism and selfishness remain in the minds of those who, until yesterday, lived under the capitalist economy. That is why the intensification of the work of socialist education poses itself as an important question.

What kind of ideas should be fostered today? It is necessary to foster collectivist ideas so that all help each other and unite in developing the socialist economy and devote themselves to common interests. The selfish ideas remaining among our peasants are the greatest obstacle to the consolidation of the victory of socialism. Nevertheless, the struggle against the selfish ideas is not waged energetically today.

Individualism and selfishness are manifested in the daily life of the peasants. In the state procurement of grain, too, some peasants do not sell rice to the state in good time, but store it up with an eye to selling it in the spring when the price rises. Such outmoded ideas on the part of the peasants should be rectified.

The complete victory of socialism can be assured only when the socialist economic system is further consolidated in towns and countryside and the consciousness of people is remoulded along socialist lines. Therefore, it becomes an important question to eliminate the survivals of bourgeois ideas

from the minds of people and arm them with socialist ideology. We should further consolidate our socialist system and accelerate socialist construction by cultivating among the working people a spirit of loyalty to the Party and the revolution, of devotedly fighting for the country and the people, and also by educating them in collectivist ideas which mean that everyone dedicates himself to the common interests, to the common welfare, instead of seeking personal gain.

3. ON THE TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTIONS

We are going to carry out the technical revolution in the countryside, because we want to solve the questions of how to farm without crop failures, how to reap rich harvests, how to economize on labour, make work easy and increase profits. The solution to these questions is indispensable for the consolidation of the socialist system in our countryside and for the decisive improvement of the peasants' living conditions.

The keystone of the technical revolution in the countryside is the establishment of an irrigation system in all the cultivated areas except on steep slopes, reckoning with the natural and economic conditions of our country. If we establish an irrigation system in 600,000 *chongbo* of rice paddies and 700,000 *chongbo* of dry fields in our country, it will mean the solution of the most fundamental problem of the technical revolution in the countryside.

Water should be channelled into fields with suitable conditions for conversion into rice paddies; dry-field irrigation should be introduced where there is lack of water, the area is wide or where conditions are not suitable for conversion into rice fields. Only when the area of paddies is expanded and the dry fields are irrigated in this way, can our countryside yield high and stable harvests every year and become affluent.

While establishing the irrigation system, we should promote *mechanization of the countryside. It is urgent to mechanize* transport operations. A tractor-and-lorry-hire station should be set up in each county. Elementary mechanization can be realized if we allocate an average of about 100 tractors and 60 lorries to each county, to begin with.

Electrification should also be brought to the countryside. This can be done easily because our country has the foundations of the power industry and plenty of power resources. At present, copper wire is in very short supply, but it is quite possible to solve this problem, too, if copper output is increased and aluminium wire and other substitutes are used in place of copper wire.

The cultural revolution should be carried out together with the technical revolution. With regard to the cultural revolution, some people think it is enough to sweep the courtyard and swat the flies. The main contents of the cultural revolution consist in raising the educational level and the cultural and technical levels of people. The central task of the cultural revolution today is to raise the knowledge of all people to the level of primary school graduates, and that of primary school graduates to the level of secondary school graduates—not only in towns, but also in the countryside. Only by uplifting the cultural and technical levels of all the working people can we firmly equip our national economy with new technology and run it well. This is the only way to turn our country into a civilized one.

The functionaries of the Party, the organs of power, the economic agencies and social organizations and the People's Army officers should all acquire knowledge above the level of secondary school graduates at least, and, further, the educational level of the entire people should be elevated. To this end, the work of adult education should be further improved.

At the same time, adequate preparations should be made for the introduction of the compulsory secondary education system. We are going to introduce compulsory secondary education for the first time in Asia. This is a great thing. The

compulsory secondary education system enables all youths to go through junior middle school.

And in the future, the youths who have finished junior middle school should all be enrolled in technical school. Technical school is an effective educational system which gives the new generation skills in a definite branch of work and gives them general knowledge and vocational skills simultaneously by combining theory with practice. Therefore, many technical schools in all branches, including industry and agriculture, should be set up in towns and villages.

While raising the people's level of knowledge, the amateur circle activities in physical culture, dance, music, etc., should be developed on a mass scale to enrich cultural life and foster optimism. In this respect, the democratic publicity hall should play an important role as the centre of cultural life in the countryside. But now these halls are not run well. When I went and saw some of them, they had nothing but a few chairs in the empty rooms.

Naturally, a democratic publicity hall should be arranged neatly and in a cultured way. It should have diagrams, wall-newspapers, pictorials, magazines, games, etc., which will interest people and have educational value. Only then will the people gather there of their own accord and see and learn even one more thing that is new. This is the only way to enable the democratic publicity hall to play its proper role in the cultural revolution.

The wisdom and power of many people of the *ri* should be extensively enlisted in cultural work in the countryside. Let me analyse the example of a certain *ri* of Changsong County. It has 120 houses, as many as 22 persons having the knowledge of secondary school graduates—11 teachers as well as the *ri* Party committee chairman, *ri* people's committee chairman, chairman and chief accountant of the co-operative, and workers at the forestry station, road office and stores. If the *ri* Party organization mobilizes them properly, it will be able to conduct effectively both the work of adult education and the work of the democratic publicity hall. If the 120 houses are allotted

among the 22 persons, each of them will be in charge of five or six houses. If each of them takes charge of five or six houses and exerts himself for some three years, the cultural standard of all the people in the *ri* will be raised and their consciousness remoulded considerably.

We asked the *ri* Party committee chairman if the *ri* Party committee had ever taken up this problem and given assignments to the functionaries in the *ri*, inasmuch as they were all his people and belonged to the same Party organization. When we went to the primary school, we also met the teachers and asked them if they had ever given assistance in the work of the democratic publicity hall or in adult education. They all said no. The *ri* Party organization had not organized this kind of work. Cultural work in the countryside can be conducted as successfully as can be if the *ri* Party organization does organizational work.

The schools should play an important role in the cultural revolution in the countryside. We fail to make good use of our student force now. Through the students, scientific knowledge can be disseminated among parents and socialist ideology can be instilled in them, and public sanitary work, too, can be conducted properly.

Schools and students should be the model in hygienic work. Nevertheless, when we visit a school, we still find pupils with long hair, grimy faces, and in clothes glossy with dirt. This should not be tolerated. If parents pay just a little attention, they can see that their children's clothes are washed on time When the pupils come to school in the morning, the teacher should see if they have washed their faces, trimmed their nails, and are wearing clean clothes, and should guide them properly. But he does not do so. Even worse, there are cases where the teacher himself goes about without shaving, in unironed clothes, and without sewing missing buttons back on. Some school mistresses go about with their hair unkempt and as disheveled as a thicket. As long as things are in such a state, culture cannot be developed and the cultural revolution cannot be carried out in our country.

Public sanitary work should be done effectively. At present it is done only superficially, but it should be conducted in a thoroughgoing manner.

Recently, I visited Changsong County and learned that the county people's committee had distributed lime and had the houses whitewashed all in one day. It is not a bad thing to do lime-plastering, but what they all did was only a face-lifting, they did not plaster the interior. To do it in a substantial way, they should have cleaned up the inside of the houses, papered the walls, and whitewashed both the interior and exterior with lime. It will not do to think that sweeping the courtyard is all there is to hygienic work.

At present the children's clothes are dirty. All the grown-ups have their Sunday best, but the children do not. So, we are going to find all pupils and students in uniforms next year.

Along with the construction of modern dwellings, the building of bathhouses, nurseries, laundries, etc., should be stepped up. We should lessen women's household chores so that they can go to work free of worries. To this end, it is essential to set up nurseries and laundries. I have seen the washing machine made at the Kanggye Machine-building Plant and it is excellent. It washes about 30 pieces of clothing at a time in just a few minutes. It will do if all the agricultural co-operatives have a washing machine of this type.

4. ON DEVELOPING LOCAL INDUSTRY EXTENSIVELY

According to my preliminary observations, our functionaries do not seem to have a profound knowledge of the decision of the June Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. The June Plenary Meeting decided to extend the food-processing industry and the production of daily necessities in order to improve the people's livelihood rapidly. The state should

take measures and an all-people campaign should be launched simultaneously to implement this decision.

Measures to be taken by the state mean that the state-owned industrial enterprises should open by-product shops to increase the production of daily necessities and, besides, that factories for daily necessities should be built with state investments.

And the all-people campaign means that each district should enlist the local resources and set up small-scale factories on its own without big state investments, and turn out foodstuffs and other daily necessities in large quantities.

The task of the chairmen of the county Party and people's committees is to use their brains to tap all local resources and potentialities. At least, more than one local industry factory should be established in each county, as it is provided for in the Cabinet decision and included in the slogan for the August 15 Liberation anniversary this year. The decision is very clear. Yet, when I had talks with the leading county functionaries in North Pyongan and Chagang Provinces, they said they were still studying it. They are simply waiting for the time when the state or the province will make big machines for them, provide them with funds and send down production quotas. These are state measures, not a popular campaign.

You should use your heads and decide for yourselves what can be done, according to local conditions. You may set up cart-repair shops, paper mills, textile mills and what not. Some counties are hard pressed even for a cart shop. I have heard that there is no cart-repair shop in Popdong County of Kangwon Province, and so, when a cart breaks down, people carry it on their shoulders and go as far as Wonsan for repairs.

In Chonchon I looked into a mill making dry noodles out of maize, and it was really excellent. Such a mill can be set up any place. In a district that abounds in potatoes, a mill for potato noodles should be set up, and where vegetables are plentiful a vegetable-processing factory should be built. A small food-processing factory can be set up with just a room and a couple of big jars.

Many small and medium-scale textile mills, for instance, can be set up. I have inspected the mill for silk gauze in Anju, which is equipped entirely with treadle looms. One treadle loom turns out 40 metres a day, they say. So, if just one mill with 100 treadle looms is set up, that will be a great thing. The output of 100 looms will be 4,000 metres a day. Working an estimated 300 days, the annual output will be 1,200,000 metres.

It is also advisable to set up a paper mill to make white paper from tree bark. Daub the white paper all over with oil, and you will have excellent floor paper. If you do your work well, you can make sure that the peasants apply oil paper to the floors of all their rooms and live neat and in a cultured way.

Changsong County, for example, is rich in brush-wood. This can be used to bake earthenware and the ash can make highly potassic fertilizer. So it serves two ends. You can find as many such undertakings as you want to.

At present, the producers' co-operatives turn out all sorts of goods with no large investment. They produce goods worth 18,000 million *won*. You will do well to go and inspect the producers' co-operatives.

If only work is laid out, manpower can be found to do it. At least 200 to 300 families of workers and office employees live in each county seat. They represent idle local labour power that can be drawn into production at any time.

Technicians, too, can be found. In any county, the producers' co-operatives have quite a few handicraftsmen in them. Some functionaries are unwilling to employ such technicians because they were engaged in private dealings up until yesterday, but this is wrong. Until yesterday they were private technicians, but today they have become socialist working people. Such people should not be kept at arm's length but should be boldly drawn into technical work; then they will show still greater enthusiasm in their work.

To set up and operate more than one small or medium-size factory in each county is an important measure for ensuring the production of large quantities of processed foodstuffs and daily necessities by enlisting local resources without involving

an expenditure of state funds, and for improving the people's living conditions quickly. An extensive establishment of local factories has many good points. Good because the family incomes of the workers and office employees increase as all the women go out to work; good because the women receive political training and collectivist education; good because labour power can be increased without laying out more housing funds and state grain.

And another good point is that it will increase knowledge of enterprise management on the part of the leading county functionaries. A big shortcoming of many chairmen of county Party and people's committees is that they do not know how to manage a factory. They do not know how to make economic calculations. This proves a hindrance also to their guidance of agriculture. Economic calculation is necessary in agriculture, too, but as a consequence of the small attention paid to it, the struggle to lower the cost of farm produce is very limited. If factories are operated in every county, the economic knowledge of that county's leading functionaries can be enhanced and their guidance work improved.

Thus, it is necessary and preferable in all respects to set up local factories. Therefore, you should use your wits in your work in order to thoroughly carry out the decision of the June Plenary Meeting. You should not simply look to the higher bodies for help, but conduct this work on your own and in an all-people campaign.

5. ON IMPROVING WORK METHOD IN THE CITY AND COUNTY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

The principal defect in the work of the city and county people's committees is that they fail to take an overall view of things If they are pushed one step forward, they go one step forward, and if two, two steps forward; if they are pushed on

this side, the other side goes wrong, and if they are pushed on the other side, this side goes amiss. This is because they do not have a deep understanding of the Party's policies.

The principles and the basic orientation of the Party policy should be correctly grasped. Only then can one do one's work creatively in conformity with the actual conditions in his locality. It will not do to work so mechanically as to do just what is specified in a Party decision, and nothing more.

The Party policy sets forth the general direction for the whole country; it cannot specify for each locality one by one what to do and how to do it. That is why the functionaries should make a profound study of the Party policy and why they must show organizational ability and activity in order to carry it out efficiently.

A formalistic attitude towards the Party policy could be found in the work of the former leading functionaries of Ryanggang Province. When we named maize king of the dry field grains, people in Ryanggang Province also made a fuss planting extensive areas with maize. In Ryanggang Province, maize cannot be king. Not maize, but potatoes grow well there. In Ryanggang Province the king of the dry field grains is potatoes. And at the foot of Mt. Paekdu-san where rice does not grow, people had a really hard time of it turning the dry fields into paddies for the simple reason that instructions had been given to carry out irrigation works.

The people of Ryanggang Province had been fairly well-off before when they used to raise potatoes, but they had a hell of a time doing paddy farming. They had bitter experiences turning dry fields into paddies, and suffered hardships because rice did not grow, and then they had to go through the pain of turning the paddies back into dry fields again. Thus, they had a bad time of it for about three or four years, what with one thing and another.

What the county people's committees have done so far is to work without using their brains in pursuance with the Party policy, like a machine that operates only as manipulated, moving when manipulated from above and remaining stationary

when the strings are not pulled. So it is like playing with a marionette.

In organizing the work to carry out the decision of the June Plenary Meeting, too, it has been clearly revealed that local functionaries lack initiative. As I have found out, all of them sit and mark time, waiting for the decision of the provincial Party committee's plenary meeting. Each city and county Party committee and people's committee should have organized the work promptly in conformity with the actual conditions of their county on the basis of the policy laid down in the decision of the Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. Yet, the provincial Party committee is preparing for a plenary meeting, and the county Party committee, too, is preparing for a plenary meeting while still waiting for a signal from the province.

As for meetings, too, there is a lot of formalism. What is the use of holding unnecessary plenary meetings? There is no need for both the provincial and county Party committees to hold a plenary meeting just because the Party Central Committee has held a Plenary Meeting. A plenary meeting should be held where it is needed, the executive committee should meet if it is necessary, and a people's assembly should be called to session where it is required; any means available to carry out the decision will do.

Inasmuch as the North Pyongan Provincial Party Committee is going to convene a plenary meeting to hear a report on the execution of the decision of the June Plenary Meeting, I have asked the vice-chairmen of the Provincial Party Committee how the report will be prepared and what decisions are envisaged. They said that, as a matter of fact, there was nothing to add to what the Central Committee had already said, and that, rather, they ran the risk of leaving out something, if a new report was made. If that is the case, why take the trouble to make another report and adopt another resolution? It would be enough to convene a meeting of the executive committee of the Provincial Party Committee and organize the work in accordance with the policy worked out

by the Central Committee and then personally go down to the counties to take measures as to what kind of food-processing factory should be set up here and what kind of daily necessities factory there, and spur on the work. There is no need of making matters unnecessarily involved with provincial and county Party committee plenary meetings, reports and resolutions. Indeed, necessary meetings have to be convened, but there is no need to adhere to forms.

All these things tie up the functionaries, preventing them from displaying initiative in their work. They say that if they do not perform the formalities, the guidance group comes around and takes them to task. The guidance group, they say, grills them: Why don't you convene a plenary meeting, why don't you take up the matter; why are you neglecting the Party decision so much? This is wrong. The guidance group should not be exacting about the formalities, but about the content of work.

It is a big drawback that our functionaries lack initiative. So, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee has made it an important task to bring into play the initiative and activity of the leading workers of the counties and *ri*.

An important factor in boosting initiative lies in the profound understanding of the substance of the Party policy. You should not swallow the Party policy whole or take a formal attitude towards it, but should establish the spirit of making a deep study of it and carrying it out creatively according to the actual conditions.

On-the-spot guidance should also be strengthened. At present various meetings are held quite often in the capital, in the provinces and in the counties. This erroneous practice should be ended. An end should be put once and for all to the work style of calling meetings incessantly and sitting put in one place while imposing things on people down below. This question, too, was raised by the Party a long time ago, but it is not being carried into practice well.

The talks I have had with leading county functionaries reveal that they do not give proper on-the-spot guidance. They

say that if a county people's committee chairman goes down to a *ri* and stays there overnight and then returns, that is the longest time he spends on the spot. That will not do. When he goes down to a *ri*, he should stay there for at least two or three days, help the *ri* Party committee chairman or the *ri* people's committee chairman in his work, have talks with the Party activists, study how matters stand in the *ri* and take concrete measures to improve things. However, our functionaries do not give on-the-spot guidance in this way. When they go down to the *ri*, most of them make a subjective conclusion after attending a meeting for a couple of hours, without scrupulously examining the content of work. Or else, they meet the *ri* Party committee chairman or the *ri* people's committee chairman, get statistical figures and then return. Such being the case, the work of the *ri* people's committee or the *ri* Party committee cannot be expected to come off well.

The leading county functionaries should go down to the *ri* and stay there several days, during which time they should ask questions of the elders, have talks both with Party members and non-Party people, and, availing themselves of the opportunity, consult them about how to conduct cultural work, how to sell commodities, how to make preparations for farming and how to further raise the living standard of the peasants, and render them concrete assistance. It will not do to impose things on them, instead, by giving subjective orders of one kind or another. Only through direct contacts with the masses will you be able to find out everything clearly: Which part of the *ri* work is lagging, what the weak points are in the work of the *ri* people's committee chairman, how to rectify them, what the level of ideological consciousness and the character of the cadres and activists in the *ri* are, and how to mobilize the force of the nuclei and all the peasants effectively.

If the leading county functionaries do their work in this way for about a year, they will be able to have the actual conditions in the county at their fingertips. At present, as I have found in the course of talking with county people's committee chairmen, they do not know the state of affairs in their

counties; they can describe the situation only if they consult their memos. It is not that they have bad memories, but that they are not versed in the state of affairs in their counties. If they delve into the work of each *ri*, they will be able to get full information such as what is the area of dry fields and paddies in the *ri* and what is the production. They can tell the figures of every *ri* without looking at their memos.

The present chairmen of the *ri* Party and *ri* people's committees are mostly good people. If they mismanage their work, it is not because they are bad people, but because they do not know how to do it. So, you should perseveringly teach and help people, instead of firing them after things have gone wrong. In matters like holding a meeting, too, you should not merely give instructions to hold a meeting, but should guide them on how to make preparations for a meeting and conduct it and after the meeting, teach them one by one how to organize, inspect and review the execution of its decisions. As for teaching them, there is the method of giving short courses, but the best way is to show and guide them by demonstration on the spot. You should provide conditions and give scrupulous help to the chairmen of *ri* Party and *ri* people's committees so that they all may display initiative and activity. A spirit of always giving guidance in this way should be developed, whether it be the province guiding the county or the county guiding the *ri*.

I would like to emphasize once again that the city and county people's committees should smash conservatism, make continued innovations and uninterrupted advance, intensify socialist education among the peasants, promote the technical and cultural revolutions, use their wits to carry out the work of building local factories, improve the work method of the people's committees, and, besides, successfully carry out all the tasks ahead. While raising a few problems such as those mentioned here in general, I wish you great success in your future work.

REPORT AT THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

September 8, 1958

Dear comrades,

Ten years has elapsed since the Korean people proclaimed the founding of their independent state and newly emerged on the scene of history under the glorious banner of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Today, our people look back with great pride and joy on the glorious path of victories along which they have militantly traversed during the past decade.

Ten years is a very short span of time in the long history of our country. During this period, however, the people living in our epoch have done many things which our ancestors could not even dream of doing in many centuries; they have made really great achievements for their beloved country. The look of our country has changed beyond recognition, and a great transformation and leap forward have been made in the history and life of our people.

Today all our working people, with greater hope and confidence in the future of their prosperous country, are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic by a great political and labour upsurge.

On the occasion of this historic holiday, allow me, on behalf of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the

Republic, to extend warm greetings to you and to the entire Korean people.

Comrades,

Our victory and glory have not come of themselves. Our country, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, is a great achievement of our people, made through a long and difficult struggle for the freedom and independence of the nation, and it has been consolidated and developed through one arduous trial after another.

Deprived of their territory and national independence, the Korean people were forced to lead the dismal life of colonial slaves under Japanese imperialism for nearly half a century.

Numerous Korean patriots, headed by the Communists, waged a long, bloody struggle solely for the liberation of the nation and the restoration of their country, never yielding to the brutal suppression of the Japanese imperialists.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has inherited the patriotic, revolutionary traditions of our people and embodied the unanimous desire of our nation for freedom and liberation of the country.

The liberation of our country from the yoke of Japanese imperialist colonial rule opened up to our people vast prospects of national independence and democratic development. Our people took part in the struggle for the creation of a new life with great patriotic zeal.

However, the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. imperialists and their aggressive policy created big obstacles to the struggle of the Korean people in the building of a democratic, sovereign and independent state and caused complication and difficulty to the Korean revolution. From the first days of liberation, our Party had to hew out the destiny of the country and the people under most complex and difficult circumstances.

In view of this situation prevailing in the country our Party embarked upon the path of building a powerful revolutionary democratic base in the northern half, which would guarantee complete independence for the country.

By channelling the heightened revolutionary enthusiasm of our liberated people, the Party established a people's power in north Korea, and in a short space of time carried out an agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries and other democratic reforms. As a result, a new, people's democratic system was established in north Korea, which began to develop as the base of the Korean revolution, as a mighty material force for the reunification of the country.

The U.S. imperialists who occupied south Korea were opposed from the start to the construction by the Korean people of a democratic independent state, while they pursued a colonial enslavement policy there. They suppressed all patriotic forces in south Korea, raked together landlords, comprador capitalists and traitors to the nation, and rigged up a reactionary puppet regime to perpetuate the division of our country.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was born on the democratic base built in north Korea, amid the nation-wide struggle of the entire Korean people against the divisive manoeuvres on the part of the U.S. imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, founded by the people themselves and serving the people, is the first genuine people's state in the history of our country. The workers, peasants and other working people of Korea, who had lived through age-old oppression, humiliation, darkness and suffering, are now guiding their own destiny as masters of their country.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the banner of freedom and independence of the Korean people, and it is a powerful weapon in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country and the building of a new society. Thus, our country, which had been deprived of its own colour on the world map for a long time, entered the international arena under the new banner of the Democratic People's Republic and as a member of the great socialist camp.

In the course of its development over the past ten years, the state and social system of our Republic has demonstrated its indestructible vitality and superiority both in the flames of war

and in the peaceful construction which entailed many difficulties.

The three-year war forced upon us by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, the Syngman Rhee clique, was the severest trial for our people's democratic system and for the entire Korean people. The 16 imperialist countries of the world, headed by the United States, employed the most savage means of war in an attempt to obliterate the young Democratic People's Republic of Korea and our people's gains.

The Korean war was unparalleled for its cruelty, and it brought untold distress and suffering to our people. But the Korean people, undaunted, rose up in a body under the leadership of our Party in the heroic resistance to the armed aggressors.

With the active support of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other brother countries, our people and our People's Army, in co-operation with the Chinese People's Volunteers, repelled the enemy's armed invasion, and defended their Republic, safeguarding every inch of their motherland with their lives.

In the war the Korean people showed that no imperialist aggressor can conquer our people who have taken power into their own hands and enjoy the positive support of the socialist camp.

After defeating the U.S. imperialist armed aggressors who had boasted of being the "strongest" in the world, our people were more firmly convinced than ever that they could tide over any difficulty and win the ultimate victory of the Korean revolution.

The world imperialists headed by the United States still refuse to recognize our People's Republic. But they cannot deny the fact that they suffered a crushing defeat in their war against us, that they had to lay down their arms and sign the Armistice Agreement before the flag of our Republic.

Whether the enemies recognize it or not, whether they like it or not, our Republic still exists as a full-fledged independent state; it is prospering and developing daily, and stands firmly at the eastern outpost of peace and socialism.

(1)

Comrades,

After liberation, our country took over a backward economy and culture left behind by the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism. We had an acute shortage of national cadres, and we lacked experience in state administration and in economic construction.

As a result, our national construction was inevitably accompanied by many difficulties. The division of our country into the north and the south and the incessant subversive activities of the U.S. imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique against the northern half of the Republic made our state and economic construction still more difficult.

The great democratic reforms carried out after liberation, under the leadership of our Party, opened up broad prospects for the rapid rehabilitation and development of the national economy and the improvement of the people's living standards in the northern half and created the social and economic conditions that allowed us to carry out the tasks in the period of gradual transition to socialism.

On the basis of the victorious democratic reforms, all the working people in our country, led by the working class, made considerable achievements in national and economic construction, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles.

However, our peaceful work was interrupted by the war forced upon us by the enemy. The three years of war played havoc with our national economy and greatly deteriorated the living conditions of our people. The war retarded the progress of our originally backward national economy for five or six years, and further deteriorated our already-low living standards

The most fundamental task before us in the postwar period was to rapidly restore the devastated economy, further develop

it and consolidate the economic foundations of the Republic and, at the same time, to quickly raise the deteriorated living standard of the people.

With a view to carrying out this task successfully, our Party laid down the basic line of postwar economic construction which was to give priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, and mobilized the masses of working people for its fulfilment. This was the only correct way.

Needless to say, it was a very complicated and difficult task to carry out this line and fulfil the basic task of postwar economic restoration since there was total destruction and we were short of everything. But we had to do it. We could not drag out the restoration of our ruined national economy nor could we remain mere onlookers to the difficult living conditions of the people for long.

In working out its economic policy for solving this immense and arduous task, the Party relied, first of all, on the indomitable fighting spirit and inexhaustible creative energy of our working people who had rallied around the Party more closely and had been tempered and seasoned through the war; at the same time, the Party counted on the economic and technical aid of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other fraternal countries. It also took into account the fact that the key to the solution of all our problems lay in the priority restoration and development of those heavy industry branches which, though severely damaged, formerly had a certain foundation in our country.

Encouraged by the correct policy of our Party, the working people of our country overcame all hardships in the difficult conditions of the postwar days and fulfilled the Three-Year Plan successfully. Thus, in only three to four years following the war, industrial and agricultural production not only regained prewar levels but also exceeded them considerably. In this way we laid firm material foundations for developing the national economy on a higher level and for further improving the people's living conditions.

In 1957, in conformity with the basic line set forth by the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, we embarked upon the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan, the first of its kind in the history of our country. The transition to the Five-Year Plan in our country represents a new stage of socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic.

The Five-Year Plan is aimed at completely eliminating the backwardness of our national economy, turning our country into a self-supporting industrial-agricultural state and at sharply raising the material and cultural standards of our people.

When we set out to fulfil the Five-Year Plan, an important issue arose: to maintain the high development rate of the productive forces. This was necessary because of the prevailing situation in our country and also because of the backwardness of our economic development.

The progress of the Five-Year Plan has fully shown the correctness of the line laid down by the Party.

In the course of implementing the decision of the December 1956 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, great changes have taken place in state and social life and in the labour efforts of the working people. All our working people who rose in response to the call of the Party, displayed great labour enthusiasm and inexhaustible creativity in all fields of socialist construction, thereby achieving great successes in the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan.

Our heroic working class topped the 1957 plan for industrial production by 17 per cent, and are also triumphantly overfulfilling the 1958 plan. In 1957, industrial output increased by 44 per cent compared with the preceding year, and in the first half of 1958, by 34 per cent as against the corresponding period of last year.

Last year, in spite of the severe drought, our peasants raised the biggest ever crop in the history of our country, exceeding the grain production plan by 12 per cent. This year, too, there was a long spell of drought, just as severe as last year's, but a far greater grain output than last year's is expected thanks to the great labour enthusiasm of the peasants.

Today our country is taking an enormous leap forward along the road to socialism. All factories and enterprises are launching a mass innovation movement to increase production and practise economy. In all fields of socialist construction the working people are setting up new records and working miracles. Our working people, who believe in the correctness of the Party policy, are rushing forward towards socialism in the spirit of Chollima riders.

We have now entered a period of great upsurge in socialist construction. Our people do not want to live in the old way nor do they want to lag behind. They want to wipe out all that is outdated and live in a new way. They are rushing ahead to emerge from the backwardness as soon as possible, and to live as well as other people.

The surging revolutionary spirit of the popular masses shows that we can fulfil the gigantic assignments of the Five-Year Plan far ahead of schedule.

Many enterprises have already resolved to fulfil the Five-Year Plan a year and a half ahead of the set time.

We are firmly convinced that the working people of our country will mark the 15th anniversary of the August 15 Liberation, our national holiday, with the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan by their heroic labour.

Comrades,

Thanks to the correct policies of the Party and the Government and to the devoted labour efforts of our working people, we have already achieved epoch-making successes in socialist construction.

Today, the might of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been further strengthened.

Industry, the leading sector of the national economy, has undergone a number of radical changes with respect to its technical equipment and its structure, and industrial production has attained a higher level.

During the postwar Three-Year Plan, our Party, while directing its main efforts to the restoration of the destroyed enterprises and production installations, paid careful attention

to carrying out a considerable amount of technological reconstruction and to creating a number of new industrial branches. This line of our Party ensured the rapid growth of industrial production, on the one hand, and enabled us, on the other, to decisively remedy the colonial lopsidedness and technological backwardness of our industry.

In the course of carrying out the Five-Year Plan, technological reconstruction is being conducted on a broader scale in all fields of industry; the foundations of our independent industry are being consolidated; and industrial production is increasing.

This year our industry will turn out 4.7 times the amount of manufactured goods it did ten years ago. When the damages caused by the war and the time spent for their recovery are taken into account, this high growth rate of industrial production has, in fact, been attained in the four to five years following the war.

We have rebuilt and expanded heavy industry bases and have also set up new light industry bases.

Such vital heavy industry sectors as the metal, machine-building, chemical, and building-materials industries, have been further expanded; and the fuel and power bases of our country, too, have been further consolidated. This year our country will produce 8,600 million kwh of electricity, more than 6.7 million tons of coal, over 500,000 tons of pig iron and granulated iron, 410,000 tons of steel, more than 450,000 tons of chemical fertilizer and 1.2 million tons of cement.

The machine-building industry, which was the most backward in our country, has developed at a very high rate. In 1957, the output value of the machine-building and metal-processing industries grew 29 times that in 1946. Before the war, we had to import almost all the machinery and equipment we needed. But now, we can produce for ourselves machine tools, electrical machines, mining machinery, building machines, farm machines, vessels, processing equipment for light industry, and various accessories, thereby promoting further the technological reconstruction of all branches of our national economy.

If our Party had not given priority to the development of heavy industry in the postwar period, how could we now ensure the new upsurge of industry and agriculture and the vast construction work in progress throughout the country? Only by preferentially developing heavy industry could we rapidly rehabilitate the damaged national economy, improve the people's living conditions in a short time, and lay our own material foundations for developing our national economy on a higher level.

In the development of light industry, too, we have made epochal achievements. The textile industry, newly set up in our country, will turn out 120 million metres of different fabrics this year. This is more than 13 times the output in the prewar year 1948.

Thanks to the material foundation of the fishing industry laid in the postwar years, we now catch 500,000 to 600,000 tons of fish annually.

Remarkable progress has also been made in the food-processing industry and in the production of daily necessities, both of which had been extremely backward. At present our Party and the entire people are unfolding a struggle to renovate these branches.

With the development of state-owned industry, state and co-operative trade has also made great advance.

One of the great successes we have achieved in industry and trade is the transformation of the private sector along socialist lines.

In the past, the development of our national capital was extremely restricted, because of the monopoly control of our national economy by the Japanese imperialists. As a result, private trade and industry, which had a very precarious economic foundation from the start, were further weakened by the ravages of war.

The Party and Government adhered to the line of transforming private trade and industry, step by step, along socialist lines, through the organization of production-and-marketing co-operatives. It has been completely in the interests of individual

tradesmen and manufacturers that they have been made to pool their small holdings to serve production and trade.

Following this policy of the Party, the entrepreneurs and tradesmen of our country started to transform themselves into socialist working people. Thus, today the socialist transformation of private trade and industry has already been completed in our country.

Agriculture of our country has also made great progress. North Korea was a zone which had been short of food before. Agriculture was so severely damaged by the war that the food question became all the more serious for us in the postwar days.

To solve the grain problem the Party and Government paid deep attention to the rehabilitation and development of agriculture. The state took important measures for the development of agriculture: it carried out irrigation projects on a large scale, supplied the countryside with more chemical fertilizers and farm machines, and widely introduced various advanced agro-techniques. As a result, the severely-damaged material and technical foundations of our agriculture have been further strengthened.

A decisive part in the development of agriculture was played by its co-operativization. Since the material foundations of agriculture had been severely damaged by the war and the peasant economy ruined, it would have been impossible to rehabilitate agriculture rapidly and develop the productive forces of agriculture, if scattered, individual farming had been maintained. The limitations of individual farming would have checked not only the development of agriculture but also greatly hindered the rapid advance of industry.

Socialist transformation of agriculture enabled us to solve the contradictions between socialist industry and the individual peasant economy.

The peasants enthusiastically supported our Party's agricultural co-operativization policy, and the agricultural co-operativization movement in our country made rapid progress. Thus, agricultural co-operativization has now been completed

in our country. Our agriculture has been turned from a scattered, individual peasant economy to a completely co-operativized socialist economy.

Agricultural co-operativization was one of the most complicated and difficult tasks of the socialist revolution. However, our Party, relying firmly on the Party's forces in the countryside and the surging revolutionary spirit of our peasants, fulfilled the complicated and difficult task very smoothly in only three to four years after the war. This is a brilliant victory of our Party's agricultural policy.

Agricultural co-operativization created essential prerequisites to the technical reconstruction of our agriculture, the transformation of peasants' consciousness along socialist lines and to the radical improvement of their living conditions.

Young as they are, our agricultural co-operatives have fully demonstrated their superiority and have been consolidated politically and economically.

With the co-operativization of agriculture and the consolidation of its material foundation, agricultural production has grown by leaps and bounds. Already in 1957, we harvested 3.2 million tons of grain, and thus essentially solved the difficult food problem. According to preliminary estimates, the gross grain harvest is expected to reach 3.6 million to 3.7 million tons this year. This means an increase of nearly one million tons compared with 1948, and an increase of 1.2 million to 1.3 million tons compared with 1944.

Along with the rapid growth of grain output, industrial crops, livestock breeding, silk culture, fruit farming and other branches of agriculture have also made speedy progress.

Thanks to the enormous achievements of the socialist economic construction, our people's living conditions have been markedly improved.

The national income in 1957 was twice that of 1949 and the real wages of workers and office employees increased more than 1.3 times in the same period.

The income of the peasants in kind and cash also showed a sharp increase. In 1957 as compared with 1956, the share of

grain per peasant household in agricultural co-operatives increased to 108 per cent, potatoes to 122 per cent, cash to 144 per cent, despite the fact that they set more than twice as much aside as in the latter year for accumulation and various other community funds.

Immediately after the armistice, the poor peasants whose living conditions were extremely bad accounted for nearly 40 per cent of the total peasant households in our countryside. But now the living standard of the peasants has, in general, been raised to that of the middle peasants. We are striving to raise the living standard of the peasants to that of well-to-do middle peasants in the near future.

During the period from the armistice to 1957, dwellings with over 16.3 million square metres of floor space were built in cities and farm villages. Thanks to the patriotic enthusiasm of builders all over the country, the vast housing construction plan for this year will also be overfulfilled considerably.

Pyongyang, the democratic capital, is now changing into a grand, modern city, and all other cities and farm villages, once reduced to ashes by the war, are rising with a new look.

How miserable our people's life was in the days of Japanese imperialist rule when we had no power of our own! How hard the life of our people was immediately after the armistice! All this, however, is a thing of the past now.

Today, celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic, we can say with immense satisfaction that we have completely repaired the severe war damage to the people's living conditions.

In the bosom of the Republic the Korean people are successfully casting off a centuries-old backwardness in cultural life.

The shortage of national cadres and the backward cultural standards of the working people were one of the biggest difficulties that stood in the way of building our country and economy after liberation. In order to surmount this difficulty, the Party and Government made great efforts to develop educational and cultural work.

Universal compulsory primary education has been enforced in our country since 1956. Today more than 2,330,000 students and pupils are studying in our schools of all levels, including 22 institutes of higher learning and various specialized schools.

Thanks to the rapid development of higher and secondary technical education, more than 63,000 experts and technicians were trained in the ten years since the founding of the Republic, and have been assigned to all branches of the national economy.

Thus, we have our own cadres capable of competently administering the state and skilfully managing the enterprises equipped with modern technology in all spheres of the national economy. This is one of the greatest achievements we have made under the people's power and a precious asset for socialist construction.

The national culture of the Korean people, which was trampled underfoot and buried for a long time under Japanese imperialist colonial rule, is in full bloom today.

Comrades,

Because of the great socio-economic reforms in our country, the class relations of our society have undergone a fundamental change.

The ranks of the working class have grown and its leading role in all spheres of state and social life has been enhanced. Our heroic working class was tempered still more in the flames of a harsh war, and is making miraculous exploits on the labour front for our postwar socialist economic construction. With their inexhaustible creativity and vigorous fighting spirit, they are reforming our society and, through their Party and Government, are leading the entire people along the road towards socialism.

In our country the peasants account for 50 per cent of the entire population. With the completion of agricultural co-operativization in the postwar period, the source of exploitation and poverty has been liquidated once and for all in our countryside, and millions of peasants have changed from the small producers of yesterday into honourable agricultural co-operative members, into socialist working people.

Our peasants, who have found happiness on the road to socialism, are struggling to further consolidate and continuously develop the victories attained in the socialist transformation of agriculture, and are showing high patriotic enthusiasm in all fields of political, economic and cultural construction.

As a result, the worker-peasant alliance, the basis of the people's democratic system in our country, has been still more cemented on a new socialist basis.

Intellectuals are playing a great role in the socialist construction of our country. From the first days of liberation the Party has made consistent efforts further to expand the ranks of intellectuals by training a large number of new ones from among the working people and to improve their qualifications, while patiently reforming old intellectuals and actively enlisting them in the building of a new life One of our greatest achievements is that by transforming the old intellectuals and training new ones, we have formed our own army of intellectuals, who work firmly for the Party and the revolution.

There are no landlords or capitalists any longer in our country. Exploitation of man by man has disappeared forever in our society.

Unity and solidarity of the entire people based on the worker-peasant alliance have been strengthened as never before.

Comrades,

The victories won by the Korean people in all the political, economic and cultural fields are victories of our people's power and demonstrate the superiority and great vitality of our state and social system.

In the ten years since the founding of the Republic, we have registered tremendous successes in strengthening our people's power and consolidating our state and social system. The composition of central and local government bodies has been further improved through elections to the institutions of state power at all levels—held on a number of occasions. Some irrational administrative divisions have been reorganized and the state apparatus simplified. This has brought the people's government closer to the people, strengthening its bonds with them.

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In order to enhance the role and functions of local government organs, we have taken measures to gradually extend the authority of these institutions in keeping with our economic progress and the growth of our cadres. These measures have stimulated the activity and creativity of local government organs in economic and cultural construction and enabled the broad masses to participate actively in state and economic administration.

At the same time, we have made persistent efforts to strengthen the mass control over the work of state organs, to do away with bureaucracy and to establish a revolutionary mass viewpoint among the functionaries. As a result, there is being established among the functionaries of state organs a popular style of work which consists of going down more frequently to the work places and directly discussing the state affairs with the broad masses of the working people, correctly mobilizing their enthusiasm and creativity, and promptly fulfilling their requests.

Whenever we were confronted with a problem of great importance for the state or with a difficult task, we discussed measures for solving it with the broad masses. Our working people ensured the successful fulfilment of our tasks, surmounting all hardships by displaying inexhaustible creativity and unbending fighting spirit in response to the call of the Party. This precisely shows that our people's power is the most democratic form of government that enjoys the unqualified support and love of the entire people, rallies the broad popular masses around it and makes them actively participate in the state affairs.

Our task is to further improve the work of state organs, ensure the continued, active participation of the broad masses of the people in the state affairs and give ample scope to socialist democracy in our country.

Needless to say, without further strengthening our people's democratic state we cannot guarantee socialist construction in the northern half of the Republic.

All our state organs should continue to struggle for the

elimination of all outmoded methods of work, against bureaucracy and formalism.

In order to increase creativity and activity at lower levels, we must further improve the work of our local government organs, particularly of the county people's committees. In connection with the extension of the authority of local government organs and the rapid development of local industry, the role and functions of the local people's committees in economic and cultural construction should be enhanced even more. Local government organs and their functionaries should organize work in a creative manner and, going deeper among the masses, should stimulate their enthusiasm and creativity and promptly satisfy their demands.

(2)

A broad vista of development has opened up before the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people. Today our people, clearly envisaging the prospects of socialist construction in our country, are confidently marching towards their realization.

In our country, socialist relations of production have already won a complete victory in all fields of the national economy.

At the present stage of socialist construction, our most essential task is to further consolidate the material and productive foundations of socialism through the technological reconstruction of the national economy and to carry out the cultural revolution, on the basis of the already established socialist relations of production.

We can complete socialist construction in our country only if we carry out the tasks of technological reconstruction of the national economy and the cultural revolution which is closely linked with the former. We must carry out the socialist indus-

trialization of our country in order to equip all branches of the national economy with up-to-date techniques and consolidate the material and productive basis of socialism.

We must make a decisive advance in socialist industrialization in the coming six or seven years. For this, we must continue to develop industrial production at a high rate and reinforce its technological equipment. We must rebuild and expand existing enterprises, build more enterprises equipped with up-to-date technique and mechanize and automatize the processes of production.

Heavy industry is the foundation of socialist industrialization. We must continue to give priority to the development of the metal, machine-building, power, coal, chemical and building-materials industries and, on this basis, simultaneously ensure the development of light industry and agriculture. This is our Party's basic line of economic construction, the correctness of which has already been proved in practice in our country. We must invariably carry through this line in the future, too.

Electrification occupies a most important place in the technological reconstruction of the national economy. We should fully meet the demand of the national economy for electricity and step up the electrification of the country by giving priority to the power industry before other branches.

We should build large hydroelectric power stations on the big rivers like the Amnok-gang, Taedong-gang and Tokno-gang and, at the same time, build many small power stations on the middle and small rivers in different places.

The construction of hydroelectric power stations must be combined with the building of thermal power stations. Compared with hydroelectric power stations, thermal power stations require less time and funds for their construction, and also make it possible to utilize power in diverse ways and to supply electricity regularly even in the dry season. Therefore, we should build thermal power stations in Pyongyang and other major cities.

Rapid development of the metal industry is of particular importance in the socialist construction of our country. At

present, we need larger quantities of steel. In our country, the machine-building industry will develop further and larger-scale construction will be widely carried out in the future. This means that there will be a rapid increase in the demand of the national economy for steel.

Our country has a wealth of iron ore and also has definite foundations for the iron industry.

By further expanding the iron industry and greatly increasing the output of pig iron, granulated iron, steel and rolled steel, we must satisfy our own needs for all kinds and standards of rolled steel.

Since coking coal has not yet been found in our country, the important question for the development of ferrous metallurgy is the establishment of methods for producing iron by electricity or producing coke from lignite or anthracite. The scientists, technicians and workers in the iron and steel industry should solve this technical problem in a short period of time.

The development of the machine-building industry is of decisive significance in reinforcing the technical equipment of the national economy. More new machines, equipment and accessories are required in all fields of the national economy—heavy industry, light industry, agriculture, transport, capital construction, etc. Our national economy will not advance at all if we do not produce large quantities of machinery and equipment and develop technology. We can say that the development of the machine-building industry is the key to the solution of all problems.

We have laid a definite basis for the machine-building industry in the postwar period. But it still fails to satisfy the fast-growing requirements of the national economy. We must produce large quantities of diverse types of machines, equipment and spare parts which are in great demand in our country, by expanding existing machine-building plants, further raising the utilization of equipment and by building more plants.

It is of great significance to develop the chemical industry for completely satisfying the demands for chemical fertilizers

and raw materials for fibre. Our country is rich in electric power, anthracite, limestone, etc., which are essential for the development of the chemical industry. It also has a foundation for the chemical industry. Therefore, our country has ample prospects for the development of the chemical industry.

We must continue to develop this branch to produce in abundance different kinds of fertilizers, such as nitrogenous, phosphatic and potash fertilizers and, at the same time, fully meet the requirements of the textile industry for raw materials for fibre.

In light industry we should continue to enlarge the textile industry, rapidly develop the food-processing industry and increase the production of daily necessities. We should raise the per-capita output of textile goods to more than 30 metres in the coming four or five years.

As regards the production of mass consumer goods, we must develop local industry factories along with large-scale factories, and extensively utilize the handicraft technique together with modern techniques.

At its June Plenary Meeting, our Party adopted the decision to develop, through an all-people movement, the food-processing industry and increase the production of daily necessities and, to this end, put forth the task of setting up more than one local industry factory in each county.

Hundreds of new local industry factories have now begun to spring up in all parts of the country and have started producing goods, thanks to the activity of the local Party and government organs and the surging enthusiasm of the entire working people to implement the decision taken at the June Plenary Meeting. According to preliminary estimates, next year alone, it is expected that the new local industry factories will produce different kinds of consumer goods equivalent to the annual output value of all the enterprises under the Ministry of Light Industry.

Without big state investments, we will be turning out such an enormous amount of manufactured goods by mobilizing local raw material resources as well as unused labour and ma-

terials in the local areas. This is a new, ample reserve that has been tapped thanks to the correct policy of our Party and the increased enthusiasm of the working people who have buckled down to carry it out, and it is of great significance to the development of industry. This will not only make it possible to fully meet the rapidly growing demands of the people but it will also offer possibilities for a speedier development of heavy industry and greatly accelerate the tempo of overall economic development. When each city and county has its own industry, the role and functions of the local government organs in the management of the economy will further enhance and expand; the local functionaries and broad sections of the working people will accumulate knowledge and experience in the management of industry, and display still more zeal and creativity in socialist construction.

We will gradually expand and mechanize these hundreds of local industry factories as their foundations become firmer. If we develop local industry in this way for three to four years, or five to six years, we will have hundreds or even a thousand and more of good light industry factories throughout the country, that is, four or five factories in each county, without making a large single investment. We should actively and boldly push ahead with the splendid work we have already initiated.

Thus, by continuously developing heavy and light industries at a fast rate, we will have a self-supporting industry equipped with modern technology and a firm foundation which will be able to ensure technological reconstruction in all branches of the national economy.

Along with industry, transport should be developed further and its technical equipment reinforced. Since our country abounds in power resources, we should work towards the electrification of railways. During the First Five-Year Plan, we should electrify the railways which most urgently require it and prepare material and technical foundations for the overall electrification of the railways in the future. During the second five-year plan, we should push ahead with this work on a full scale.

interests of the masses. In fact, you use a deluge of words, stressing the need to carry through the mass line, talking about the Chongsan-*ri* spirit, the Chongsan-*ri* method and the Taean work system, but you do not put it into practice.

In Kapsan County, working on the idea of securing an area sown with potatoes, and disregarding what the peasants thought, the leading personnel gave instructions to grow potatoes on fertile land which had been cultivated with other crops for several hundred years. This seriously affected farming. Previously in Unhung County, too, in July when the potato planting season was over, the peasants were told to plough up the fields where crops had already been planted in order to sow potatoes, on the grounds that 400 *chongbo* of potato plots were still not secured. We are told that when the peasants said that potatoes planted in July would fail, the leading personnel forced them to go ahead with the project, ranting at them for their lack of Party spirit.

When we previously gave guidance to the Party organization of Chongsan-*ri*, Kangso County, we severely criticized the actions of leadership who turned a deaf ear to the view of peasants, dictated to them in a bureaucratic way and thus brought about failures in farming. The leading personnel here, however, have not drawn a lesson from that criticism and still persist in such practices. It is for this reason that farming has shown no positive results and that the Party's policies cannot be correctly implemented.

Moreover, in Ryanggang Province, the leadership personnel forced the peasants to root out the maize in their kitchen gardens on the grounds that they should have planted potatoes or flax; they even compelled them to sell the meagre amount of potatoes reaped from their kitchen gardens to the state using the pretext that they were "grain crops." Where on earth can we find a more bureaucratic act than this? Nobody can feel satisfied if you act in that way.

What is worse, people are not allowed to breed dogs in Ryanggang Province. Of course, this is not the first time I have mentioned this matter. When we visited the district of Kim-

chaek, North Hamgyong Province, in 1958, we sharply criticized the leading functionaries there for having forbidden the breeding of dogs on the grounds that it was a nuisance to hygienic activities. And this time in Samjiyon County, we heard the same thing from personnel there. Some comrades alleged that they did so because dogs got mad and bit people. When a dog goes mad, that dog should be destroyed, but why should the breeding of healthy dogs be prohibited?

No matter how obedient the people of Samsu and Kapsan may be, they certainly will not feel too happy if you continue to harass them, telling them to plant potatoes in swamps, do away with rice paddies, root out maize in the kitchen gardens, sell to the state all the potatoes cultivated there and give up their dogs. What difference is there between your actions and those of government officials in the old feudal days or at the time of Japanese imperialist rule? If you continue to work in this way, you will become even more divorced from the masses and unable to carry out the tasks confronting Ryanggang Province.

Besides, there are many other instances which show your subjective and bureaucratic way of working. As was mentioned in your speeches yesterday, you work out plans at a desk in a subjective way, instead of going among the masses, and then impose them on subordinates in a bureaucratic manner. So, it is obvious that such plans cannot properly be put into effect.

Present here today are the functionaries of the provincial Party committee and chairmen of the county Party committees and the *ri* Party committees. You must know the serious consequences of the subjective and bureaucratic practices you have used in your work in the past, and must not repeat such errors.

Our Party's policies for agriculture, the timber industry and all other sectors of the economy of Ryanggang Province are all correct. But, however good the Party's policy may be and however much the measures for its implementation are discussed, that policy cannot be put into practice successfully if the personnel responsible for applying it work in a bureaucratic way and fail to carry through the mass line of the Party

The Party organizations of Ryanggang Province, therefore,

must definitely rid themselves of subjectivism and bureaucracy in their work and strive with renewed vigour to carry through the mass line of the Party. All cadres must regard as an iron rule in work the championing of the masses' interests and they must go among the masses, listen to what they say, explain and persuade them, and vigorously arouse their voluntary enthusiasm and creative initiative. This is precisely what is meant by the Chongsan-*ri* spirit and Chongsan-*ri* method and it is the basic requisite of the Taean work system.

You cannot keep alive the honour of living in the revolutionary battleground which is dyed with the red blood of the Korean Communists, by simply putting up showy slogans or signboards or building a museum of the revolution. You must uphold this honour through actual deeds, by carrying through our Party's mass line in a more exemplary way than any other province, following the example of the revolutionary fighters. Only by doing so, will you be worthy of living in this area of revolutionary battles.

Now, I should like to say a few words about intensifying the struggle against revisionism.

Revisionism is an ideology that negates the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and denies the need for revolution. The revisionists say that they will suffer from the war which might break out if other people continue making revolution. Thus, they preach desisting both from the struggle against imperialism and from the national-liberation struggle in the colonies.

It is justified that we should fight against revisionism. We have not yet completed the revolution. We have liberated only half of our territory and one-third of our people. The Korean Communists, therefore, are duty bound not only to promote the construction of socialism in the northern half but also to drive the U.S. imperialists out of the southern half and achieve the liberation of our nation.

When half of the territory still remains under the colonial yoke of foreign imperialism, how can we desist from the struggle against imperialism?

We cannot give up the revolution, nor can we stop fighting

against imperialism. No matter what machinations the revisionists may resort to, we must continue with the revolution and resolutely fight against imperialism without letup. In order to continue the revolution, the entire people must be fully armed with a revolutionary spirit.

To this end, our Party members who are responsible for the education of the people must first of all firmly equip themselves with revolutionary ideas. And, in particular, all the cadres and working people, who live and work in this area of revolutionary battles, an area which bears the traces of the bloody struggle waged by our revolutionary forerunners, must arm themselves with the revolutionary spirit more thoroughly than anybody else.

In the field of economic construction, too, we must build an independent national economy by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. To rely on oneself is the lofty revolutionary spirit of the Communists. Only by building an independent national economy through self-reliance can we successfully carry out the revolutionary tasks before us. We must accomplish the revolutionary task of the country's reunification through our own efforts, and we must build socialism and communism throughout Korea in the future. For this, we must lay the solid material and technical foundation of socialism by developing an independent national economy. It would be a different story if frontiers disappeared and communism were realized on a world-wide scale But, as long as there exist frontiers and each country has its own revolutionary tasks and manages its own economic life, each must have its own resources Especially, since quite a few people in the southern half are still inclined to rely on the U S. and the Japanese imperialists, we must hold still higher the slogan of building an independent national economy.

To conclude, I am firmly convinced that you will successfully carry out all the tasks confronting Ryanggang Province by further improving and strengthening your work in accordance with the spirit displayed at this plenary meeting of the provincial Party committee.